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WALKS IN ROME

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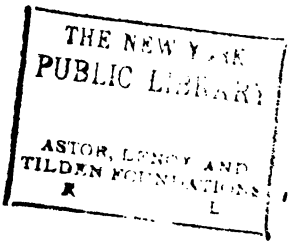
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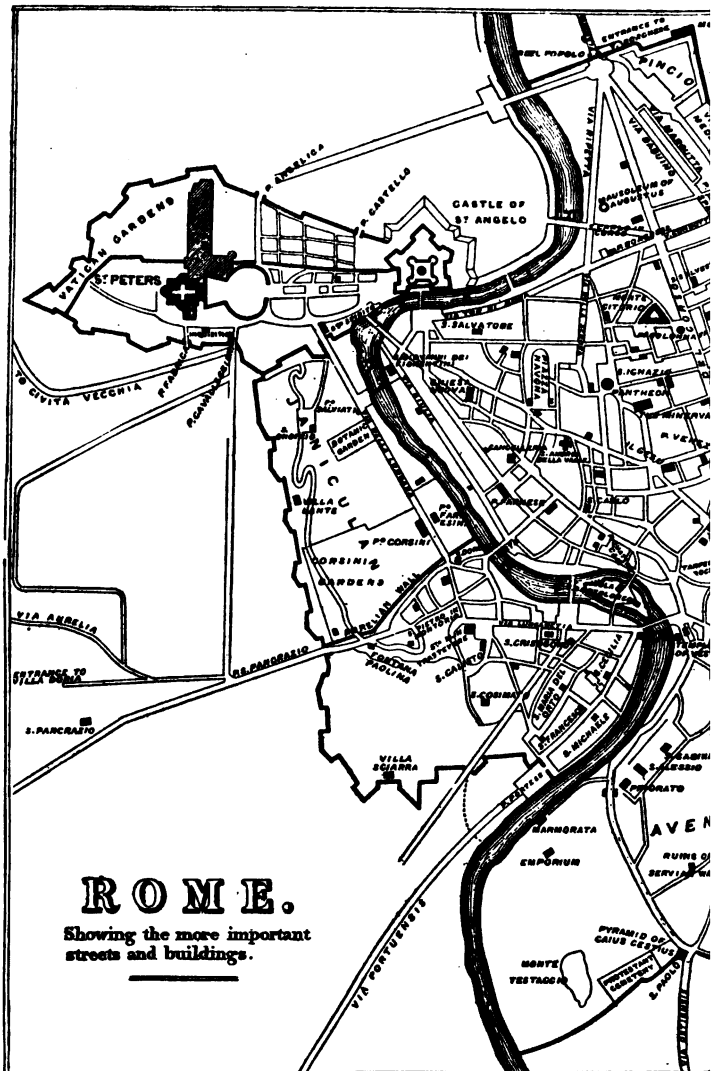
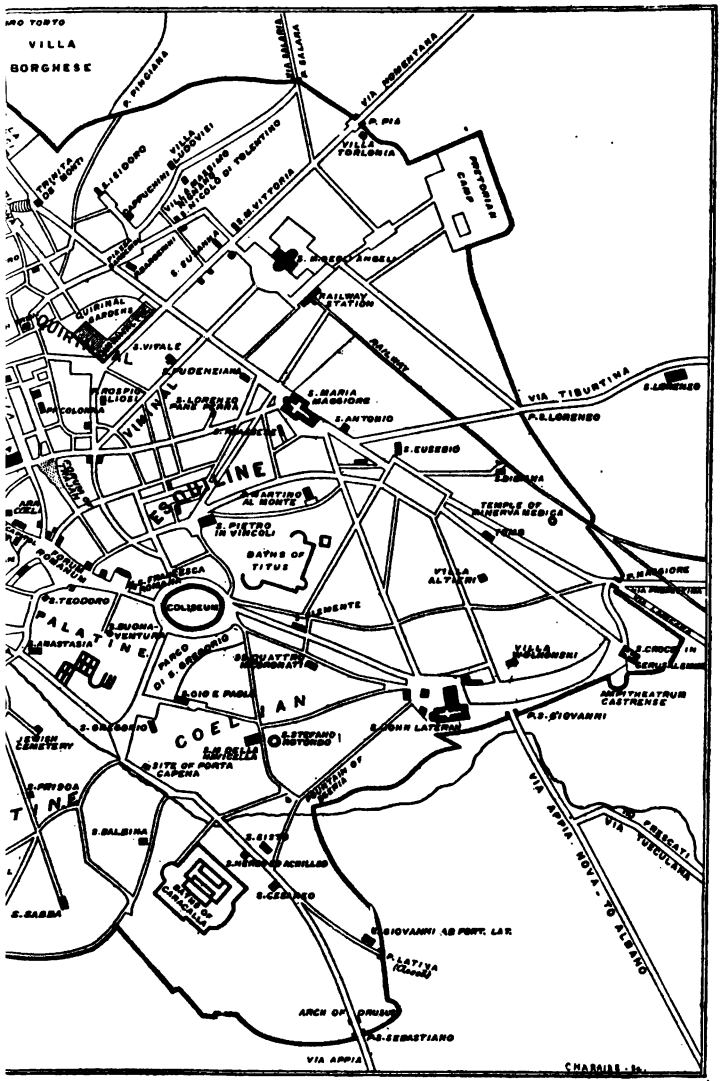


ROME.
Showing the more important streets and buildings.
VATICAN GARDENS
ST PETERS
CASTLE OF ST ANGELO
P. ANGELICA
P. CASTELLO
TO CIVITA VECCHIA
P. FABRICIO
P. CAMMINATA
S. SALVATORE
PINCIO
VIA RIPETTA
VIA BABUINO
MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS
MONTE CITORIO
S. IGNAZIO
PANTHEON
P. VENEZIA
IL GESU
P. FARNESE
S. CARLO
BOTANICAL GARDEN
VILLA LANTE
P. CORSINI
CORSINI GARDENS
ARRELIAN WALL
VIA AURELIA
ENTRANCE TO VILLA DORIA
R.S. PANCRAZIO
S. PANCRAZIO
FONTANA PAOLINA
S. CALISTO
S. CRISOGONO
S. CECILIA
S. COSIMATO
S. MARIA DEL ORTO
S. FRANCESCO
S. MICHAELE
VILLA SCIARRA
S. ALESSIO
PRIORATO
MARMORATA
EMPORIUM
AVEN
PYRAMID OF CAIUS CESTIUS
MONTE TESTACCIO
PROTESTANT CEMETERY
S. PAOLO
VIA PORTUENSIS


VILLA
BORGHESE
P. PINCIANA
VIA SALARIA
P. SALARIA
VIA POMENTANA
P. PIA
VILLA TORLONIA
PRETORIAN CAMP
TRINITA DE' MONTI
S. ISIDORO
VILLA LUDOVISI
S. NICOLO DI TOLENTINO
S. M. VITTORIA
S. SUSANNA
S. MARCO ANGELI
RAILWAY STATION
QUIRINAL GARDENS
QUIRINAL
S. VITALE
S. PUDENZIANA
S. MARIA MAGGIORE
S. ANTONIO
VIMINAL
S. LORENZO PANE PERNA
VIA TIBURTINA
S. LORENZO
P. S. LORENZO
S. EUSEBIO
ESQUILINE
S. MARTINO AL MONTE
TEMPLE OF MINERVA MEDICA
S. PIETRO IN VINCOLI
BATHS OF TITUS
VILLA ALTIERI
S. TEODORO
COLISEUM
PALATINE
S. BUONAVENTURA
S. ANASTASIA
PARCO DI S. GREGORIO
S. QUATTRO INCORONATI
VILLA WOLKONSKI
S. CROCE IN GERUSALEMME
AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE
S. GIOVANNI
COELIAN
S. GREGORIO
S. STEFANO ROTONDO
S. JOHN LATERAN
JEWISH CEMETERY
SITE OF PORTA CAPENA
S. PRIDOA
S. BALBINA
S. SISTO
S. NEREO ED ACHILLEO
S. CESAREO
BATHS OF CARACALLA
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S. GIOVANNI AD PORT. LAT.
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ARCH OF DRUSUS
P. S. SEBASTIANO
VIA APPIA
VIA APPIA NOVA - TO ALBANO
VIA TUSCULANA
TO FRESCATI
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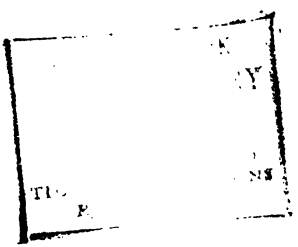

M E. Mains
Rome April 1901

WALKS IN ROME

BY

AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE

AUTHOR OF

'WALKS IN LONDON,' 'CITIES OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL ITALY,' 'DAYS NEAR ROME,' ETC.

FIFTEENTH EDITION (REVISED)

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TO

HIS DEAR MOTHER

THE CONSTANT COMPANION OF MANY ROMAN WINTERS

THESE PAGES ARE DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR

OPTUN 31 DEC 37

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WALKS IN ROME

INTRODUCTORY

THE ARRIVAL IN ROME

'AGAIN this date of Rome; the most solemn and interesting that my hand can ever write, and even now more interesting than when I saw it last,' wrote Dr. Arnold to his wife in 1840,—and how many thousands before and since have experienced the same feeling, who have looked forward to a visit to Rome as one of the great events of their lives, as the realisation of the dreams and longings of many years!

An arrival in Rome is very different to that in any other town in Europe. It is coming to a place new and yet most familiar, strange and yet so well known. When travellers arrive at Verona, for instance, or at Arles, they generally go to the amphitheatres with a curiosity to know what they are like; but when they arrive at Rome and go to the Coliseum, it is to visit an object whose appearance has been familiar to them from childhood, and, long ere it is reached, from the heights of the distant Capitol they can recognise the well-known form;—and as regards S. Peter's, who is not familiar with the aspect of the dome, of the wide-spreading piazza, and the foaming fountains, for long years before they come to gaze upon the reality?

'My presentiment of the emotions with which I should behold the Roman ruins has proved quite correct,' wrote Niebuhr. 'Nothing about them is new to me; as a child I lay so often, for hours together, before their pictures, that their images were, even at that early age, as distinctly impressed upon my mind as if I had actually seen them.'

'Je ne saurais revoir,' says Montaigne, 'si souvent le tombeau de cette ville si grande et si puissante, que je ne l'admire et révère. J'ai eu connaissance des affaires de Rome long temps avant que j'aie eu connaissance de ma maison. Je savais le Capitole et son plan avant que je susse le Louvre, et le Tibre avant la Seine.'

What Madame Swetchine says of life, that you find in it exactly what you put into it, is also true of Rome, and those who come to

it with least mental preparation are those least fitted to enjoy it. That preparation, however, is not so easy as it used to be. In the old days, the happy old days of vetturino travelling, there were many quiet hours, when the country was not too beautiful and the towns not too interesting, in which Gibbon and Merivale and Milman were the pleasantest of travelling companions, and when books on Italian art and poetry served to illustrate and illuminate the graver studies which were gradually making Italy, not only a beautiful panorama, but a country filled with forms which were daily growing into more familiar acquaintance. Perugia and Spoleto, Terni and Civita Castellana, led fitly then up to the greater interests of Rome, as courtiers to a king. But now there are no such opportunities of preparation, and, in spite of old landmarks, travellers who pay a hurried visit to Rome are bewildered by the vast mass of interest before them, by the endless labyrinth of minor objects which they desire, or, still oftener, feel it a duty to visit. The natives are unable to assist them, for it is still as true as in the days of Petrarch, that 'nowhere is Rome less known than in Rome itself.'[1] Their Murray, their Baedeker, and their Bradshaw indicate appalling lists of churches, temples, and villas which ought to be seen, but do not distribute them in a manner which will render their inspection more easy. The promised pleasure seems rapidly to change into an endless vista of labour to be fulfilled and of fatigue to be gone through; henceforward the hours spent at Rome are rather hours of endurance than of pleasure: his cicerone drags the traveller in one direction; his antiquarian friend, his artistic acquaintance, would fain drag him in others; he is confused by accumulated misty glimmerings from historical facts once learnt at school, but long since forgotten—of artistic information, which he feels that he ought to have gleaned from years of social intercourse, but which, from want of use, has never made any depth of impression—by shadowy ideas as to the story of this king and that emperor, of this pope and that saint, which, from insufficient time, and the absence of books of reference, he has no opportunity of clearing up. It is therefore in the hope of aiding some of these bewildered ones, and of rendering their walks in Rome more easy and more interesting, that the following chapters are written. They aim at nothing original, and are only a gathering up of the information of others, and a gleaning from what has been already given to the world in a far better and fuller, but less portable form; while, in their plan, they attempt to guide the traveller in his daily wanderings through the city and its suburbs.

There is one point which cannot be sufficiently impressed upon those who wish to take away more than a mere surface impression of Rome; it is, never to see too much; never try to 'do' Rome. Nothing can be more depressing to those who really value Rome than to meet two Englishmen hunting in couples through the Vatican galleries, one looking for the number of the statue in the

[1] *Letters to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna.*

guide-book, the other finding it; than to hear Americans describe the Forum as the dustiest heap of old ruins they had ever looked upon; or say, when asked their opinion of the Venus de' Medici, that they 'guess they were not particular gone on stone gals;' than to encounter a husband who boasts of having seen everything in Rome in three days, while the wife laments that, in recollection, she cannot distinguish the Vatican from the Capitol, or S. Peter's from S. Paul's. Better far to leave half the ruins and nine-tenths of the churches unseen and to see well the rest; to see them not once, but again and often again; to watch them, to learn them, to live with them, to love them, till they have become a part of life and life's recollections. And it is the same in the galleries: for what can be carried away by those who wander over the whole Vatican at once but a hopeless chaos of marble limbs?—at best a nightmare in which Venus and Mercury, Jupiter and Juno, play the principal parts. But, if the traveller will benefit by the Vatican, he must make friends with a few of the statues, and pay them visits, and grow constantly into greater intimacy; then the purity of their outlines and the majestic serenity of their god-like grace will have power over him, raising his spirit to a perception of beauty of which he had no idea before, and enabling him to discern the traces of genius in humbler works of those who may be struggling and striving after the best, but who, while they have found the right path which leads to the great end, are still very far off.

In any case, however, it must not be supposed that one short residence at Rome will be sufficient to make a foreigner acquainted with all its varied treasures; or even, in most cases, that its attractions will become apparent to the passing stranger. The squalid appearance of its modern streets, and still more the hideous mutilations and additions of the Sardinian occupation, will go far to neutralise the effect of its ancient buildings and the grandeur of its historic recollections. It is only by returning again and again, by allowing the *feeling* of Rome to gain upon you, when you have constantly revisited the same view, the same ruin, the same picture, under varying circumstances, that Rome engraves itself upon your heart, and changes from a disagreeable, unwholesome acquaintance, into a dear and intimate friend seldom long absent from your thoughts. 'Whoever,' said Chateaubriand, 'has nothing else left in life, should come to live in Rome; there he will find for society a land which will nourish his reflections, walks which will always tell him something new. The stone which crumbles under his feet will speak to him, and even the dust which the wind raises under his footsteps will seem to bear with it something of human grandeur.'

'When we have once known Rome,' wrote Hawthorne, 'and left her where she lies, like a long-decaying corpse, retaining a trace of the noble shape it was, but with accumulated dust and a fungous growth overspreading all its more admirable features—left her in utter weariness, no doubt, of her narrow, crooked, intricate streets, so uncomfortably paved with little squares of lava that to tread over them is a penitential pilgrimage; so indescribably ugly, moreover,

so cold, so alley-like, into which the sun never falls, and where a chill wind forces its deadly breath into our lungs—left her, tired of the sight of those immense seven-storied, yellow-washed hovels, or call them palaces, where all that is dreary in domestic life seems magnified and multiplied, and weary of climbing those staircases which ascend from a ground-floor of cook-shops, cobblers'-stalls, stables, and regiments of cavalry, to a middle region of princes, cardinals, and ambassadors, and an upper tier of artists, just beneath the unattainable sky—left her, worn out with shivering at the cheerless and smoky fireside by day, and feasting with our own substance the ravenous population of a Roman bed at night—left her, sick at heart of Italian trickery, which has uprooted whatever faith in man's integrity had endured till now, and sick at stomach of sour bread, sour wine, rancid butter, and bad cookery, needlessly bestowed on evil meats—left her, disgusted with the pretence of holiness and the reality of nastiness, each equally omnipresent—left her, half lifeless from the languid atmosphere, the vital principle of which has been used up long ago or corrupted by myriads of slaughters—left her, crushed down in spirit by the desolation of her ruin and the hopelessness of her future—left her, in short, hating her with all our might, and adding our individual curse to the infinite anathema which her old crimes have unmistakably brought down;—when we have left Rome in such a mood as this, we are astonished by the discovery, by-and-by, that our heartstrings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing us thitherward again, as if it were more familiar, more intimately our home, than even the spot where we were born.'

This is the attractive and sympathetic power of Rome which Byron so fully appreciated—

> 'Oh Rome! my country! city of the soul!
> The orphans of the heart must turn to thee,
> Lone mother of dead empires! and controul
> In their shut breasts their petty misery.
> What are our woes and sufferance? Come and see
> The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way
> O'er steps of broken thrones and temples. Ye
> Whose agonies are evils of a day—
> A world is at our feet as fragile as our clay.
>
> The Niobe of nations! there she stands
> Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe
> An empty urn within her withered hands,
> Whose sacred dust was scattered long ago;
> The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now;
> The very sepulchres lie tenantless
> Of their heroic dwellers: dost thou flow,
> Old Tiber! through a marble wilderness?
> Rise, with thy yellow waves, and mantle her distress!'

The impressiveness of an arrival at the Eternal City was formerly enhanced by the solemn singularity of the country through which it was slowly approached. 'Those who arrive at Rome now by the railway,' says Mrs. Craven in her 'Anne Severin,' 'and rush like a whirlwind into a station, cannot imagine the effect which the words

"Ecco Roma" formerly produced when, on arriving at the point in the road from which the Eternal City could be descried for the first time, the postillion stopped his horses, and, pointing it out to the traveller in the distance, pronounced them with that Roman accent which is grave and sonorous as the name of Rome itself.'

'How pleasing,' says Cardinal Wiseman, 'was the usual indication to early travellers, by voice and outstretched whip, embodied in the well-known exclamation of every vetturino, "Ecco Roma." To one "lasso maris et viarum," like Horace, these words brought the first promise of approaching rest. A few more miles of weary hills, every one of which, from its summit, gave a more swelling and majestic outline to what so far constituted "Roma," that is, the great cupola, not of the church, but of the city, its only discernible part, cutting, like a huge peak, into the clear wintry sky, and the long journey was ended, and ended by the full realisation of well-cherished hopes.'

Most travellers, perhaps, in the old days, came by sea from Marseilles and arrived from Civita Vecchia, by the dreary road which leads through Palo, and near the base of the hills upon which stands Cervetri, the ancient Caere, from the junction of whose name and customs the word 'ceremony' has arisen,—so especially useful in the great neighbouring city. 'This road from Civita Vecchia,' writes Miss Edwards, 'lies among shapeless hillocks, shaggy with bush and briar. Far away on one side gleams a line of soft blue sea—on the other lie mountains as blue, but not more distant. Not a sound stirs the stagnant air. Not a tree, not a housetop, breaks the wide monotony. The dust lies beneath the wheels like a carpet, and follows like a cloud. The grass is yellow, the weeds are parched; and where there have been wayside pools, the ground is cracked and dry. Now we pass a crumbling fragment of something that may have been a tomb or temple centuries ago. Now we come upon a little wide-eyed peasant boy keeping goats among the ruins, like Giotto of old. Presently a buffalo lifts his black mane above the neighbouring hillock, and rushes away before we can do more than point to the spot on which we saw it. Thus the day attains its noon, and the sun hangs overhead like a brazen shield, brilliant but cold. Thus, too, we reach the brow of a long and steep ascent, where our driver pulls up to rest his weary beasts. The sea has now faded almost out of sight; the mountains look larger and nearer, with streaks of snow upon their summits, the Campagna reaches on and on and shows no sign of limit or of verdure; while, in the midst of the clear air, half way, so it would seem, between you and the purple Sabine range, rises one solemn solitary dome. Can it be the dome of S. Peter's?'

The great feature of the Civita Vecchia route was that, after all the utter desolation and dreariness of many miles of the least interesting part of the Campagna, the traveller was almost stunned by the transition, when, on suddenly passing the Porta Cavalleggieri, he found himself in the piazza of S. Peter's, with its wide-spreading colonnades and high-springing fountains; indeed, the

first building he saw was S. Peter's, the first house that of the Pope, the palace of the Vatican. But the more gradual approach by land from Viterbo and Tuscany possessed equal, if not superior, interest.

'When we turned the summit above Viterbo,' wrote Dr. Arnold, 'and opened on the view on the other side, it might be called the first approach to Rome. At the distance of more than forty miles, it was, of course, impossible to see the town, and, besides, the distance was hazy; but we were looking on the scene of the Roman history; we were standing on the outward edge of the frame of the great picture; and though the features of it were not to be traced distinctly, yet we had the consciousness that they were before us. Here, too, we first saw the Mediterranean, the Alban hills, I think, in the remote distance, and just beneath us, on the left, Soracte, an outlier of the Apennines, which has got to the right bank of the Tiber, and stands out by itself most magnificently. Close under us, in front, was the Ciminian lake, the crater of an extinct volcano, surrounded, as they all are, with their basin of wooded hills, and lying like a beautiful mirror stretched out before us. Then there was the grand beauty of Italian scenery, the depth of the valleys, the endless variety of the mountain outline, and the towns perched upon the mountain summits, and this now seen under a mottled sky, which threw an ever-varying light and shadow over the valley beneath, and all the freshness of the young spring. We descended along one of the rims of this lake to Ronciglione, and from thence, still descending on the whole, to Monterosi. Here the famous Campagna begins, and it certainly is one of the most striking tracts of country I ever beheld. It is by no means a perfect flat, except between Rome and the sea; but rather like the Bagshot Heath country, ridges of hills, with intermediate valleys, and the road often running between high, steep banks, and sometimes crossing sluggish streams sunk in a deep bed. All these banks are overgrown with broom, now in full flower; and the same plant was luxuriant everywhere. There seemed no apparent reason why the country should be so desolate; the grass was growing richly everywhere. There was no marsh anywhere visible, but all looked as fresh and healthy as any of our chalk downs in England. But it is a wide wilderness; no villages, scarcely any houses, and here and there a lonely ruin of a single square tower, which I suppose used to serve as strongholds for men and cattle in the plundering warfare in the Middle Ages. It was after crowning the top of one of these lines of hills, a little on the Roman side of Baccano, at five minutes after six, according to my watch, that we had the first view of Rome itself. I expected to see S. Peter's rising above the line of the horizon, as York Minster does; but instead of that, it was within the horizon, and so was much less conspicuous, and from the nature of the ground, it looked mean and stumpy. Nothing else marked the site of the city, but the trees of the gardens, and a number of white villas specking the opposite bank of the Tiber for some little distance above the town, and then suddenly ceasing. But the whole scene that burst upon our view, when taken in all its parts, was most interesting.

Full in front rose the Alban hills, the white villas on their sides distinctly visible, even at that distance, which was more than thirty miles. On the left were the Apennines, and Tivoli was distinctly to be seen on the summit of its mountain, on one of the lowest and nearest parts of the chain. On the right, and all before us, lay the Campagna, whose perfectly level outline was succeeded by that of the sea, which was scarcely more so. It began now to get dark, and as there is hardly any twilight, it was dark soon after we left La Storta, the last post before you enter Rome. The air blew fresh and cool, and we had a pleasant drive over the remaining part of the Campagna, till we descended into the valley of the Tiber, and crossed it by the Milvian bridge. About two miles farther on we reached the walls of Rome, and entered it by the Porta del Popolo.'

Niebuhr, coming the same way, says: 'It was with solemn feelings that this morning, from the barren heights of the moory Campagna, I first caught sight of the cupola of S. Peter's, and then of the city from the bridge, where all the majesty of her buildings and her history seem to lie spread out before the eye of the stranger; and afterwards entered by the Porta del Popolo.'

Madame de Staël gives us the impression which the same subject would produce on a different type of character:—

'Le Comte d'Erfeuil faisait de comiques lamentations sur les environs de Rome. "Quoi," disait-il, "point de maison de campagne, point de voiture, rien qui annonce le voisinage d'une grande ville! Ah! bon Dieu, quelle tristesse!" En approchant de Rome, les postillons s'écrièrent avec transport: "*Voyez, voyez, c'est la coupole de Saint-Pierre!*" Les Napolitains montrent aussi le Vésuve; et la mer fait de même l'orgueil des habitans des côtes. "On croirait voir le dôme des Invalides," s'écria le Comte d'Erfeuil.'

It was by this approach that most of its distinguished pilgrims have entered the capital of the Catholic world: monks, who came hither to obtain the foundation of their Orders; saints, who thirsted to worship at the shrines of their predecessors, or who came to receive the crown of martyrdom; priests and bishops from distant lands—many coming in turn to receive here the highest dignity which Christendom could offer; kings and emperors, to ask coronation at the hands of the reigning pontiff; and, among all these, came by this road, in the full fervour of Catholic enthusiasm, Martin Luther, the future enemy of Rome, then its devoted adherent. 'When Luther came to Rome,' says Ampère, in his 'Portraits de Rome à divers âges,' 'the future reformer was a young monk, obscure and fervent; he had no presentiment, when he set foot in the great Babylon, that ten years later he would burn the bull of the Pope in the public square of Wittenberg. His heart experienced nothing but pious emotions; he addressed to Rome in salutation the ancient hymn of the pilgrims; he cried, "I salute thee, O holy Rome, Rome venerable through the blood and the tombs of the martyrs." But after having prostrated on the threshold, he raised himself, he entered into the temple, he did not find the God he looked for; the

city of the saints and martyrs was a city of murderers and prostitutes. The arts which marked this corruption were powerless over the stolid senses, and scandalised the austere spirit of the German monk; he scarcely gave a passing glance at the ruins of pagan Rome, and, inwardly horrified by all that he saw, he quitted Rome in a frame of mind very different from that which he brought with him; he knelt then with the devotion of the pilgrims, now he returned in a disposition like that of the *frondeurs* of the Middle Ages, but more serious than theirs. This Rome of which he had been the dupe, and concerning which he was disabused, should hear of him again; the day would come when, amid the merry toasts at his table, he would cry three times, "I would not have missed going to Rome for a thousand florins, for I should always have been uneasy lest I should have been rendering injustice to the Pope."'

Till late years life in Rome seemed to be free from many of the petty troubles which beset it in other places; and there are still few foreign towns which offer so many comforts and advantages to its English visitors. The hotels, indeed, are expensive, and the rent of apartments is high; but when the latter is once paid, living is rather cheap than otherwise, especially for those who do not object to dine from a *trattoria* and to drive in hackney-carriages. Prices, however, are enormously raised since the end of the last century, when Alfieri only paid ten scudi a month for the whole Strozzi palace, furnished, with the stables, and the use of the villa.

The climate of Rome is very variable. If the *scirocco* blows, it is mild and very relaxing; but the winters are more apt to be subject to the severe cold of the *tramontana*, which requires even greater precaution and care than that of an English winter. Nothing can be more mistaken than the impression that those who go to Italy are sure to find there a mild and congenial temperature. The climate of Rome has been subject to severity, even from the earliest times of its history. Dionysius speaks of one year in the time of the Republic when the snow at Rome lay seven feet deep, and many men and cattle died of the cold.[1] Another year the snow lay for forty days, trees perished, and cattle died of hunger.[2] Present times are a great improvement on these: snow seldom lies upon the ground for many hours together, and the beautiful fountains of the city are only hung with icicles long enough to allow the photographers to represent them thus; but still the climate is not to be trifled with, and violent transitions from the hot sunshine to the cool shade of the street often prove fatal. 'No one but dogs and Englishmen,' say the Romans, 'ever walk in the sun.'

Even under Tiberius, three temples of Fever were in existence, but the *malaria*, which is so much dreaded by the natives, generally lies dormant during the winter months, and seldom affects strangers unless they live in some of the new quarters of the city near recent excavations, or are inordinately imprudent in sitting out in the sunset. With the heats of the late summer this insidious

[1] Dionysius, xii. 8. [2] Livy, v. 13.

ague-fever is apt to follow on the slightest exertion, and particularly to overwhelm those who are employed in field labour. From June to November the Villa Borghese and the Villa Doria are uninhabitable, and the more deserted hills — the Coelian, the Aventine, and part of the Esquiline—are a constant prey to fever. The malaria, however, flies before a crowd of human life, and the Ghetto, teeming with inhabitants, was always perfectly free from it. The theory now generally accepted by the medical profession, and due to the researches of Professor Klebs and Professor Tommaso Crudeli, establishes that malaria is due to a specific microscopic plant which exists in the soil of certain districts, and floats in the atmosphere above it. This plant, when inhaled and absorbed, finds in the human body conditions favourable for its growth and reproduction, and it prospers and multiplies at the expense of the organism in which it dwells. In the Campagna, rendered unhealthy by the cessation of volcanic action—with the exception of Porto d'Anzio, which has always been healthy—no town or village is safe after the month of August, and to this cause the utter desolation of so many formerly populous sites (especially those of Veii and Galera) may be attributed:—

> 'Roma, vorax hominum, donat ardua colla virorum;
> Roma, ferax febrium, necis est uberrima fugum:
> Romanae febres stabili sunt jure fideles.'

Thus wrote Peter Damian in the tenth century, and those who refuse to be on their guard will find it so still.

The greatest risk at Rome is incurred by those who, coming out of the hot sunshine, spend long hours in the Vatican and the other galleries, especially those of the Lateran palace (so fatal to the Popes of the Middle Ages), which are filled with a deadly chill during the winter months. As March comes on this chill wears away, and in April and May the temperature of the galleries (except those of the Lateran) is delightful, and it is impossible to find a more agreeable retreat. It is in the hope of inducing strangers to spend more time in the study of these wonderful museums, and of giving additional interest to the hours which are passed there, that so much is said about their contents in these volumes. As far as possible it has been desired to evade any mere catalogue of their collections—so that no mention has been made of objects which possess inferior artistic or historical interest; while by introducing anecdotes connected with those to which attention is drawn, or by quoting the opinion of some good authority concerning them, an endeavour has been made to fix them in the recollection.

The immense extent of Rome, and the wide distances to be traversed between its different ruins and churches, is in itself a sufficient reason for devoting more time to it than to the other cities of Italy. Surprise will doubtless be felt that so few pagan ruins remain, considering the enormous number which are known to have existed even down to a comparatively late period. A monumental record of A.D. 540, published by Cardinal Mai, mentions 324 streets,

2 capitols—the Tarpeian and that on the Quirinal—80 gilt statues of the gods (only the Hercules remains), 66 ivory statues of the gods, 46,608 houses, 17,097 palaces, 13,052 fountains, 3785 statues of emperors and generals in bronze, 22 great equestrian statues of bronze (only Marcus Aurelius remains), 2 colossi (Marcus Aurelius and Trajan), 9026 baths, 31 theatres, and 8 amphitheatres! It was Nicholas V. who first tried to make Rome the city of the Popes, not of the Emperors, because 'only the learned could understand the grounds of the papal authority, the unlearned needed the testimony of their eyes, the sight of the magnificent memorials which embodied the history of papal greatness.' That so many classical remains still exist as we now see is due in part to the interference of Raffaelle, who implored Julius II. to 'protect the few relics left to testify to the power and greatness of that divine love of antiquity whose memory was inspiration to all who were capable of higher things.' But the preservation of so many ancient buildings is above all due to the fact, that in the early years of Christianity every pagan building capable of containing a congregation was converted into a church or chapel.

'Rome, according to an old saying, contains as many churches as there are days in the year. This statement is too modest; the "great catalogue" published by Cardinal Mai mentions over a thousand places of worship, while nine hundred and eighteen are registered in Professor Armellini's "Chiese di Roma." A great many have disappeared since the first institution, and are known only from ruins, or inscriptions and chronicles. Others have been disfigured by "restorations." Without denying the fact that the sacred buildings of Rome excel in quantity rather than quality, there is no doubt that as a whole they form the best artistic and historic collection in the world. Every age, from the apostolic to the present, every school, every style has its representatives in the churches of Rome. Let students, archæologists, and architects provide themselves with a chronological table of its sacred buildings, and select the best specimens for every quarter of a century, beginning with the oratory of Aquila and Priscilla, mentioned in the Epistles, and ending with the latest contemporary creations, they cannot find a better subject for their education in art and history.' —*Lanciani.*

Thirty years of Sardinian rule—1870–1900—have done more for the destruction of Rome than all the invasions of the Goths and Vandals. If the Government, the Municipality, and, it must be confessed, the Roman aristocracy, had been united together since 1870, with the *sole* object of annihilating the beauty and interest of Rome, they could not have done it more effectually. The old charm is gone for ever, the whole aspect of the city is changed, and the picturesqueness of former days must now be sought in such obscure corners as have escaped the hands of the spoiler. The glorious gardens of the Villa Negroni, Villa Corsini, and Villa Ludovisi have been annihilated: many precious street memorials of mediæval history have been swept away; the sacred Promenade of the Sun has been desecrated; ancient convents have been levelled with the ground or turned into barracks; historic churches have been yellow-washed or modernised; every tree of importance in the city—including the noble ilexes of Christina of Sweden—has been cut down; the pagan ruins have been denuded of all that gave them picturesqueness or

beauty ; and several of the finest fountains have been pulled down or bereaved of half their waters. The Palace of the Cæsars is stripped of all the flowers and shrubs which formerly adorned it. The glorious view from the Pincio has been destroyed by the hideous barrack-like houses built between the Tiber and S. Peter's. The Tiber itself has been diverted from its exquisitely picturesque course, to the destruction, amongst many other interesting memorials, of the Island, of most of the bridges, of the lovely Farnesina gardens, and to the fatal injury of the inestimable frescoes in the palace. The hideous new bridges block out the best views on the river-banks. The Baths of Caracalla, which, till 1870, were one of the most beautiful spots in the world, are now scarcely more attractive than the ruins of a London warehouse. Many of the most interesting temples have been dwarfed by the vulgarest and tallest of modern buildings. Even the Coliseum has been rendered a centre for fever by aimless excavations, and has been deprived not only of its shrines, but of its marvellous flora, though in dragging out the roots of its shrubs more of the building was destroyed than would have fallen naturally in five centuries.

'These are the acts of a stupid and brutal ignorance, or of a venal and shameful speculation ; without excuse or palliation, and inflicting on the city thus sacrificed an injury and an outrage as gross as it is pitiful. The plea of utility or necessity cannot hold for a moment here ; these gasworks, these factories, these new streets, could, with equal ease and usefulness, have been erected on waste grounds, where there was little or nothing of natural or architectural beauty to be destroyed. Instead of this, a perversity which amounts to malignity, places them invariably on sites where either some architectural treasure-house of art is swept away to give room for them, or else some exquisite view of water or land is ruined by their deformity and stench.'—*Ouida.*

'The works have gone on without harmony, order, or governing principles. Palaces and small villas have been permitted to be built within the limits of the works of the Tiber, which it has been found necessary to expropriate ; walls have been erected which have had to be demolished to make room for the piers of the new bridges ; the Tiber is shut in by a dyke without any sluices having been made ; . . . in a word, tens of millions have been squandered by the municipality and the State without any plain or co-ordinate idea.'—*Popolo Romano.*

'A will, with a genius, might have grasped the idea embodied, or hidden, in mediæval Rome, and unfolded it, beautified and dignified, over the vacant spaces of the Seven Hills. Italy was ready, within generous limits, to be paymaster. Italians longed for Rome as Rome was. The Roman Town Council had bestowed upon them for their royal capital a paltry and spurious copy of Paris boulevards. Nothing so pretentious, commonplace, unspiritual and dull has ever been produced as neo-regal Rome. In addition to a display of poverty of artistic ideas almost amounting to genius, the Roman municipality is, moreover, acknowledged to have set at defiance all the rules of recent sanitary science in a manner incomparably its own.'—*The Times* (leading article), January 10, 1888.

'The blame must be cast especially on the members of the Roman aristocracy. . . . We have seen three of them sell the very gardens which surrounded their city mansions, allowing these mansions to be contaminated by the contact of ignoble tenement houses. We have seen every single one of the patrician villas—the Patrizi, the Sciarra, the Massimo, the Lucernari, the Mirafiori, the Wolkonsky, the Giustiniani, the Torlonia, the Campana, the San Faustino—destroyed, their casinos dismantled, and their beautiful old trees burnt into charcoal.'—*Lanciani.*

Nothing can possibly be more revoltingly hideous or vulgar than the buildings of modern Rome since the change of government, 'when Rome, poorest of cities, has been trying to appear rich.'

'The construction of houses in the new part of the city, and especially in those sections which have been demolished and rebuilt, has been carried on under regulations so bad, or so easily evaded, that the new quarter is the most disgraceful appendix to a great city to be found in all Europe. The houses are huge tasteless stucco palaces, so high as to shut off the sunlight—necessary above all things in Rome—from the lower storeys of the houses opposite. They are ill-constructed, so that in more than one case they have fallen into the spaces in front of them, and flimsy and ill-contrived, so that one hears the common domestic sounds from apartment to apartment, and from storey to storey. There is the least possible attention to the sanitary requisites which decency would permit—in short, the quarter is a huge congeries of "jerry" dwellings, built on speculation, and in which no person who regards personal comfort would continue to reside, except on compulsion, and it is, in general, æsthetically and economically a disgrace to Rome.'— *The Times*, June 15, 1887.

'The municipal authorities of Rome, when it became the national capital, had the most splendid opportunity to distinguish themselves in the future as builders that any corporate body ever had. With taste and the opportunities the municipal council actually enjoyed, namely, unlimited space, a site of unrivalled picturesqueness, the secular ideal of the landscape painters of all countries, the lavish enthusiasm of a young and hopeful nationality, rich in hope and the resources of the sanguine future, the nucleus of a sober and dignified architecture, with almost unlimited responsibility over the resources of the city, and the aid of those of the nation, Rome might and should have been made the most beautiful city in the world. What the municipality has done is to make it impossible, without the intervention of a great earthquake, that it ever should be anything but the most absurd of all the cheap imitations of Paris.'—*The Times*, January 10, 1888.

It is typical of the absurd misuse of the funds at the disposal of the municipality, when, in some remote square, fifty able-bodied men are seen lying upon their stomachs, engaged in picking out with penknives the tiny mosses and grasses between the stones of the pavement. In the same way hundreds of men are employed in perpetually rooting up all the grass and flowers along the hedges in the outskirts of Rome, and keeping them down to the level of hideous dust-heaps. In Sardinian Rome a blade of grass or a wild-flower is characterised as an 'indecenza.'

Victor Emmanuel, by solemn speeches at Florence, when receiving the Roman *plébiscite*, and by speeches at Rome in parliament, promised over and over again that the property and privileges of Catholic institutions should be respected and secured. Yet, in October 1871, the papal palace of the Quirinal was broken open and seized. Then came the spoliation and ruin of the eight great convents—S. Maria in Vallicella, SS. Apostoli, S. Silvestro in Capite, S. Silvestro di Monte Cavallo, S. Maria delle Vergine, S. Andrea della Valle, S. Maria Minerva, and S. Agostino. A seizure of the gardens and monasteries of nuns followed; and on May 27, 1873, the iniquitous bill was passed which drove the monks and nuns from their homes, robbing them of their doweries by a process which was simply theft, making them dependent upon ill-paid pensions varying from sixpence to tenpence a day, and putting their lands and houses up to public auction.

No attempt has been made in these pages to describe the country round the city, beyond a few of the most ordinary drives and excursions outside the walls. But the opening of the railways to Naples, Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Viterbo have now brought a vast variety of new excursions within the range of a day's expedition. The papal citadel of Anagni, the temples of Cori, the cyclopean remains of Segni, Alatri, Norba, Cervetri, and Corneto, the gorge of Civita Castellana with the wild heights of Soracte, Anguillara and Bracciano by their lovely lake, may now become as well known as the oft-visited Tivoli, Ostia, and Albano. They are all described in 'Days near Rome,' and (more briefly) in 'Cities of Central,' or of 'Southern Italy.'

From the experience of many years the writer can truly say that the more intimately the scenes of Rome become known, the more deeply they become engraven upon the inmost affections. It is not a hurried visit to the Coliseum, with guide-book and cicerone, which will enable one to drink in the fulness of its beauty; but a long and familiar friendship with its solemn walls, in the ever-varying grandeur of golden sunlight and grey shadow—till, after many days' companionship, its stones become dear as those of no other building ever can be; and it is not a rapid inspection of the huge cheerless basilicas and churches, with their gaudy marbles and gilded ceilings and ill-suited monuments, which arouses your sympathy, but the long investigation of their precious fragments of ancient cloister and sculptured fountain, of mouldering fresco and mediæval tomb, of mosaic-crowned gateway, and palm-shadowed garden; and the gradually acquired knowledge of the wondrous story which clings around each of these ancient things, and which tells how each has a motive and meaning entirely unsuspected and unseen by the passing eye.

'Yet to the wondrous S. Peter's and yet to the solemn Rotunda,
Mingling with heroes and gods, yet to the Vatican walls,
Yet we may go, and recline, while a whole mighty world seems above us,
Gathered and fixed to all time into one roofing supreme;
Yet may we, thinking on these things, exclude what is meaner around us.'
—*Clough.*

Those who wish to fix the scenes and events of Roman history securely in their minds will do best perhaps to take them in groups. Suppose, for instance, that any travellers wish to study the history of S. Laurence, let them first visit the beautiful little chapel in the Vatican, where the whole story of his life is portrayed in the lovely frescoes of Angelico da Fiesole. Let them stand on the greensward by the Navicella, where he distributed the treasures of the Church in front of the house of S. Ciriaca. Let them walk through the crypto-porticus of the Palatine, up which he was dragged to his trial. Let them lean against the still-existing marble bar of the basilica, where he knelt to receive his sentence. Let them visit S. Lorenzo in Fonte, where he was imprisoned, and baptized his fellow-prisoners in the fountain which gives the church its name. Let them go hence to S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna, built upon the scene

of his terrific martyrdom, which is there portrayed in a fresco. Let them see his traditional chains and the supposed gridiron of his suffering at S. Lorenzo in Lucina. And, lastly, at the great basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, let them admire the mighty church which for twelve hundred years has marked the site of that little chapel which Constantine built near the lowly catacomb grave in which the martyr was laid by his deacon Hippolytus.

Let us turn to a very different character—Rienzi. How vivid will his story seem to those who go first to the old tower of the Crescenzi, near the Bocca della Verità, which belonged to his ancestors, and then to the street behind S. Tommaso, where he was born—the son of a publican and a washerwoman, for to such humble offices were the Crescenzi then reduced. They will find Rienzi again at the little Church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, whither he summoned the citizens at midnight to hold a meeting for the re-establishment of the Good Estate, and in which he kept the Vigil of the Holy Ghost; and at the Portico of Octavia, on whose ançient walls he painted his famous allegory of the sufferings of the Romans under the oppression of the great patrician families, thus flaunting defiance in the eyes of the Savelli, who could look down upon the picture from the windows of their palace above the Theatre of Marcellus. At S. Giorgio in Velabro the pediment still remains under the old terra-cotta cornice, where an inscription proclaimed that the reign of the Good Estate was begun. We must follow Rienzi thence, bare-headed, but in full armour, to the Capitol and to the Lateran, where he took his mystic bath in the great vase of green basalt in which Constantine is falsely said to have been baptized. We must think of his flight, after his short-lived glories were over, by the light of the burning palace, down the steps of the Capitol, and of his wife looking out of the window to witness his murder at the foot of the great basaltic lioness, which looks scarcely older now than on the night on which she was sprinkled with his blood. Lastly, we may remember that his body was hung, a target for the stones of those by whom he had been so lately adored, in the little piazza of S. Marcello in Corso, and that, in strange contradiction, it was eventually burnt by the Jews in the then desolate mausoleum of Augustus.

It is by thus entwining the Roman sights with one another, till they become the continuous links of a story, that they are best fixed in the mind. They should also be read about, not merely in histories or guide-books, but in the works of those who, from long residence in Italy and the deep love which they bear to it, have become impressed with the true Italian spirit. The most important books on Roman subjects are the 'Ancient Rome,' and still more the 'Pagan and Christian Rome,' of Rudolfo Lanciani. Then, much delightful reading may be found in the many works of Gregorovius, from his history of the 'City of Rome' to his enchanting 'Lateinische Sommer,' and his graphic little sketches *à propos* of burial-places of the Popes. The writer has often been laughed at for recommending and quoting novels in speaking of Rome and its interests. Yet in few graver works are there such glimpses of

Rome, of Roman scenery, Roman character, Roman manners, to be obtained, as in Hawthorne's 'Marble Faun,' which English publishers so foolishly call 'Transformation;' in 'Mademoiselle Mori;' in the 'Improvisatore' of Hans Christian Andersen; in the 'Daniella' of George Sand and the pagan-spirited 'Ariadne' of Ouida. Still, most of all should English and American visitors consult the works of the great living archæologist Lanciani—especially, perhaps, the more portable volume on 'The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome,' than which nothing has been written equally interesting and instructive.

So much has been written about Rome that, in quoting from the remarks of others in these volumes, selection has always been the great difficulty, and the rule has been followed that the most learned books are not always the most instructive or the most interesting. It has been sought to gather up and present to the reader such a succession of word-pictures from various authors as may not only make the scenes of Rome more interesting at the time, but may deepen their impression afterwards; but no endeavour has been made to enter into deep archæological questions, to define the exact limits of the wall of Servius Tullius, or to hazard a fresh opinion as to how the earth accumulated in the Roman Forum, or whence the pottery came out of which the Monte Testaccio has arisen. The best Roman archæology is that which is unlimited as to ages, which is allowed to grasp as much as it can of the myriad human sympathies which Rome has to offer or awaken; for thus, and only thus, can it do a great work, in arousing highest thoughts and aims as it opens the ancient treasure-house, and teaches the vast experience of more than two thousand years. Then, as John Addington Symonds describes—

'Then, from the very soil of silent Rome,
You shall grow wise, and, walking, live again
The lives of buried peoples, and become
A child by right of that eternal home,
Cradle and grave of empires, on whose walls
The sun himself subdued to reverence falls.'

'Rome,' as Winckelmann says, 'is the high school which is open to all the world.' It can supply every mental requirement if men will only apply at the right corner of the fountain. 'Certainly,' said Goethe, 'people out of Rome have no idea how one is schooled there. One has to be born again, so to speak, and one learns to look back upon one's old ideas as upon the shoes of childhood.' Still, the travellers who enjoy Rome most are those who have studied it thoroughly before leaving their own homes. In the multiplicity of engagements in which a foreigner is soon involved, there is little time for historical research, and few are able to do more than read up their guide-books, so that half the pleasure and all the advantage of a visit to Rome are thrown away; while those who arrive with the foundation already prepared, easily and naturally acquire, amid the scenes around which the history of the world

revolved, an amount of information which will be astonishing even to themselves.

The pagan monuments of Rome have been written of and discussed ever since they were built, and the catacombs have lately found historians and guides both able and willing; about the later Christian monuments far less has hitherto been said. There is a natural shrinking in the English Protestant mind from all that is connected with the story of the saints, especially the later saints of the Roman Catholic Church. Many believe, with Addison, that 'the Christian antiquities are so embroiled in fable and legend, that one derives but little satisfaction from searching into them.' And yet, as Mrs. Jameson observes, when all that the controversialist can desire is taken away from the reminiscences of those who, to the Roman Catholic mind, have consecrated the homes of their earthly life, how much remains!—'so much to awaken, to elevate, to touch the heart; so much that will not fade from the memory; so much that may make a part of our after-life.'

If we would profit by Rome to the uttermost, we must put away all prejudices, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, and we must believe that it is not in one class of Roman interests alone that much is to be learnt. Those who devote themselves exclusively to the relics of the kings and the republic, to the walls, or the vexed questions concerning the Porta Capena, and who see no interest in the reminiscences of the Middle Ages and the Popes, take only half of the blessing of Rome, and the half which has the least of human sympathy in it. Archæology and history should help the beauties of Rome to leave their noblest impress, in arousing feelings worthy of the greatest of pagan heroes, of the noblest of Latin poets, of the most inspired of sculptors and painters, as well as of Paul of Tarsus, who passed into Rome under the Arch of Drusus, upon whom the shadow of the tomb of Caius Cestius fell as he passed out of Rome to his martyrdom in that procession of which it is the sole surviving witness, and who, in Rome, is sleeping now, with a thousand other saints, till, as S. Ambrose reminds us, he shall awaken *there* at the Great Resurrection.

CHAPTER I

DULL-USEFUL INFORMATION

The *Population* of Rome in 1897 was 482,965.

Hotels.—For passing travellers or bachelors, the best are: Hotel d'Angleterre, Bocca di Leone; and Hotel de Rome, Corso. The Hotel de Russie (close to the Piazza del Popolo) is very comfortable and well managed. Hotel de Londres, Piazza di Spagna, is suited for a long residence, and is very central. The Hotel Europa is also in the Piazza di Spagna. The Hotel Quirinale, in the Via Nazionale, near the railway station, is the largest hotel in Rome. Facing the station is the large new Hotel Continentale. The luxurious, expensive, and fashionable Grand Hotel is in the Piazza dei Termine. Hotel Hassler, Trinità de' Monti, is in a beautiful situation, but the rooms at the back are to be avoided. The Hotel Royal is in the modern Via Venti Settembre. The well-managed but expensive Hotel Bristol is in the Piazza Barberini. The Hotel Eden, Via Porta Pinciana, is well situated between the old and new town streets. The Hotel d'Italie, Via Quattro Fontane, and the Hotel Vittoria, Via Due Macelli, are very comfortable and reasonable, and the former is especially well managed and suited for a long stay. The Hotel Molaro is at the corner of the Via Gregoriana. The Hotel Marini is in the noisy Via Tritone. The Hotel d'Allemagne, Via Condotti, and the Anglo-Americano, Via Frattina, are much frequented by Americans. The Hotel Minerva, Piazza della Minerva, near the Pantheon, is more of a commercial inn, but good and reasonable, and suited to those who merely come to Rome to study art or antiquities. The Hotel Nazionale in the Piazza Monte Citorio is a good inn; here also is the Hotel Milano.

Pensions are much wanted in Rome. The best are those of Miss Smith, 47 Corso; Mrs. Chapman, 76 Via S. Niccolò da Tolentino; Madame Lomi (English), 36 Via Tritone Nuovo; Pension Hayden, 42 Piazza Poli; Pension Gianelli, 15 Via Ludovisi; Madame Tellembach, 73 Due Macelli; Madame François, 47 Corso; Madame Michel, 72 Via Sistina; Pension du Sud, Via Lombarda; Bethell, 41 Via Babuino.

Apartments have lately greatly increased in price. An apartment for a very small family in one of the best situations can seldom be obtained for less than from 300 to 500 francs a month. The English almost all prefer to reside in the neighbourhood of the Piazza di Spagna. The best situations are the sunny side of the Piazza itself, the Trinità de' Monti, the Via Gregoriana, and Via Sistina. Less good situations are the Corso, Via Condotti, Via Due Macelli, Via Frattina, Capo le Case, Via Felice, Via Quattro Fontane, Via Babuino, and Via della Croce—in which last, however, are many very good apartments. In the last few years many apartments have been prepared for letting in the Via Nazionale and other new streets, but the situation is most undesirable, except for the families of artists whose studios are in that direction. On the other side of the Corso suites of rooms are much less expensive, but they are not convenient for persons who make a short residence in Rome. In many of the palaces are large apartments which are let by the year. In the new town, houses are universally ill-built, ill-drained, and ill-ventilated.

Carriages.—1 horse, the course, 80 c.; the hour, 2 frs.; at night, 1 to 2. Coupé, 1 to 2.30; at night, 1.30 to 2.30; with 2 horses, 2 to 3; at night, 2.50 to 3.50.

Bicycles may be hired at 112 and 488 Corso; 114 Via Quattro Fontane; and 260 Corso Vittorio Emanuele.

Restaurants.—Corradetti, 81 Via della Croce. Inferior, but much frequented by Italians and by artists, Berardi, 75 Via della Croce; Fagiano, Piazza Colonna; Bordone, Via Nazionale; Ranieri, 26 Via Mario de' Fiori, Nazionale, 109 Via del Seminario, near the Pantheon.

Caffès.—Caffè di Roma, 426 Corso; Caffè Nazionale, 179 Corso; Caffè d'Italia, 133 Corso; Caffè Greco, 86 Via Condotti.[1]

Tea-Rooms.—22 Piazza di Spagna.

Trattorie send out dinners to families in apartments in a tin box with a stove, for which the bearer calls the next morning. A dinner for six francs ought to be sufficient for three persons, and to leave enough for luncheon the next day.

English Church, All Saints, in the Via Babuino, on the left. Services at 8.30 A.M., 11 A.M., and 3 P.M. on Sundays; daily service twice on week-days. *American Church of S. Paul,* Via Nazionale, services, 8.30, 10.45, and 4. *Trinity Church,* Piazza S. Silvestro. *Presbyterian Church,* 7 Via Venti Settembre. *Vaudois Church,* 106 Via Nazionale, opposite the Theatre. *English Catholic Church,* Piazza S. Silvestro. *English Convent,* 16 Via S. Sebastiano.

English Archæological Society.—16 Via dei Barberi.

Winter Meetings of Arcadia.—Convent of S. Carlo in Corso.

Omnibuses start from—	(and *vice versâ*).
Piazza di Spagna to	S. Pietro.
Piazza del Popolo to	Piazza Venezia, by the Corso.
	The Railway Station, by Piazza di Spagna and Piazza Barberini.
	Ponte Molle, by Via Flaminia (tramway).
Piazza S. Silvestro to	Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, by the Via Quattro Fontane.
Piazza Rienzi to	Piazza S. Silvestro.
Piazza Navona to	Piazza Vittorio Emanuele.
Piazza Venezia to	S. Pietro.
	Piazza del Popolo, by the Ripetta.
	Piazza Cavour, Prati di Castello.
	Railway Station, by Via Nazionale (tramway).
	Via Cavour, S. J. Lateran (tramway).
Piazza Montanara to	S. Paolo fuori le Mura (tramway).
	Via Porta S. Lorenzo, by the Pantheon.
Piazza Cancellaria to	Porta Pia, by Piazza Colonna and Via Tritone.
	Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, by the Forum of Trajan.
	Piazza S. Pantaleo, Coliseum, S. J. Lateran.
S. Pantaleo to	Porta Salaria, by the Fountain of Trevi.
	S. Giovanni Laterano, by the Forum of Trajan and the Coliseum.
	Piazza Termini, Cemetery of S. Lorenzo.
S. Apollinare to	Piazza Guglielmo Pepe, by the Gesù, Forum of Trajan, and the Monti.
Forum of Trajan to	Piazza dei Quiriti ai Prati, by the Via Botteghe Oscure, Ponte S. Angelo, and Porta Angelica.
Via Quirinale to	S. Agnese fuori le Mura.
Piazza del Cinquecento to	Cemetery of S. Lorenzo (tramway).

The *Steam Tramway* to Tivoli starts from—
Porta S. Lorenzo, 1st-class return, 6 fr.
2nd-class return, 4.50 fr.

Theatres.—Nazionale, Via Nazionale; Argentina (opera), Via Torre Argentina; Costanzi, Via Firenze; Valle (comedy), Via della Valle; Metastasio, Via Pallacorda; Manzoni, Via Urbana; Quirino, Via delle Vergine; Rossini (marionettes), Via di S. Chiara; Correa, in the Mausoleum of Augustus, Via dei Pontifici.

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1 "The Caffè Greco, founded in the day of Salvator Rosa, has become a German pastry-cookery, and the place where once all the artists of Rome used to meet, along with poets and the minor brood of the Muses, is no longer to be recognised by the relic-hunter."—*W. J. Stillman.*

Church Music.—The best, except at the rare services in the Sistine Chapel, is to be heard on Sunday mornings at the German Church of S. Maria dell' Anima.

Lectures.—No English visitors, with time at their disposal, should miss a chance of being present at the lectures occasionally given in the Forum, &c., by the eminent archæologist Lanciani (by far the best living authority on Roman antiquities), for the benefit of the Archæological Society. Professor Reynaud, 73 Via Due Macelli, gives lectures on the lines laid down by Lanciani, and will arrange for excursions in the neighbourhood.

Foxhounds meet twice a week in the Campagna. The meets are posted at Piale's Library. Throw off at 11.

Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.—12 Via S. Giacomo.

Post Office.—Piazza S. Silvestro, close to the Corso, open from 8 A.M. to 9.30 P.M. Letters for England or America (on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, *viâ* Havre, at 9 P.M.) should be posted at the head office before 1 P.M. or 9 P.M.

Telegraph Office.—Piazza S. Silvestro. *Branch Offices*, 20 Piazza Barberini; 35 Piazza Rusticucci; 123 Via Venti Settembre; and in the Piazza delle Terme.

British Embassy.—At Porta Pia, Via Venti Settembre.

British Consulate.—96 Piazza S. Claudio.

American Legation.—Palazzo Amici, 16 Piazza S. Bernardo.

American Consulate.—16 Piazza S. Bernardo.

Bankers.—Cook & Son, 1 Piazza di Spagna; Sebaste & Reale, 20 Piazza di Spagna; Nast-Kolb & Schumacher, 87 Via S. Claudio; Plowden, 166 Piazza S. Claudio; Franz Roesler, 96 Piazza S. Claudio.

Customs.—Everything in regard to Custom duties is now arranged in Rome for the minimum of profit to the State and the maximum of annoyance to travellers. The Italian theory that works of art belong of inherent right to the country where they were created is carried to an excess which is ridiculous. A permission from the Museo is necessary for every article of vertu which a foreigner who has been residing in Rome wishes to remove to his own country; and a heavy duty is charged, even on every broken cup or plate taken out of Italy, to the ruin of the *Antiquarii*, who formerly drove such a flourishing trade in Rome.

For sending Boxes to England.—Lemon, Piazza di Spagna; Franz Roesler, 6A Via Condotti.

For sending out Boxes to Rome.—Pitt & Scott, 23 Cannon Street, London.

Physicians.—Drs. Munthe, 26 Piazza di Spagna; Baccelli, 2 Piazza Campitelli; Erhardt, 23 Piazza di Spagna; Spurway, 22 Bocca di Leone; Charles, 72 Via S. Nicolo da Tolentino.

Homœopathic.—Dr. Liberali, 101 Corso Vittorio Emanuele.

Oculist.—Giuseppe Norsa, 237 Via Nazionale; Krahnstöver, 5 Via Venti Settembre.

Sick Nurses are to be heard of at St. Paul's Home, Via Palestro, where also patients (without infectious disorders) are received and nursed,—a great boon to those taken ill in hotels.

Dentists.—Dr. Curtis, 93 Piazza di Spagna; Dr. Chamberlain, 114 Via Babuino.

Chemists.—Roberts, 36 Piazza Lucina; Sininberghi, 65 Via Condotti, and Borioni, 98 Via Babuino, are usually employed by English visitors; but the Italian chemists' shops in the Corso are as good, and much less expensive. *Homœopathic.*—Aleori, 8 Via Frattina.

House Agents.—Contini, 6 Via Condotti; Toti, 54 Piazza di Spagna.

Orders for Sketching in the Forum, Palace of Cæsars, and other ruins must be obtained (free) at the office of the Ministero, Piazza della Minerva, on the left of the church.

Circulating Library.—Piale, 1 and 2 Piazza di Spagna, has a well-managed

library of 20,000 volumes, and a large assortment of Magazines and Reviews in different languages. All important new works are added on publication. The latest English telegrams are posted, and notices of the 'funzioni' are always to be found here. Miss Wilson, 22 Piazza di Spagna, has a small well-managed library.

Money-Changer.—Carbucci, 88 Piazza di Spagna.

Agencies.—Cook, 2 Piazza di Spagna; Gaze, 10 Piazza di Spagna.

Booksellers.—Piale, Piazza di Spagna; Spithoever, Piazza di Spagna; Loescher, 308 Corso; Bocca, 216 Corso; Paravia, 56 Piazza SS. Apostoli.

Teachers of Italian.—Professor Rosa Vagnozzi, 294 Via Cavour; Mademoiselle Pauloni, Via Aurelia; Signor Genzardi, 16 Via dei Pontefici.

Livery Stables.—Gasperini, Piazza Barberini; Fenini, outside Porta del Popolo; Pieretti (riding-master), Palazzo Rospigliosi.

Photographers.—For Portraits: Suscipi, 7 Via del Quirinale; Le Lieure, 19 Via del Mortaro; Schemboche, 54 Via Mercede; Alinari, 89 Corso. *For Views and Architectural Details:* Moscioni, 76 Via Condotti.

Drawing Materials.—Dovizelli, 136 Via Babuino; Corteselli, 150 Via Sistina. For commoner articles and stationery, Ricci, Piazza S. Claudio.

Engravings.—At the Stamperia Nazionale (fixed prices), 6 Via della Stamperia, near the fountain of Trevi.

Antiquities.—Alessandro Castellani, Via de' Poli; Giacomini, 16 Via Sistina; Noci, 29 Via Fontanella Borghese; Corvisieri, 86 Via Due Macelli; Alserigo, 78 Via Due Macelli.

Bronzes.—Rainaldi, 83 Via Babuino; Nelli, 111 Via Babuino; Boschetti, 73 Via Condotti; Rohrich, 62 Via Due Macelli.

Cameos.—Ciapponi (portraits), 9 Via S. Sebastianello; Saulini, 96 Via Babuino; Neri, 133 Via Babuino; Galant, 9 Piazza di Spagna.

Mosaics.—Rinaldi, 125 Via Babuino; Boschetti, 14 Via Condotti; Roccheggiani, 14 Via Condotti.

Jewellers.—Castellani, Piazza Fontana di Trevi (closed from 12 to 1), very beautiful and very expensive; Tombini, 74 Piazza di Spagna; Negri, 59 Piazza di Spagna; Fasoli, 94 Piazza di Spagna; Tanfani, 166 Corso.

Roman Pearls.—Rey, 122 Via Babuino; Lacchini, 69 Piazza di Spagna.

Engraver (for visiting cards, &c.).—Ricci, 214 Corso.

Tailors.—Segre, 88 Piazza di Trevi; Reanda, 61 Piazza SS. Apostoli; Carpineto, 101 Corso. All indifferent.

Shoemakers.—Jesi, 130 Corso; Berardi, 59 Via della Fontanella Borghese; Baldelli, 102 Corso; Mazzocchi, 48 Via Due Macelli (none good).

Shops for Ladies' Dress.—Bocconi, Corso; Agostini, 207 Via Frattina and 176 Via Nazionale; Pontecorvo, 170 Corso; Mezzi, 91 Via Frattina; Delfina Coda, 155 Corso; Sebastianini, 61 Via Condotti; Giovannetti, 50 to 53 Campo-Marzo; 'Old England,' entrance of Via Nazionale from Piazza Venezia.

Hairdressers.—Lancia, 138 Via Nazionale; Giardinieri, 234 Corso; Pasquali, 11 Via Condotti.

Roman Ribbons and Shawls.—Bianchi, 82 Via della Minerva; Fontana, 117 Via Babuino; 69 Piazza di Spagna.

Gloves.—Ugolini, 56 Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina; Nerola, 142 Corso.

Carpets and small Household Articles.—Cagiati, 250 Corso.

German Baker.—Valan, 98 Via Babuino; Colalucci, 94 Via Babuino.

Grocers (also for *Oil and Wood, &c.*).—Luigioni, 70 Piazza di Spagna; Casoni, 32 Piazza di Spagna.

English Dairy.—Palmegiani, 66 Piazza di Spagna.

Pastrycooks.—Giuliani, 76 Via Nazionale; Romazzetti, 195 Via Nazionale.

Beggars.—The streets of Rome, more than those of any other Italian city, now swarm with beggars of every grade, who persecute foreigners even in the churches. Scarcely one in a hundred beggars deserves help; but theirs is a most flourishing trade, and if any one watches a beggar on a hill from a window, it will be seen that he earns—during the season—an average of two lire an hour. Maimed limbs and borrowed children are everywhere exhibited with impunity. It is better never to give anything to a professional beggar. 'I poveri vergognosi' are those in real need; amongst the lower-upper and middle classes, who are ashamed to beg, there is often very terrible distress.

Artists' Studios.—

Aerni, Campagna scenes, 72 Via S. Niccolò da Tolentino.
Aureli, 48 Via Margutta.
Bompiani, 504 Corso.
*Carlandi, Onorato, landscapes—one of the best water-colour artists in Europe,—2 to 5 on Thursdays, 33 Via Margutta. Gives lessons.
Coleman, Enrico, landscapes and animals, 33 Via Margutta.
Corelli, Augusto, figure subjects in water-colours, 44 Via Flaminia.
Corrodi, 8 Via degli Incurabile.
Costa, Prof. Nino, portraits and landscapes, 33 Via Margutta.
Ferrari, Giuseppe, figures and portraits in water-colours, 55A Via Margutta.
*Franz Roesler, Ettore—admirable in water-colours—96 S. Claudio.
Haseltine, J. H., Palazzo Altieri.
*Joris, Pio—admirable for figure subjects—46 Via Flaminia.
Meadows, Miss, portraits, 12 Corso.
*Da Pozzo, admirable for portraits in oil and pastel, 13 Vicolo S. Nicolo da Tolentino. Ladies' class three times a week.
Raggi, Giuseppe, landscapes and animals, 110 Via Palestro.
Rossi-Scotti, Lemmo, landscapes and figures, 33 Via Margutta.
Serra, 56 Via Babuino.
Siemiradtski, Prof., large oil compositions, 1 Via Gaeta.

Sculptors' Studios.—

Dies, 154 Via Quattro Fontane.
Ezechiel, 18 Piazza dei Termini.
Fabj Altini, 51 Corso.
Ferrari, Ettore, monumental works, 10 Via Privata, Porta Salara.
*Kopf, 54 Via Margutta.
*Monteverde, 8 Piazza dell' Indipendenza.
Rosa, Prof. Ercole, 37 Via Ripetta.
Russo, 39 Via Flaminia.
Simmons, 73 Via S. Nicolo di Tolentino.
*Story, Waldo, 7 Via S. Martino.

It is impossible for a traveller who spends only a week or ten days in Rome to see a tenth part of the sights which it contains. Perhaps the most important objects are:—

Churches.—S. Peter's, S. John Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, S. Agnese fuori le Mura, Ara Coeli, S. Clemente, S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Sabina, S. Prassede and S. Pudentiana, S. Gregorio, S. Stefano Rotondo, S. Maria sopra Minerva, S. Maria del Popolo.

Palaces.—Vatican, Capitol, Barberini, and if possible, Corsini, Colonna, Doria, Rospigliosi, and Spada.

Villas.—Doria, Borghese.

Ruins.—Palace of the Cæsars, Temples in Forum, Coliseum, and if possible, the ruins in the former Ghetto and the Baths of Caracalla.

It is desirable for the traveller who is pressed for time to apply at once to his banker for orders for any sights for which they

are necessary at the time. The following scheme will give a good general idea of Rome and its neighbourhood in a few days. The sights printed in italics can only be seen on the days to which they are ascribed :—

Monday.—General view of Capitol, Gallery of Sculptures, Ara Coeli, General view of Forum, Coliseum, S. John Lateran (with cloisters), and drive out to the Via Latina and the aqueducts at Tavolato.

Tuesday.—Morning : S. Peter's and the Vatican Stanze and Pinacoteca. Afternoon : *Villa Albani* (if open), S. Agnese, and drive to the Ponte Nomentano.

Wednesday.—Morning : S. Prassede, S. Pudentiana, S. Maria Maggiore. Afternoon : S. Sabina, Priorato Garden, English Cemetery, S. Paolo, and the Tre Fontane.

Thursday.—Morning : Palace of the Cæsars. Afternoon : drive on the Via Appia as far as Torre Mezza Strada ; in returning, see the Baths of Caracalla.

Friday.—Morning : Palazzo Spada, the Temple of Vesta, cross the Tiber to S. Cecilia ; and end in the afternoon at S. Pietro in Montorio and the *Villa Doria* (or on Monday).

Saturday.—Frascati and Albano. Drive to Frascati early, take donkeys, by Rocca di Papa, to Monte Cavo ; take luncheon at the Temple, and return by Palazzuolo and the upper and lower Galleries to Albano, whither the carriage should be sent on to wait at the Hotel de la Poste. Drive back to Rome in the evening.

Sunday.—Morning : S. Maria del Popolo after English Church. Afternoon : S. Peter's again ; drive to Monte Mario (Villa Madama), or in the Villa Borghese, and end with the Pincio and Trinità de' Monti.

2nd Monday.—Go to Tivoli (the Cascades, Cascatelle, and Villa d'Este).

2nd Tuesday.—Morning : Vatican Sculptures. Afternoon : S. Gregorio, S. Stefano Rotondo, S. Clemente, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria degli Angeli, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, and drive out to the Torre dei Schiavi, returning by the Porta Maggiore.

2nd Wednesday.—Morning : Palazzo Barberini, *Palazzo Rospigliosi*, and *Colonna Gardens*. Afternoon : Forum in detail, SS. Cosmo e Damiano, and ascend the Coliseum.

2nd Thursday.—Morning : The Sistine Chapel, S. Onofrio, and the Passeggiata Margherita. Afternoon : The Pictures at the Villa Borghese.

The following list may be useful as a guide to some of the best subjects for artists who wish to draw at Rome, and have not much time to search for themselves. Many of these spots, however, have lost the great beauty which distinguished them before the Sardinian occupation. Many, mentioned in earlier editions of these volumes, are utterly destroyed.

Morning Light :

Arch of Constantine from the Coliseum (early).
Coliseum from behind S. Francesca Romana (early).
Views from the Palace of Severus.
Arch of Septimius Severus, Foro Romano.
In the Garden of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.
In the Garden of S. Buonaventura.
In the Colonna Gardens.
From the door of the Villa Medici.
Courtyard behind the Tor di Nona.
At S. Cosimato (much spoilt).

The back entrance of Ara Coeli (early).
From the back entrance of Ara Coeli.
Fountain, Piazza S. Pietro.
Courtyard near the Fontana Tartarughe.
Looking to the Arch of Titus up the Via Sacra.
In the Cloister of the Lateran.
At S. Cesareo.
Porta S. Sebastiano (inner view).
Porta Latina.
Near the Temple of Bacchus.
On the Via Appia, beyond Cecilia Metella.
Torre Mezza Strada, on the Via Appia.
Ponte Nomentano, looking to the Mons Sacer (injured).
Torre dei Schiavi, looking towards Tivoli.
Aqueducts at Tavolato.

Evening Light:

From the Terrace of the Villa Doria (S. Peter's).
On the Palace of Domitian—looking to S. Balbina (injured).
On the Palace of Caligula—looking to the Coliseum (injured).
Apse of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.
Garden of the Villa Mattei.
Garden of the Priorato.
In the Villa Borghese—several subjects.
Cloister, S. Cosimato.
Torre dei Schiavi, looking towards Rome.
Via Latina, looking towards the Aqueducts.
Via Latina, looking towards Rome.
Towers of Cerbara and Cervaletto.
On Via Appia, beyond Cecilia Metella.

The months of November and December are the best for drawing. The colouring is then magnificent; it is enhanced by the tints of the decaying vegetation, and the shadows are strong and clear. January is generally cold for sitting out, and February wet; and before the end of March the vegetation is often so far advanced that the Alban Hills, which have retained glorious sapphire and amethyst tints all winter, change into commonplace green English downs; while the Campagna, from the crimson and gold of its dying thistles and finochii, becomes a lovely green plain waving with flowers.

Foreigners are much too apt to follow the native custom of driving constantly in the Villa Borghese, the Villa Doria, and on the Pincio, and getting out to walk there during their drives. For those who do not care always to see the human world, a delightful variety of drives can be found; and it is a most agreeable plan for invalids, without carriages of their own, to take a 'course' to the Parco di San Gregorio, or the Passeggiata Margherita, and walk there instead of on the Pincio. A carriage for the return may always be found at the Coliseum or in the Trastevere.

CHAPTER II

THE CORSO AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

The Piazza del Popolo—Obelisk—S. Maria del Popolo—(The Pincio—Villa Medici—Trinità de' Monti)—(Via Babuino—Via Margutta—Piazza di Spagna—Propaganda)—(Via Ripetta—SS. Rocco e Martino—S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni)—S. Giacomo degli Incurabili—Via Vittoria—Mausoleum of Augustus—S. Carlo in Corso—Via Condotti—Palazzo Borghese—Palazzo Ruspoli—S. Lorenzo in Lucina—S. Silvestro in Capite—S. Andrea delle Fratte—Palazzo Chigi—Piazza Colonna—Palace and Obelisk of Monte Citorio—Temple of Neptune—Fountain of Trevi—Palazzo Poli—Palazzo Sciarra—The Caravita—S. Ignazio—S. Marcello—S. Maria in Via Lata—Palazzo Doria Pamfili—Palazzo Salviati—Palazzo Odescalchi—Palazzo Colonna—Church of SS. Apostoli—Palazzo Savorelli—Palazzo Bonaparte—Palazzo di Venezia—Palazzo Torlonia—Ripresa de Barberi—S. Marco—Church of Il Gesù—Palazzo Altieri.

THE first object of every traveller will naturally be to reach the Capitol, and look down thence upon ancient Rome; but as he will go down the Corso to do this, and must daily pass most of its surrounding buildings, we will first speak of those objects which will, ere long, become the most familiar.

A stranger's first lesson in Roman topography should be learnt standing in the **Piazza del Popolo**, whence three streets branch off—the Corso, in the centre, leading towards the Capitol, beyond which lies ancient Rome; the Babuino, on the left, leading to the Piazza di Spagna and the English quarter; the Ripetta, on the right, leading to the Castle of S. Angelo and S. Peter's. The scene is one well known from pictures and engravings. The space between the streets is occupied by twin churches, erected by Cardinal Gastaldi.

'Les deux églises élevées à la Place du Peuple par le Cardinal Gastaldi à l'entrée du Corso, sont d'un effet médiocre. Comment un cardinal n'a-t-il pas senti qu'il ne faut pas élever une église poure *faire pendant* à quelque chose? C'est ravaler la majesté divine.'—*Stendhal*, i. 172.

These churches are believed to occupy the site of the magnificent tomb of Sulla, who died at Puteoli B.C. 82, but was honoured at Rome with a public funeral, at which the patrician ladies burnt masses of incense and perfumes on his funeral pyre.

The **Obelisk** of the Piazza del Popolo was placed on this site by Sixtus V. in 1589, but was originally brought to Rome and erected in honour of Apollo by the Emperor Augustus.

'Apollo was the patron of the spot which had given a name to the great victory of Actium; Apollo himself, it was proclaimed, had fought for Rome and for Octavius on that auspicious day; the same Apollo, the Sun-god, had shud-

dered in his bright career at the murder of the Dictator, and terrified the nations by the eclipse of his divine countenance.' . . . Therefore, 'besides building a temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill, the Emperor Augustus sought to honour him by transplanting to the Circus Maximus, the sports of which were under his special protection, an obelisk from Heliopolis, in Egypt. This flame-shaped column was a symbol of the sun, and originally bore a blazing orb upon its summit. It is interesting to trace an intelligible motive for the first introduction into Europe of these grotesque and unsightly monuments of Eastern superstition.'—*Merivale*, '*Hist. of the Romans.*'

'This red granite obelisk, oldest of things, even in Rome, rises in the centre of the piazza, with a fourfold fountain at its base. All Roman works and ruins (whether of the empire, the far-off republic, or the still more distant kings) assume a transient, a visionary and impalpable character when we think that this indestructible monument supplied one of the recollections which Moses and the Israelites bore from Egypt into the desert. Perchance, on beholding the cloudy pillar and fiery column, they whispered awe-stricken to one another, "In its shape it is like that old obelisk which we and our fathers have so often seen on the borders of the Nile." And now that very obelisk, with hardly a trace of decay upon it, is the first thing that the modern traveller sees after entering the Flaminian Gate.'—*Hawthorne's 'Transformation.'*

It was on the left of the piazza, at the foot of what was even then called 'the Hill of Gardens,' that Nero was buried (A.D. 68).

'When Nero was dead, his nurse Ecloge, with Alexandra and Acte, the famous concubine, having wrapped his remains in rich white stuff, embroidered with gold, deposited them in the Domitian monument, which is seen in the Campus Martius, under the Hill of Gardens. The tomb was of porphyry, having an altar of Luna marble, surrounded by a balustrade of Thasos marble.'—*Suetonius.*

Church tradition tells that from the tomb of Nero afterwards grew a gigantic walnut-tree, which became the resort of innumerable crows—so numerous as to become quite a pest to the neighbourhood. In the eleventh century, Pope Paschal II. dreamt that these crows were demons, and that the Blessed Virgin commanded him to cut down and burn the tree ('albero malnato'), and build a sanctuary to her honour in its place. A church was then built by means of a collection amongst the common people; hence the name which it still retains of 'S. Mary of the People.'

S. Maria del Popolo was rebuilt by Baccio Pintelli for Sixtus IV. in 1480. As the favourite burial-place of the Rovere family, it became a museum of renaissance art. It was modernised by Bernini for Alexander VII. (Fabio Chigi, 1655–67), of whom it was the family burial-place, but it still retains many fragments of beautiful fifteenth-century work (the principal door of the nave is a fine example of this); and its interior is a perfect museum of sculpture and painting. Here Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of Pope Alexander VI., returned public thanks, at the age of twenty-two, for her betrothal to her third husband, Alfonso d'Este.

Entering the church by the west door, and following the right aisle, the first chapel (Venuti, formerly della Rovere[1]) is adorned with exquisite paintings by *Pinturicchio.* Over the altar is the Nativity (one of the most beautiful frescoes in the city); in the

[1] Observe here and elsewhere the arms of the Della Rovere—an oak tree. Robur, an oak,—hence Rovere.

lunettes are scenes from the life of S. Jerome. Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere, who built this chapel and dedicated it to 'the Virgin and S. Jerome,' is buried on the left, in a grand fifteenth-century tomb; on the right is the monument of Cardinal di Castro. Both of these tombs and many others in this church have interesting and greatly varied lunettes of the Virgin and Child.

The second chapel, of the Cibo family, rich in pillars of nero-antico and jasper, has an altar-piece representing the Assumption of the Virgin, by *Carlo Maratta*. In the cupola is the Almighty, surrounded by the heavenly host.[1]

The third chapel is the oratory erected by Giovanni della Rovere, Duke of Sora and Sinigaglia, for his burial-place, and decorated after his death by Pinturicchio, for his brother Domenico. Over the altar are the Madonna and four saints; above, God the Father, surrounded by angels. In the other lunettes, scenes in the life of the Virgin: that of the Virgin studying in the Temple, a very rare subject, is especially beautiful. In a frieze round the lower part of the wall is a series of martyrdoms in grisaille. On the right is the tomb of Giovanni della Rovere, ob. 1485. On the left is a fine sleeping bronze figure of a bishop, unknown.

The fourth chapel has a fine fifteenth-century altar-relief of S. Catherine between S. Anthony of Padua and S. Vincent. On the right is the tomb of Marc-Antonio Albertoni, ob. 1485; on the left, that of Cardinal Costa, of Lisbon, ob. 1508, erected in his lifetime. In this tomb is an especially beautiful lunette of the Virgin adored by angels.

Entering the right transept, on the right is the tomb of Cardinal Podocantharus of Cyprus, a very fine specimen of fifteenth-century work. A door near this leads into a cloister, where is preserved, over a door, the gothic altar-piece of the church of Sixtus IV., representing the Coronation of the Virgin, and two fine tombs—Archbishop Rocca, ob. 1482, and Bishop Gomiel.

The choir (shown when there is no service) has a ceiling by *Pinturicchio*, painted for Giuliano della Rovere. In the centre are the Virgin and Saviour, surrounded by the Evangelists and Sibyls; in the corners, the Fathers of the Church—Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. Beneath are the tombs of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza and Cardinal Girolamo Basso, nephews of Sixtus IV. (Francesco della Rovere), beautiful works of *Andrea di Sansovino*. These tombs were erected at the expense of Julius II., himself a Della Rovere, who also gave the windows, painted by *Claude* and *Guillaume de Marseilles*, the only good specimens of stained glass in Rome. Vasari regards the figure of Temperance, over one of the tombs, as 'something quite divine, and possessing to perfection the spirit of the antique.'

The high-altar is surmounted by a miraculous image of the Virgin,

[1] The beautiful fifteenth-century tomb of Cardinal Cibo, adorned with statuettes of four virgin saints, and used as the reredos of an altar at S. Cosimato in Trastevere, was brought from this chapel.

inscribed, 'Tu honorificentia populi nostri,' which was placed in this church by Gregory IX., and which, having been 'successfully invoked' by Gregory XIII., in the great plague of 1578, was, till 1870, annually adored by the Pope of the period, who prostrated himself before it upon the 8th of September. The chapel on the left of this has an Assumption, by *Annibale Caracci.*

In the left transept is the tomb of Cardinal Bernardino Lonati, with a fine fifteenth-century relief of the Resurrection.

Returning by the left aisle, the last chapel but one is that of the Chigi family, in which the famous banker, Agostino Chigi (who built the Farnesina), is buried, and in which *Raffaelle* is represented at once as an architect, a painter, and a sculptor. He planned the chapel itself; he drew the strange design of the mosaic on the ceiling (carried out by *Aloisio della Pace*), which represents an extraordinary mixture of Paganism and Christianity—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn (as the planets), conducted by angels, being represented with and surrounding Jehovah; and he modelled the beautiful statue of Jonah seated on the whale, which was sculptured in the marble by *Lorenzetto.* The same artist sculptured the figure of Elijah—those of Daniel and Habbakuk being by *Bernini.* It is interesting to mark that, in the figure of Jonah, *Raffaelle* departed from the prophetic ideal of a bearded figure in a mantle, and took as his model the beautiful nude figure of the youthful Antinous, who gave himself up to a voluntary death by water for his master and the State, as Jonah for the vessel and its crew.[1] The figure was sculptured from marble plundered from the temple of Castor and Pollux. The altar-piece of the chapel, representing the Nativity of the Virgin, is a fine work of *Sebastiano del Piombo,* who is buried in this church, near which he lived, and died of a fever, June 1547. He (Sebastiano Luciani) had received the sinecure office of the Piombi from Clement VII. in 1531. On the pier adjoining this chapel is the strange monument by *Posi* (1771) of a Princess Odescalchi Chigi, who died in childbirth, at the age of twenty, erected by her husband, who describes himself 'in solitudine et luctu superstes.'

The last chapel contains two fine fifteenth-century ciboria, and the tomb of Cardinal Antonio Pallavicini, 1507.

On the left of the principal entrance is the remarkable monument of Gio. Batt. Gislenus, the companion and friend of Casimir I. of Poland (ob. 1670). At the top is his portrait while living, inscribed 'Neque hic vivus;' then a medallion of a chrysalis, 'In nidulo meo moriar;' opposite to which is a medallion of a butterfly emerging, 'Ut Phoenix multiplicabo dies;' below is a hideous skeleton of giallo antico in a white marble winding-sheet, 'Neque hic mortuus.'

> 'Non v' accorgete voi che noi siam vermi
> Nati a formar l' angelica farfalla
> Che vola alla giustizia senza schermi?'
> —*Dante, Purg.* x. 124.

[1] See Viktor Rydberg's *Roman Days.*

Martin Luther 'often spoke of death as the Christian's true birth, and this life as but a growing into the chrysalis-shell, in which the spirit lives till its being is developed, and it bursts the shell, casts off the web, struggles into life, spreads its wings, and soars up to God.'

The Augustine Convent adjoining this church was the residence of Luther while he was in Rome. Here he celebrated mass immediately on his arrival, after he had prostrated himself upon the earth, saying, 'Hail, sacred Rome! thrice sacred for the blood of the martyrs shed here!' Here, also, he celebrated mass for the last time before he departed from Rome, to become the most terrible of her enemies.

'Lui, pauvre écolier, élevé si durement, qui souvent, pendant son enfance, n'avait pour oreiller qu'une dalle froide, il passe devant des temples tout de marbre, devant des colonnes d'albâtre, de gigantesques obélisques de granite, des fontaines jaillissantes, des *villas* fraîches et embellies de jardins, de fleurs, de cascades et de grottes. Veut-il prier? Il entre dans une église qui lui semble un monde véritable, où les diamants scintillent sur l'autel, l'or aux soffites, le marbre aux colonnes, la mosaïque aux chapelles, au lieu d'un de ces temples rustiques qui n'ont dans sa patrie pour tout ornement que quelques roses qu'une main pieuse va déposer sur l'autel le jour du dimanche. Est-il fatigué de la route? il trouve sur son chemin, non plus un modeste banc de bois, mais un siège d'albâtre antique récemment déterré. Cherche-t-il une sainte image? il n'aperçoit que des fantaisies païennes, des divinités olympiques, Apollon, Vénus, Mars, Jupiter, auxquelles travaillent mille mains de sculpteurs. De toutes ces merveilles, il ne comprit rien, il ne vit rien. Aucun rayon de la couronne de Raphaël, de Michel Ange, n'éblouit ses regards; il resta froid et muet devant tous les trésors de peinture et de sculpture rassemblés dans les églises; son oreille fut fermée aux chants du Dante, que le peuple répétait autour de lui. Il était entré à Rome en pélerin, il en sort comme Coriolan, et s'écrie avec Bembo: "Adieu, Rome, que doit fuir quiconque veut vivre saintement! Adieu, ville où tout est permis, excepté d'être homme de bien." '—*Audin*, '*Histoire de Luther*,' c. ii.

It was in front of this church that the cardinals and magnates of Rome met to receive the apostate Christina of Sweden upon her entrance into the city.

On the left side of the piazza rises the Pincio, which derives its name from the Pinci family, who had a magnificent palace there. The terraces are adorned with rostral-columns, statues, and marble bas-reliefs, interspersed with cypresses and pines. A winding road, lined with mimosas and other flowering shrubs, leads to the upper platform, now laid out in public drives and gardens, but, till c. 1840, a deserted waste, where the ghost of Nero was believed to wander in the Middle Ages.

From the platform of the Pincio terrace the Eternal City is seen spread at our feet, and beyond it the wide-spreading Campagna, till a silver line marks the sea melting into the horizon beyond Ostia. All these churches and tall palace roofs become more than mere names in the course of the winter, but at first all is bewilderment. Two great buildings alone arrest the attention.

'Westward beyond the Tiber is the Castle of S. Angelo, the immense tomb of a pagan emperor, with the archangel on its summit. . . . Still farther off, a mighty pile of buildings, surrounded by a vast dome, which all of us have shaped

and swelled outward, like a huge bubble, to the utmost scope of our imaginations long before we see it floating over the worship of the city. At any nearer view the grandeur of S. Peter's hides itself behind the immensity of its separate parts, so that we only see the front, only the sides, only the pillared length and loftiness of the portico, and not the mighty whole. But at this distance the entire outline of the world's cathedral, as well as that of the palace of the world's chief priest, is taken in at once. In such remoteness, moreover, the imagination is not debarred from rendering its assistance, even while we have the reality before our eyes, and helping the weakness of human sense to do justice to so grand an object. It requires both faith and fancy to enable us to feel, what is nevertheless so true, that yonder, in front of the purple outline of the hills, is the grandest edifice ever built by man, painted against God's loveliest sky.'—*Hawthorne.*

Since 1880 the long lines and tender green of the Prati Cincinnati, which up to that time extended from S. Peter's to the then noble cypresses of the Porta del Popolo, have been effaced, and the most interesting view in the world has been spoilt by the erection of a succession of hideous stuccoed buildings in the worst style of Chicago, and a straight road of unparalleled ugliness. Every afternoon, except Friday, the band plays on the Pincio, when immense crowds often collect, showing every phase of Roman life. It is on Sunday especially that the terrace may be seen in what Miss Thackeray calls 'a fashionable halo of sunset and pink parasols;' but all begin to disperse as the Ave-Maria bell rings from the churches, either to descend into the city, or to hear Benediction sung by the nuns in the Trinità de' Monti.

'When the fashionable hour of rendezvous arrives, the same spot, which a few minutes before was immersed in silence and solitude, changes as it were with the rapidity of a scene in a pantomime to an animated panorama. The scene is rendered not a little ludicrous by the miniature representation of the Ring in Hyde Park in a small compass. An entire revolution of the carriage-drive is performed in the short period of three minutes as near as may be, and the perpetual occurrence of the same physiognomies and the same carriages trotting round and round for two successive hours, necessarily reminds one of the proceedings of a country fair, and children whirling in a roundabout.'—*Sir G. Head's 'Tour in Rome.'*

'"The Pincian Hill" is the favourite promenade of the Roman aristocracy. At the present day, however, like most other Roman possessions, it belongs less to the native inhabitants than to the barbarians from Gaul, Great Britain, and beyond the sea, who have established a peaceful usurpation over all that is enjoyable or memorable in the Eternal City. These foreign guests are indeed ungrateful if they do not breathe a prayer for Pope Clement, or whatever Holy Father it may have been, who levelled the summit of the mount so skilfully, and bounded it with the parapet of the city wall; who laid out those broad walks and drives, and overhung them with the shade of many kinds of trees; who scattered the flowers of all seasons, and of every clime, abundantly over those smooth central lawns; who scooped out hollows in fit places, and, setting great basons of marble in them, caused ever-gushing fountains to fill them to the brim; who reared up the immemorial obelisk out of the soil that had long hidden it; who placed pedestals along the borders of the avenues, and covered them with busts of that multitude of worthies—statesmen, heroes, artists, men of letters and of song—whom the whole world claims as its chief ornaments though Italy has produced them all. In a word, the Pincian garden is one of the things that reconcile the stranger (since he fully appreciates the enjoyment, and feels nothing of the cost) to the rule of an irresponsible dynasty of Holy Fathers, who seem to have arrived at making life as agreeable an affair as it could well be.

'Here sits (drooping upon some marble bench in the treacherous sunshine) the consumptive girl, whose friends have brought her, for a cure, into a climate that instils poison into its very purest breath. Here, all day, come nurserymaids, burdened with rosy English babies, or guiding the footsteps of little travellers from the far western world. Here, in the sunny afternoon, roll and rumble all kinds of carriages, from the cardinal's old-fashioned and gorgeous purple carriage to the gay barouche of modern date. Here horsemen gallop on thoroughbred steeds. Here, in short, all the transitory population of Rome, the world's great watering-place, rides, drives, or promenades; here are beautiful sunsets; and here, whichever way you turn your eyes, are scenes as well worth gazing at, both in themselves and for their historical interest, as any that the sun ever rose and set upon. Here, too, on certain afternoons in the week, a military band flings out rich music over the poor old city, flooding her with strains as loud as those of her own echoless triumphs.'—*Hawthorne.*

'De cette terrasse admirable, très haute, très large, se déroulait une des vues les plus merveilleuses de Rome. Au delà du Tibre, par-dessus le chaos bâtard du nouveau quartier des Prés du Château, se dressait Saint-Pierre, entre les verdures du mont Mario et du Janicule. Puis, c'était à gauche toute la vieille ville, une étendue de toits sans bornes, une mer roulante d'édifices, à perte de vue. Mais les regards, toujours, revenaient à Saint-Pierre, trônant dans l'azur, d'une grandeur pure et souveraine, et de la terrasse, au fond du ciel immense, les lents couchers du soleil, derrière le colosse, étaient sublimes.'—*Zola.*

The garden of the Pincio is very small. It was laid out early in the nineteenth century by Valadier, the hill, till 1812, having been occupied by the Vigna dei Frati del Popolo (Augustinian monks), from which two old umbrella pines remain near the central fountain of Moses. At a crossways is placed an **Obelisk**, brought from Egypt, and which the late discoveries in hieroglyphics show to have been erected there, in the joint names of Hadrian and his empress Sabina, to their beloved Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile A.D. 131. The casino occupies part of the site of the palace of the Anicii, and beneath it is a vast ancient piscina.

From the farthest angle of the garden we look down upon the strange fragment of wall known as the **Muro-Torto**, which, in all the different restorations of the walls, even in that under Pius IX., has never been restored, because it is believed that this corner is under the especial protection of the Apostle Peter, and that he defended it in person during the siege by Vitiges.[1]

'Le Muro-Torto offre un souvenir curieux. On nomme ainsi un pan de muraille qui, avant de faire partie du rempart d'Honorius, avait servi à soutenir la terrasse du jardin de Domitius, et qui, du temps de Bélisaire, était déjà incliné comme il l'est aujourd'hui. Procope raconte que Bélisaire voulait le rebâtir, mais que les Romains l'en empêchèrent, affirmant que ce point n'était pas exposé, parce que Saint Pierre avait promis de le défendre. Procope ajoute: "Personne n'a osé réparer ce mur, et il reste encore dans le même état." Nous pouvons en dire autant que Procope, et le mur, détaché de la colline à laquelle il s'appuyait, reste encore incliné et semble près de tomber. Ce détail du siège de Rome est confirmé par l'aspect singulier du Muro-Torto, qui *semble toujours près de tomber*, et subsiste dans le même état depuis quatorze siècles, comme s'il était soutenu miraculeusement par la main de Saint Pierre. On ne saurait guère trouver pour l'autorité temporelle des papes un meilleur symbole.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 397.

'At the farthest point of the Pincio, you look down from the parapet upon the Muro-Torto, a massive fragment of the oldest Roman wall, which juts over,

[1] Rome has six times been fortified by walls—by Romulus, Servius Tullius, Aurelian, Honorius, Leo IV., and Urban VIII.

as if ready to tumble down by its own weight, yet seems still the most indestructible piece of work that men's hands ever piled together. In the blue distance rise Soracte and other heights, which have gleamed afar, to our imagination, but look scarcely real to our bodily eyes, because being dreamed about so much, they have taken aërial tints which belong only to a dream. These, nevertheless, are the solid framework of hills that shut in Rome and its broad surrounding Campagna: no land of dreams, but the broadest page of history, crowded so full with memorable events that one obliterates another, as if Time had crossed and recrossed his own records till they grew illegible.'—*Hawthorne.*

A votive marble tablet recently discovered proves that the Pincio formed part of the famous gardens of the Acilii Glabriones, which also comprised the site of the Villa Medici, the convent and garden of the Trinità, and half the Villa Borghese. This family was famous in Roman history from the time of the battle of Thermopylae, in which the consul Acilius Glabrio (B.C. 191) defeated King Antiochus. His great-grandson, the consul of 67, commander-in-chief in the Mithridatic war, is better known as the praetor urbanus who presided (B.C. 70) over the impeachment of Verres. In imperial times the name of the family appears eleven times in the *fasti consulares.* That members of the family—noblest among the noble, as Herodianus calls them—early embraced Christianity is proved by the discovery of the tomb of Manius Acilius Verus and Acilia Priscilla (son and daughter of Manius Acilius Glabrio), consul A.D. 152, in the Catacomb of Priscilla. The family of Frangipani, celebrated in mediæval history, claimed direct descent from the Anicii.

In early imperial times on the farther part of the hill, beyond the Trinità, was the famous villa of Lucullus, who had gained his enormous wealth as general of the Roman armies in Asia.

'The life of Lucullus was like an ancient comedy, where first we see great actions, both political and military, and afterwards feasts, debauches, races by torchlight, and every kind of frivolous amusement. For among frivolous amusements I cannot but reckon his sumptuous villas, walks, and baths; and still more so the paintings, statues, and other works of art which he collected at immense expense, idly squandering away upon them the vast fortune he amassed in the wars. Insomuch that now, when luxury is so much advanced, the gardens of Lucullus rank with those of the kings, and are esteemed the most magnificent even of these.'—*Plutarch.*

Here, in his Pincian villa, Lucullus gave his celebrated feast to Cicero and Pompey, merely mentioning to a slave beforehand that he should sup in the hall of Apollo, which was understood as a command to prepare all that was most sumptuous. After Lucullus the beautiful villa belonged to Valerius Asiaticus, and in the reign of Claudius was coveted by his third wife, Messalina. She suborned Silius, her son's tutor, to accuse Asiaticus of a licentious life and of corrupting the army.

Being condemned to death, he 'declined the counsel of his friends to starve himself, a course which might leave an interval for the chance of pardon; and after the lofty fashion of the ancient Romans, bathed, perfumed, and supped magnificently, and then opened his veins, and let himself bleed to death. Before dying he inspected the pyre prepared for him in his own gardens, and ordered it to be removed to another spot, that an umbrageous plantation which overhung it might not be injured by the flames.

'As soon as she heard of his death, Messalina took possession of the villa, and held high revel there with her numerous lovers, with the most favoured of whom, Silius, she had actually gone through the religious rites of marriage in the lifetime of the emperor, who was absent at Ostia. But a conspiracy among the freedmen of the royal household informed the emperor of what was taking place, and at last even Claudius was aroused to a sense of her enormities.

'In her suburban palace, Messalina was abandoning herself to voluptuous transports. The season was mid-autumn; the vintage was in full progress, the wine-press was groaning, the ruddy juice was streaming; women girt with scanty fawnskins danced as drunken Bacchanals around her: while she herself, with her hair loose and disordered, brandished the thyrsus in the midst; and Silius by her side, buskined and crowned with ivy, tossed his head to the flaunting strains of Silenus and the Satyrs. Vettius, one, it seems, of the wanton's less fortunate paramours, attended the ceremony, and climbed in merriment a lofty tree in the garden. When asked what he saw, he replied, "an awful storm from Ostia;" and whether there was actually such an appearance, or whether the words were spoken at random, they were accepted afterwards as an omen of the catastrophe which quickly followed.

'For now, in the midst of these wanton orgies, the rumour quickly spread, and swiftly messengers arrived to confirm it, that Claudius knew it all, that Claudius was on his way to Rome, and was coming in anger and vengeance. The lovers part: Silius for the Forum and the tribunals; Messalina for the shade of her gardens on the Pincio, the price of the blood of the murdered Asiaticus. Once the empress attempted to go forth to meet Claudius, taking her children with her, and accompanied by Vibidia, the eldest of the vestal virgins, whom she persuaded to intercede for her; but her enemies prevented her gaining access to her husband; Vibidia was satisfied for the moment by vague promises of a later hearing; and upon the arrival of Claudius in Rome, Silius and the other principal lovers of the empress were put to death. Still Messalina hoped. She had withdrawn again to the gardens of Lucullus, and was there engaged in composing addresses of supplication to her husband, in which her pride and long-accustomed insolence still faintly struggled with her fears. The emperor still paltered with the treason. He had retired to his palace; he had bathed, anointed, and lain down to supper; and, warmed with wine and generous cheer, he had actually despatched a message to the *poor creature*, as he called her, bidding her come the next day and plead her cause before him. But her enemy Narcissus, knowing how easy might be the passage from compassion to love, glided from the chamber, and boldly ordered a tribune and some centurions to go and slay his victim. "Such," he said, "was the emperor's command;" and his word was obeyed without hesitation. Under the direction of the freedman Euodus, the armed men sought the outcast in her gardens, where she lay prostrate on the ground, by the side of her mother Lepida. While their fortunes flourished, dissensions had existed between the two; but now in her last distress, the mother had refused to desert her child, and only strove to nerve her resolution to a voluntary death. "Life," she urged, "is over; nought remains but to look for a decent exit from it." But the soul of the reprobate was corrupted by her vices: she retained no sense of honour; she continued to weep and groan as if hope still existed; when suddenly the doors were burst open, the tribune and his swordsmen appeared before her, and Euodus assailed her, dumb-stricken as she lay, with contumelious and brutal reproaches. Roused at last to the consciousness of her desperate condition, she took a weapon from one of the men's hands and pressed it trembling against her throat and bosom. Still she wanted resolution to give the thrust, and it was by a blow of the tribune's falchion that the horrid deed was finally accomplished. The death of Asiaticus was avenged on the very spot; the hot blood of the wanton smoked on the pavement of his gardens, and stained with a deeper hue the variegated marbles of Lucullus.'—*Merivale, 'Hist. of the Romans under the Empire.*'

From the garden of the Pincio a terraced road (beneath which are the long-closed catacombs of S. Felix) leads to the **Villa Medici**, built for Cardinal Ricci da Montepulciano by Annibale Lippi in 1540, with material taken, in great measure, from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Shortly afterwards it passed into the hands

of the Medici family, and was greatly enlarged by Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici, afterwards Leo XI. In 1801 the Academy for French Art Students, founded by Louis XIV., was established here. The villa contains a fine collection of casts, open every day except Sunday.

Behind the villa, occupying the site of the gardens of the Anicii, is a beautiful **Garden** (which can be visited on Wednesdays and Saturdays by application to the porter). The terrace, which looks down upon the Villa Borghese, is bordered by ancient sarcophagi, and has a colossal statue of Rome. The garden side of the villa has sometimes been ascribed to Michelangelo.

Amongst the statues at the back of the villa is one—between two pillars—to which a head recalling that of the Meleager, of very great beauty and Greek workmanship, has been added. It has been attributed to Scopas, of 4 B.C.

'La plus grande coquetterie de la maison, c'est la façade postérieure. Elle tient son rang parmi les chefs-d'œuvre de la Renaissance. On dirait que l'architecte a épuisé une mine de bas-reliefs grecs et romains pour en tapisser son palais. Le jardin est de la même époque: il date du temps où l'aristocratie romaine professait le plus profond dédain pour les fleurs. On n'y voit que des massifs de verdure, alignés avec un soin scrupuleux. Six pelouses, entourées de haies à hauteur d'appui, s'étendent devant la villa et laissent courir la vue jusqu'au mont Soracte, qui ferme l'horizon. A gauche, quatre fois quatre carrés de gazon s'encadrent dans de hautes murailles de lauriers, de buis gigantesques et de chênes verts. Les murailles se rejoignent au-dessus des allées et les enveloppent d'une ombre fraîche et mystérieuse. A droite, une terrasse d'un style noble encadre un bois du chênes verts, tordus et éventrés par le temps. J'y vais quelquefois travailler à l'ombre; et le merle rivalise avec le rossignol au-dessus de ma tête, comme un beau chantre de village peut rivaliser avec Mario ou Roger. Un peu plus loin, une vigne toute rustique s'étend jusqu'à la porte Pinciana, où Bélisaire a mendié, dit-on. Les jardins petits et grands sont semés de statues d'Hermès, et de marbres de toute sorte. L'eau coule dans des sarcophages antiques ou jaillit dans des vasques de marbre: le marbre et l'eau sont les deux luxes de Rome.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine.*'

'The grounds of the Villa Medici are laid out in the old fashion of straight paths, with borders of box, which form hedges of great height and density, and are shorn and trimmed to the evenness of a wall of stone at the top and sides. There are green alleys, with long vistas, overshadowed by ilex-trees; and at each intersection of the paths the visitor finds seats of lichen-covered stone to repose upon, and marble statues that look forlornly at him, regretful of their lost noses. In the more open portions of the garden, before the sculptured front of the villa, you see fountains and flower-beds; and in their season, a profusion of roses, from which the genial sun of Italy distils a fragrance to be scattered abroad by the no less genial breeze.'—*Hawthorne.*

The clipped walks give a good idea of an ancient Roman garden, in which no tree was allowed to grow in its own way, but was forced by the *topiarius* into a prescribed form, and walls of green bay or box were made with niches, doors, or windows, as in architectural designs.

'Quel merveilleux jardin encore, avec ses buis, ses pins, ses allées de magnificence et de charme! quel refuge de rêverie antique que le très vieux et très noir bois de chênes verts, où, dans le bronze luisant des feuilles, le soleil à son déclin jette des lueurs brasillantes d'or rouge! Il y faut monter par un escalier interminable, et de là-haut, du belvédère qui domine, on possède Rome entière d'un regard, comme si, en élargissant les bras, on allait la prendre toute.'—*Zola*, '*Rome.*'

A second door will admit to the higher terrace of the **Boschetto**; a tiny wood of ancient ilexes, from which a steep flight of steps leads up **Il Parnaso** or the 'Belvidere,' an artificial mound formed on an ancient nympheum by Cardinal Ricci, whence, till the recent destruction of the Villa Ludovisi, a most exquisite view might be obtained.

'They asked the porter for the key of the Bosco, which was given, and they entered a grove of ilexes, whose gloomy shade effectually shut out the radiant sunshine that still illuminated the western sky. They then ascended a long and exceedingly steep flight of steps, leading up to a high mound covered with ilexes. Here both stood still, side by side, gazing silently on the city, where dome and bell-tower stood out against a sky of gold; the desolate Monte Mario and its stone pines rising dark to the right. Behind, close at hand, were sombre ilex woods, amid which rose here and there the spire of a cypress or a ruined arch, and on the highest point, the white Villa Ludovisi; beyond stretched the Campagna, girdled by hills melting into light under the evening sky.'—'*Mademoiselle Mori.*'

From the door of the Villa Medici is the scene familiar to artists, of a fountain shaded by ilexes, which frame a distant view of S. Peter's.

'Je vois (de la Villa Medici) les quatre cinquièmes de la ville; je compte les sept collines, je parcours les rues régulières qui s'étendent entre le cours et la place d'Espagne, je fais le dénombrement des palais, des églises, des dômes, et des clochers; je m'égare dans le Ghetto et dans le Trastévère. Je ne vois pas des ruines autant que j'en voudrais: elles sont ramassées là-bas, sur ma gauche, aux environs du Forum. Cependant nous avons tout près de nous la colonne Antonine et le mausolée d'Adrien. La vue est fermée agréablement par les pins de la villa Pamphili, qui réunissent leurs larges parasols et font comme une table à mille pieds pour un repas de géants. L'horizon fuit à gauche à des distances infinies; la plaine est nue, onduleuse et bleue comme la mer. Mais si je vous mettais en présence d'un spectacle si étendu et si divers, un seul objet attirerait vos regards, un seul frapperait votre attention: vous n'auriez des yeux que pour Saint-Pierre. Son dôme est moitié dans la ville, moitié dans le ciel. Quand j'ouvre ma fenêtre, vers cinq heures du matin, je vois Rome noyée dans les brouillards de la fièvre: seul, le dôme de Saint-Pierre est coloré par la lumière rose du soleil levant.'—*About.*

The terrace ('La Passeggiata') ends at the **Obelisk**[1] **of the Trinità de' Monti**, erected here in 1789 by Pius VI.

'When the Ave Maria sounds, it is time to go to the church of Trinità de' Monti, where French nuns sing; and it is charming to hear them. I declare to heaven that I am become quite tolerant, and listen to bad music with edification; but what can I do? The composition is perfectly ridiculous, the organ-playing even more absurd: but it is twilight, and the whole of the small bright church is filled with persons kneeling, lit up by the sinking sun each time that the door is opened; both the singing nuns have the sweetest voices in the world, quite tender and touching, more especially when one of them sings the responses in her melodious voice, which we are accustomed to hear chaunted by priests in a loud, harsh, monotonous tone. The impression is very singular; moreover, it is well known that no one is permitted to see the fair singers, so this caused me to form a strange resolution. I have composed something to suit their voices, which I have observed very minutely, and I mean to send it to them. It will be pleasant

[1] The obelisk was formerly in the gardens of Sallust on the Quirinal. Faune in 1548 (*Dell' Antichità di Roma*), and Pyrrho Ligori in 1553, saw it lying there. Thence it was removed by Clement XII., in 1735, to the small quadrangle near S. John Lateran, where it was seen still prostrate in 1771 (Rossini, *Il Mercurio Errante*). Pius VI. employed the architect Antinori to erect it in its present position. Its socle remains neglected in the Piazza del Maccao.

to hear my chaunt performed by persons I never saw, especially as they must in turn sing it to the "barbaro Tedesco," whom they also never beheld.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters.*

'In the evenings people go to the Trinità to hear the nuns sing from the organ-gallery. It sounds like the singing of angels. One sees in the choir troops of young scholars, moving with slow and measured steps, with their long white veils, like a flock of spirits.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

The Church of the Trinità de' Monti was built by Charles VIII. of France in 1495, at the request of S. Francesco di Paola. In the time of the French Revolution it was plundered, but was restored by Louis XVIII. in 1817. It contained several interesting paintings.

In the second chapel on the left is the Descent from the Cross, the masterpiece of *Daniele da Volterra*, declared by Nicholas Poussin to be the third picture in the world, but terribly injured by the French in their attempts to remove it.

'We might almost fancy ourselves spectators of the mournful scene,—the Redeemer, while being removed from the cross, gradually sinking down with all that relaxation of limb and utter helplessness which belongs to a dead body; the assistants engaged in their various duties, and thrown into different and contrasted attitudes, intently occupied with the sacred remains which they so reverently gaze upon; the mother of the Lord in a swoon amidst her afflicted companions; the disciple whom He loved standing with outstretched arms, absorbed in contemplating the mysterious spectacle. The truth in the representation of the exposed parts of the body appears to be nature itself. The colouring of the heads and of the whole picture accords precisely with the subject, displaying strength rather than delicacy, a harmony, and in short a degree of skill, of which Michelangelo himself might have been proud, if the picture had been inscribed with his name. And to this I believe the author alluded, when he painted his friend with a looking-glass near, as if to intimate that he might recognise in the picture a reflection of himself.'—*Lanzi.*

'Daniele da Volterra's Descent from the Cross is one of the celebrated pictures of the world, and has very grand features. The body is not skilfully sustained; nevertheless the number of strong men employed about it makes up in sheer muscle for the absence of skill. Here are four ladders against the cross, stalwart figures standing, ascending, and descending upon each, so that the space between the cross and the ground is absolutely alive with magnificent lines. The Virgin lies on one side, and is like a grand creature struck down by a sudden death-blow. She has fallen, like Ananias in Raffaelle's cartoon, with her head bent backwards, and her arm under her. The crown of thorns has been taken from the dead brow, and rests on the end of one of the ladders.'—*Lady Eastlake.*

The third chapel on the right contains an Assumption of the Virgin, another work of *Daniele da Volterra.* The fifth chapel is adorned with frescoes of his school. The sixth has frescoes of the school of *Perugino.* The frescoes in the right transept are by *F. Zuccaro* and *Pierino del Vaga;* in that of the procession of S. Gregory the mausoleum of Hadrian is represented as it appeared in the time of Leo X.

The adjoining **Convent of the Sacré Cœur** is much frequented as a place of education. The nuns are all persons of rank. When a lady takes the veil, her nearest relations inherit her property, except about £1000, which goes to the convent. The nuns—Dames du Sacré Cœur—are allowed to retain no personal property, but if they still wish to have the use of their books, they give them to the convent library. They receive visitors every afternoon, and quantities of people go to them from curiosity, on the plea of seeking advice.

From the Trinità the two popular streets—**Sistina** and **Gregoriana**—branch off; the former leading in a direct line (though the name changes) to S. Maria Maggiore, and thence to S. John Lateran and S. Croce in Gerusalemme. The house adjoining the Trinità was that of Nicholas Poussin; that at the angle of the two streets, called the **Tempietto**, was once inhabited by Claude Lorraine. At the back of it, towards Via Gregoriana, is a curious porch formed by a monster. The adjoining house (64 Sistina)—formerly known as Palazzo della Regina di Polonia, from Maria Casimira, Queen of Poland, who resided there for some years—was inhabited by the Zuccari family, and has paintings on the ground floor by *Federigo Zuccaro*. One of the rooms on the second floor was adorned with frescoes by modern German artists (Overbeck, Schadow, Cornelius, Veit) at the expense of the Prussian Consul Bartholdy, but they were all removed to Germany in 1886. At No. 138 a tablet marks the house where Rossini (1790–1857) lived and wrote.

Behind the Via Sistina is the **Villa Malta**, where, in 1789, the famous Cagliostro held his meetings and practised his so-called miracles of increasing the size of precious stones and turning water into wine.

On the left of the Piazza del Popolo, the **Via Babuino** branches off, deriving its name from a mutilated figure on a fountain halfway down, removed since the fall of the Papal Government, one of the many robberies of street interest to be deplored. On the right is the **English Church**, a feeble work of Street, chiefly erected by the generous exertions of Mrs. Henry Walpole. A few steps farther is the Greek **Church of S. Atanasio**, attached to a college founded by Gregory XIII. in 1580. In No. 144 John Gibson, the sculptor, died, January 27, 1866.

Behind this street is the **Via Margutta**, almost entirely inhabited by artists and sculptors, and which till recently contained the Costume Academy of 'Gigi,' well known through many generations of artists, but recently destroyed. Models are now obtained at the **Circolo degli Artisti**.

'The Via Margutta is a street of studios and stables, crossed at the upper end by a little roofed gallery with a single window, like a shabby Bridge of Sighs. Horses are continually being washed and currycombed outside their stable doors; frequent heaps of *immondezzajo* make the air unfragrant; and the perspective is frequently damaged by rows of linen suspended across the road from window to window. Unsightly as they are, however, these obstacles in no wise affect the popularity of the Via Margutta, either as a residence for the artist or a lounge for the amateur. Fashionable patrons leave their carriages at the corner, and pick their way daintily among the gutters and dust-heaps. A boar-hunt by Vallatti compensates for an unlucky splash; and a Campagna sunset of Desoulavey glows all the richer for the squalor through which it is approached.'—*Barbara's History*.

The **Vicolo d'Aliberti**, which unites the Via Margutta to the Babuino, derives its name from having contained the celebrated Teatro delle Dame, built by M. d'Alibert, equerry to Queen Christina. This was the principal theatre of the eighteenth century, for which

Metastasio wrote his plays, and where the compositions of Porpora, Leo, Durante, Galuppi, Jomelli, &c., were first given to the public.

The Balbuino ends in the ugly but central square of the **Piazza di Spagna,** where many of the best hotels and shops are situated. Every house is let to foreigners. Even in 1580 Montaigne writes of Rome as 'rappiécée d'estrangiers, une ville où chacun prant sa part de l'oisifveté ecclesiastique.' Hence the Trinità is reached by a magnificent flight of steps, which was built by Alessandro Specchi at the expense of a private individual, M. Gueffier, secretary to the French embassy at Rome under Innocent XIII.

'No art-loving visitor to Rome can ever have passed the noble flight of steps which leads from the Piazza di Spagna to the Church of the Trinità de' Monti without longing to transfer to his sketch-book the picturesque groups of models who there spend their day, basking in the beams of the wintry sun, and eating those little boiled beans whose yellow husks bestrew every place where the lower-class Romans congregate—practising, in short, the *dolce far niente*. Beppo, the celebrated lame beggar, is no longer to be seen there, having been banished to the steps of the church of S. Agostino; but there is old Felice, with conical hat, brown cloak, and bagpipes, father of half the models on the steps. He has been seen in an artist's studio in Paris, and is reported to have performed on foot the double journey between Rome and that capital. There are two or three younger men in blue jackets and goatskin breeches; as many women in folded linen head-dresses and red or blue skirts; and a sprinkling of children of both sexes, in costumes the miniature fac-similes of their elders. All these speedily learn to recognise a visitor who is interested in that especial branch of art which is embodied in models, and at every turn in the street such a one is met by the flash of white teeth and the gracious sweetness of an Italian smile.'—*H. M. B.*

'Among what may be called the cubs or minor lions of Rome, there was one that amused me mightily. It is always to be found there; and its den is on the great flight of steps that lead from the Piazza di Spagna to the church of the Trinità de' Monti. In plainer words, these steps are the great place of resort for the artists' "models," and there they are constantly waiting to be hired. The first time I went up there I could not conceive why the faces seemed so familiar to me; why they appeared to have beset me, for years, in every possible variety of action and costume; and how it came to pass that they started up before me, in Rome, in the broad day, like so many saddled and bridled nightmares. I soon found that we had made acquaintance, and improved it, for several years on the walls of various Exhibition Galleries. There is one old gentleman with long white hair and an immense beard, who, to my knowledge, has gone half through the catalogues of the Royal Academy. This is the venerable or patriarchal model. He carries a long staff; and every knob and twist in that staff I have seen, faithfully delineated, innumerable times. There is another man in a blue cloak, who always pretends to be asleep in the sun (when there is any), and who, I need not say, is always very wide awake, and very attentive to the disposition of his legs. This is the *dolce far niente* model. There is another man in a brown cloak, who leans against a wall, with his arms folded in his mantle, and looks out of the corners of his eyes, which are just visible beneath his broad slouched hat. This is the assassin model. There is another man, who constantly looks over his own shoulder, and is always going away, but never goes. This is the haughty or scornful model. As to Domestic Happiness and Holy Families, they should come very cheap, for there are heaps of them, all up the steps; and the cream of the thing is, that they are all the falsest vagabonds in the world, especially made up for the purpose, and having no counterparts in Rome or any other part of the habitable globe.'—*Dickens.*

'Climb these steps when the sun is setting. From a hundred belfries the bells ring for Ave Maria, and there, across the town, and in a blaze of golden glory, stands the great dome of S. Peter's; and from the terrace of the Villa Medici you can see the whole wonderful view, faintly pencilled Soracte far to your right, and below you and around you the City and the Seven Hills.'—*Vera.*

The house on the right of the steps, marked by an inscription, is that in which the poet Keats died, February 24, 1821.

The **Barcaccia** (restored), the fountain at the foot of the steps, executed by *Bernini*, is a stone boat commemorating the naumachia of Domitian—naval battles which took place in an artificial lake surrounded by a kind of theatre, which once occupied the site of this piazza. In front of the **Palazzo di Spagna** (the residence of the Spanish ambassador to the Pope, and where Alfieri triumphed in a magnificent representation of his 'Antigone' under Pius VI.), which gives its name to the square, stands a **Column** of cipollino, supporting a statue of the Virgin, erected by Pius IX. in 1854, in honour of his new dogma of the Immaculate Conception. At the base are figures of Moses, David, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.

The Piazza di Spagna may be considered as the centre of what is called the 'English quarter' of Rome, of which the Corso forms the boundary.

'Every winter there is a gay and pleasant English colony in Rome, of course more or less remarkable for rank, fashion and agreeability, with every varying year. Thrown together every day, and night after night; flocking to the same picture galleries, statue galleries, Pincian drives, and church functions, the English colonists at Rome perforce become intimate, in many cases friendly. They have an English library, where the various meets for the week are placarded: on such a day the Vatican galleries are open; the next is the feast of Saint so-and-so; on Wednesday there will be music and vespers in the Sistine Chapel; on Thursday the Pope will bless the animals—sheep, horses, and what not; and flocks of English accordingly rush to witness the benediction of droves of donkeys. In a word, the ancient city of the Caesars, the august fanes of the Popes, with their splendour and ceremony, are all mapped out and arranged for English diversion.'—*Thackeray.*

The Piazza is closed by the **Collegio di Propaganda Fede**, founded in 1622 by Gregory XV., but enlarged by Urban VIII., who built the present edifice from plans of Bernini. Like all the buildings erected by this Pope, its chief decorations are the bees of the Barberini. The object of the College is the education of youths of all nations as missionaries.

'The origin of the Propaganda is properly to be sought in an edict of Gregory XIII., by which the direction of Eastern missions was confided to a certain number of cardinals, who were commanded to promote the printing of catechisms in the less known tongues. But the institution was not firmly established; it was unprovided with the requisite means, and was by no means comprehensive in its views. It was at the suggestion of the great preacher Girolami da Narni that the idea was first conceived of extending the above-named institution. At his suggestion a congregation was established in all due form, and by this body regular meetings were to be held for the guidance and conduct of missions in every part of the world. The first funds were advanced by Gregory; his nephew contributed from his private property; and since this institution was in fact adapted to a want, the pressure of which was then felt, it increased in prosperity and splendour. Who does not know the services performed by the Propaganda for the diffusion of philosophical studies? and not this only: the institution has generally laboured (in its earliest years, most successfully, perhaps) to fulfil its vocation in a liberal and noble spirit.'—*Ranke*, '*Hist. of the Popes.*'

'On y reçoit des jeunes gens nés dans les pays ultramontains et orientaux, où sont les infidèles et les hérétiques; ils y font leur éducation religieuse et civile, et retournent dans leur pays comme missionnaires pour propager la foi.'—*A. Du Pays.*

'Le collège du Propaganda Fede, où l'on engraisse des missionnaires pour donner à manger aux cannibales. C'est, ma foi, un excellent ragoût pour eux, que deux pères franciscains à la sauce rousse. Le capuchin en daube se mange aussi comme le renard, quand il a été gelé. Il y a à la Propaganda une bibliothèque, une imprimerie fournie de toutes sortes de caractères des langues orientales, et de petits Chinois qu'on y élève ainsi que des alouettes chanterelles, pour en attraper d'autres.'—*De Brosses.*

In January a festival is held here, when speeches are recited by the pupils in all their different languages. The public is admitted by tickets. The printing-office for foreign languages—Tipografia Poliglotta—has long been celebrated. The **Borgia Museum**, on the second floor, is shown free on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. It is like many provincial museums in England, and scarcely worth a visit. An interesting relic, however, is the map of the world, with the line which Alexander VI. drew to mark the division of Spain and Portugal in the Indian discoveries.

In the opposite Piazza Miguanelli, Joseph Mallord Turner spent the winter of 1828-29 at No. 12, and painted there his view of Orvieto and several other pictures—a good-tempered, funny little gentleman, continuously sketching at his window.

The **Via Ripetta** leaves the Piazza del Popolo on the right. A semicircular space on the right of the street presents a lively scene every Saturday at noon, during the drawing of the Roman lottery.

'In the middle of the balcony, on the rail, is fixed a glass barrel, with a handle to turn it round. Behind it stand three or four officials, who have been just now ushered in with a blast from two trumpeters, also stationed in the balcony. Immediately behind the glass barrel itself stands a boy of some twelve or thirteen years, dressed in the white uniform of one of the orphan establishments, with a huge white shovel hat. Some time is occupied by the folding, and putting into the barrel, pieces of paper, inscribed with the numbers, from one upwards. Each of these is proclaimed, as folded and put in, by one of the officials who acts as spokesman or crier. At last, after eighty-seven, eighty-eight, and eighty-nine have been given out, he raises his voice to a chant, and sings forth, *Numero novanta*, "number ninety," this completing the number put in.

'And now, or before this, appears on the balcony another character—no less a person than a Monsignore, who appears, not in his ordinary, but in his more solemn official costume; and this connects the ceremonial directly with the spiritual authority of the realm. And now commences the drawing. The barrel having been for some time turned rapidly round to shuffle the numbers, the orphan takes off his hat, makes the sign of the cross, and having waved his open hand in the air to show that it is empty, inserts it into the barrel, and draws out a number, giving it to the Monsignore, who opens it and hands it to the crier. This latter then proclaims it—"*Prima estratta, numero venti cinque.*" Then the trumpets blow their blast, and the same is repeated four times more, the proclamation each time, *Seconda estratta, Terza, Quarta, Quinta*, &c., five numbers being thus the whole drawn, out of ninety put in. This done, with various expressions of surprise, delight, or disappointment from the crowd below, the officials disappear, the square empties itself, and all is as usual till the next Saturday at the same time. . . .

'In almost every street in Rome are shops devoted to the purchase of lottery tickets. Two numbers purchased with the double chance of those two numbers turning up are called an *ambo*, and three purchased with the treble chance of those three turning up are called a *terno*, and, of course, the higher and more perilous the stake, the richer the prize, if obtained.'—*Alford's Letters from Abroad.*

'Les étrangers qui viennent à Rome commencent par blâmer sévèrement la loterie. Au bout de quelque temps, l'esprit de tolérance qui est dans l'air pénètre peu-à-peu jusqu'au fond de leur cerveau; ils excusent un jeu philanthropique qui fournit au pauvre peuple six jours d'espérances pour cinq sous. Bientôt, pour se rendre compte du mécanisme de la loterie, ils entrent eux-mêmes dans un bureau, en évitant de se laisser voir. Trois mois après, ils poursuivent ouvertement une combinaison savante; ils ont une théorie mathématique qu'ils signeraient volontiers de leur nom; ils donnent des leçons aux nouveaux arrivés; ils érigent le jeu en principe et jurent qu'un homme est impardonnable s'il ne laisse pas une porte ouverte à la Fortune.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine*.'

The Quay of the Ripetta, a graceful construction of Clement XI. in 1707, equally admired by artists and architects, was destroyed by the present Government in 1874, to make way for an ugly iron bridge over the Tiber. The district on the farther side, occupied by fields and gardens till 1883, has since been covered with hideous stucco barracks in the worst possible taste.

'A cette place, autrefois, s'étendaient en terrain plat les prairies du Château Saint-Ange, coupées de peupliers, tout le long du Tibre, jusqu'aux premières pentes du Mont Mario, vastes herbages, aimés des artistes, pour le prémier plan de riante verdure qu'ils faisaient au Borgo et au dôme lointain de Saint-Pierre. Et c'est maintenant, au milieu de cette plaine bouleversée, lépreuse et blanchâtre, une ville entière, une ville de maisons massives, colossales, des cubes de pierres réguliers, tous pareils, avec des rues larges, se coupant à l'angle droit, un immense damier aux cases symétriques. D'un bout à l'autre, les mêmes façades se reproduisent, on aurait dit des séries de couvents, de casernes, d'hôpitaux, dont les lignes identiques se continuent sans fin. Et l'étonnement, l'impression extraordinaire et pénible, vient surtout de la catastrophe, inexplicable d'abord, qui a immobilisé cette ville en pleine construction, comme si, par quelque matin maudit, un magicien de désastre avait, d'un coup de baguette, arrêté les travaux, vidé les chantiers turbulents, laissé les bâtisses telles qu'elles étaient, à cette minute précise, dans un morne abandon. Tous les états successifs se retrouvent, depuis les terrassements, les trous profonds creusés pour les fondations, restés béants et que des herbes folles avaient envahis, jusqu' aux maisons entièrement debout, achevées et habitées. Il y'a des maisons dont les murs sortent à peine du sol; il y'en a d'autres qui atteignent le deuxième, le troisième étage, avec leurs planchers de solières de fer à jour, leurs fenêtres ouvertes sur le ciel; il y'en a d'autres, montées complétement, couvertes de leur toit, telles que les carcasses livrées aux batailles des vents, toutes semblables à des cages vides. Puis c'est des maisons terminées, mais dont on n'a pas eu le temps d'enduire les murs extérieures; et d'autres qui sont demeurées sans boiseries, ni aux portes, ni aux fenêtres; et d'autres qui ont bien leurs portes et leurs persiennes, mais clouées, telles que des couvercles de cercueil, les appartements morts, sans une âme; et d'autres enfin habitées, quelques unes en partie, très-peu totalement, vivantes de la plus inattendue des populations. Rien ne peut rendre l'affreuse tristesse de ces choses.'—*Zola*, '*Rome*.'

The fields which formerly existed here on the site of the Horti Neronis, and of which the long lines formed such a beautiful foreground to the Vatican and S. Peter's, were of historic interest, being the Prata Quinctia of Cincinnatus.

'L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the only hope of the Roman people, lived beyond the Tiber, opposite the place where the Navalia are, where he cultivated the four acres of ground which are now called the Quinctian meadows. There the messengers of the senate found him leaning on his spade, either digging a trench or ploughing, but certainly occupied in some field labour. The salutation, "May it be well with you and the republic," was given and returned in the usual form, and he was requested to put on his toga to receive a message from the senate. Amazed, and asking if anything was wrong, he desired his wife Racilia to fetch his toga from the cottage, and having wiped off the sweat and dust with which he was covered, he came forward dressed in his toga to the messengers, who saluted him as dictator, and congratulated him.'—*Livy*, iii. 26

Here there was an ancient *tragectus*, or ferry, like the *traghetti* of the present day at Venice.

The churches on the left of the Ripetta are, first, **SS. Rocco e Martino**, built 1657, by Antonio de' Rossi, with a hospital adjoining it, admirably managed under the Papal rule.

'The lying-in hospital adjoins the church of San Rocco. It contains seventy beds, furnished with curtains and screens, so as to separate them effectually. Females are admitted without giving their names, their country, or their condition in life; and such is the delicacy observed in their regard, that they are at liberty to wear a veil, so as to remain unknown even to their attendants, in order to save the honour of their families, and prevent abortion, suicide, or infanticide. Even should death ensue, the deceased remains unknown. The children are conveyed to Santo Spirito; and the mother who wishes to retain her offspring, affixes a distinctive mark, by which it may be recognised and recovered. To remove all disquietude from the minds of those who may enter, the establishment is exempt from all civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and its threshold is never crossed except by persons connected with the establishment.'—*Dr. Donovan.*

Then, opposite the bridge, **S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni**, built for Sixtus V. by Fontana. It contains, near the altar, a striking figure of S. Jerome, seated, with a book upon his knees.

In front of this church Niccolò Montenegro, Priore di Sodefoyta, was attacked, and three of his servants killed, by ruffians hired by the famous Donna Olimpia Pamfili; and down this street legend declares that the terrible Olimpia is sometimes borne through the night in a fiery carriage drawn by four headless horses, and vanishes on reaching the Piazza del Popolo.

We will now follow the Corso—once Via Lata (Broad Street)—which, in spite of its narrowness, is the finest street in Rome. It is greatly to be regretted that this street, which is nearly a mile long, should lead to nothing, instead of ending at the steps of the Capitol, which would have produced a striking effect. In 1886 the street was further injured by the wanton destruction of the grand tower of Paul III., which rose at the end of the vista, upon the Capitoline. The Corso follows the line of the ancient Via Flaminia, and in consequence was once spanned by four triumphal arches—of Marcus Aurelius, Domitian, Claudius, and Gordian—but all these have disappeared. The so-called palaces of the Corso are chiefly mere fronts—'facciate con mobilia e quadri dietro.'[1] The street is lined with balconies, which, during the Carnival, are filled with gay groups of maskers flinging confetti. These balconies are a relic of imperial times, having been invented at Rome, where they were originally called 'Moeniana,' from the tribune Moenius, who designed them to accommodate spectators of processions in the streets below.

'The Corso is a street a mile long; a street of shops, and palaces, and private houses, sometimes opening into a broad piazza. There are verandas and balconies, of all shapes and sizes, to almost every house—not on one storey alone, but often to one room or another on every storey—put there in general with so

[1] See Forsyth.

little order or regularity, that if year after year, and season after season, it had rained balconies, hailed balconies, snowed balconies, blown balconies, they could scarcely have come into existence in a more disorderly manner.'—*Dickens.*

Zola's description still applies to afternoons in the Corso.

'C'était la promiscuité en plein air, toute Rome entassée dans le moins de place possible, les gens qui se connaissaient, qui se retrouvaient comme en l'intimité d'un salon, les gens qui se ne parlaient pas, des mondes les plus adverses, mais qui se coudoyaient, qui se fouillaient du regard, jusqu'a l'âme. Justement, le plaisir était là, dans l'étroitesse de la voie, dans ce coudoiement forcé, qui permettait aux rencontres attendues, les curiosités satisfaites, l'étalage des vanités heureuses, les provisions des commérages sans fin. La ville entiére s'y revoyait chaque jour, s'étalait, s'épiait, se donnait son spectacle à elle-même, brulée d'un tel besoin, indispensable à la longue, de se voir ainsi, qu'un homme bien né qui manquait le Corso, était un homme dépaysé, sans journaux.'

On the left of the Corso is the Augustine church of **Gesù e Maria,** with a façade by *Rinaldi.* Almost opposite is the church of **S. Giacomo degli Incurabili,** by *Carlo Maderno.* It is attached to a surgical hospital for 350 patients. In the adjoining Strada S. Giacomo was the studio of Canova, recognisable by fragments of bas-reliefs engrafted in its walls.

Three streets beyond this (on right) is the **Via de' Pontefici** (so called from a series of papal portraits, now destroyed, which formerly existed on the walls of one of its houses), where (No. 57 R.) is the entrance to the remains of the **Mausoleum of Augustus** (Teatro Correa).

'Hard by the banks of the Tiber, in the grassy meadows where the Roman youths met in athletic and martial exercises, there rose a lofty marble tower with three retiring stages, each of which had its terrace covered with earth and planted with cypresses. These stages were pierced with numerous chambers, destined to receive, row within row, and storey upon storey, the remains of every member of the imperial family, with many thousands of their slaves and freedmen. In the centre of that massive mound the great founder of the empire was to sleep his last sleep, while his statue was ordained to rise conspicuous on its summit, and satiate its everlasting gaze with the view of his beloved city.'—*Merivale.*

The first funeral here was that of **Marcellus,** son of **Octavia,** the sister of Augustus, and first husband of his daughter Julia; he died of malaria at Baiae, B.C. 23.

'Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!
Nec puer Iliacâ quisquam de gente Latinos
In tantum spe tollet avos; nec Romula quondam
Ullo se tantum tellus jactabit alumno.
Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello
Dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
Obvius armato, seu quum pedes iret in hostem,
Seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
Heu, miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris.'

—*Aeneid,* vi. 873.

The next member of the family buried here was **Agrippa,** the second husband of Julia, ob. 12 B.C. Then came **Octavia,** sister of the Emperor and widow of Antony, honoured by a public funeral, at which orations were delivered by Augustus himself, and **Drusus,**

son of the Empress Livia. Her body was carried to the tomb by Tiberius (afterwards emperor) and Drusus, the two sons of the empress. Drusus (9 B.C.) died in a German campaign by a fall from his horse, and was brought back hither for interment. In A.D. 14 the great Augustus died at Nola, and his body was burnt here on a funeral pile so gigantic, that the widowed Livia, dishevelled and ungirt, with bare feet, attended by the principal Roman senators, had to watch it for five days and nights, before it cooled sufficiently for them to collect the ashes of the emperor. At the moment of its being lighted an eagle was let loose from the summit of the pyre, under which form a senator named Numerius Atticus was induced, by a gift from Livia equivalent to 250,000 francs, to swear that he saw the spirit of Augustus fly away to heaven. Then came Germanicus, son of the first Drusus, and nephew of Tiberius, ob. A.D. 19, at Antioch, where he was believed to have been poisoned by Piso and his wife Plancina. Then, in A.D. 23, Drusus, son of Tiberius, poisoned by his wife Livilla, and her lover Sejanus: then the Empress Livia, who died A.D. 29, at the age of 86. Agrippina, widow of Germanicus (ob. A.D. 33), starved to death, and her two sons, Nero and Drusus, also murdered by Tiberius, were long excluded from the family sepulchre, but were eventually brought hither by the youngest brother, Caius, afterwards the Emperor Caligula. Tiberius, who died A.D. 37, at the villa of Lucullus at Misenum, was brought here for burial. The ashes of Caligula, murdered A.D. 41, and first buried in the Horti Lamiani on the Esquiline, were transferred here by his sisters. In his reign Antonia, the widow of Drusus, and mother of Germanicus, had died, and her ashes were laid up here. The Emperor Claudius, A.D. 54, murdered by Agrippina; his son, Britannicus, A.D. 55, murdered by Nero; and the Emperor Nerva, A.D. 98, were the latest inmates of the mausoleum.

The last cremation which occurred here was long after the mausoleum had fallen into ruin, when the body of the tribune Rienzi, after having hung for two days at S. Marcello, was ordered to be burnt here by Jugurta and Sciaretta, and was consumed by a vast multitude of Jews (out of flattery to the Colonna, their neighbours at the Ghetto), 'in a fire of dry thistles, till it was reduced to ashes, and no fibre of it remained.'

'In the midst of the sepultures is a recess where Octavian was wont to sit; and the priests were there doing their ceremonies. And from every kingdom of the whole world he commanded that there should be brought one basket full of earth, the which to put upon the temple, to be a remembrance unto all nations coming to Rome.'—*Mirabilia Urbis Romae XIIc.*

There is nothing now remaining to testify to the former magnificence of this building. The mausoleum, which had long been used as a fortress by the Colonnas, was destroyed in 1167, when they were accused of high treason in the time of Alexander III. The area is now employed as a theatre. It was ravaged by the Goths under Alaric, used as a fortress by the Colonna family, and destroyed after the defeat of the Colonnas by the Count of Tusculum

and his German allies in 1167. The obelisks which stood at its entrance are now opposite the Quirinal Palace and S. Maria Maggiore; the urn of Agrippina is at the Capitol, six urns are at the Vatican, the others have been destroyed. In the early times of Christianity it was crowned by the shrine and statue of S. Angelo de Augusta, destroyed by the people in 1378, and afterwards twice replaced. Among its massive cells a poor washerwoman, known as 'Sister Rose,' established in the middle of the nineteenth century a kind of hospital for aged women (several of them centenarians), whom she supported entirely by her own exertions, having originally begun by taking care of one old woman, and gradually adding another and another. The English Church service was first performed in Rome in the Palazzo Correa, adjoining this building. The exterior of the mausoleum is best seen from the courtyard of the **Palazzo Valdambrini**, No. 102 in the Via Ripetta.

Opposite the Via de' Pontefici, the **Via Vittoria** leaves the Corso. To the Ursuline convent in this street (founded by Camillo Borghese in the seventeenth century) Madame Victoire and Madame Adelaide ('tantes du Roi') fled in the beginning of the great French revolution. Here also Louisa, Duchess of Albany, was shut up by her husband, Charles Edward Stuart, and used to talk to Alfieri through the grille.

The **Church of S. Carlo in Corso** (on right) is the national church of the Lombards. It is a handsome building with a fine dome, but the ancient church of S. Ambrogio, with precious frescoes by Pierino del Vaga, was destroyed to build it. The interior was commenced by *Onorio Longhi* in 1614, and finished by *Pietro da Cortona*. It contains no objects of interest, unless a picture of the Apotheosis of S. Carlo Borromeo (the patron of the church), over the high altar, by *Carlo Maratta*, can be called so. The heart of the saint is preserved under the altar.

Just beyond this, on the left, the **Via Condotti** (named from the aqueduct of Trevi, which runs beneath it)—almost lined with jewellers' shops—branches off to the Piazza di Spagna. The Trinità de' Monti is seen beyond it. The opposite street, Via Fontanella, leads to S. Peter's, and in five minutes to the magnificent—

Palazzo Borghese, begun in 1590 by Cardinal Deza, from designs of Martino Lunghi, and finished by Paul V. (Camillo Borghese, 1605–21), from those of Flaminio Ponzio. The cloistered courtyard has a beautiful open arcade. The Borghese resided here (and at their numerous villas) with almost regal magnificence under the Papal rule. But since the change of government the family has been totally ruined by building speculations of the present Prince, Don Paolo, who had inherited a fortune of £40,000 a year from his father only five years before. 'Paolo contruxit, Paolo destruxit' is a pasquinade. The greater part of the pictures which formed the famous 'Borghese Gallery' are now to be seen at Villa Borghese. The splendid portrait of Caesar Borgia by Bronzino (long attributed to Raffaelle) is now in England. The rooms formerly occupied by

the gallery were ill-lighted and unsuitable. One of them is richly adorned with mirrors, painted with Cupids by *Girofiri* and wreaths of flowers by *Mario de' Fiori*. They end in the picturesque corner of the palace called 'Cimbalo di Borghese.'

'In the reign of Paul IV. the Borghese became the wealthiest and most powerful family in Rome. In the year 1612, the church benefices already conferred upon Cardinal Scipione Borghese were computed to secure him an income of 150,000 scudi. The temporal offices were bestowed on Marc-Antonio Borghese, on whom the Pope also conferred the principality of Sulmona in Naples, besides giving him rich palaces in Rome and the most beautiful villas in the neighbourhood. He loaded his nephews with presents; we have a list of them through his whole reign down to the year 1620. They are sometimes jewels or vessels of silver, or magnificent furniture, which were taken directly from the stores of the palace and sent to the nephews; at other times carriages, rich arms, as muskets and falconets, were presented to them; but the principal thing was the round sum of hard money. These accounts make it appear that, to the year 1620, they had received in ready money 689,627 scudi 31 baj; in luoghi di monte, 24,600 scudi, according to their nominal values; in places, computing them at the sum their sale would have brought to the treasury, 268,176 scudi; all which amounted, as in the case of the Aldobrandini, to nearly a million.

'Nor did the Borghese neglect to invest their wealth in real property. They acquired eighty estates in the Campagna of Rome; the Roman nobles suffering themselves to be tempted into the sale of their ancient hereditary domains by the large prices paid them, and by the high rate of interest borne by the luoghi di monte, which they purchased with the money thus acquired. In many other parts of the Ecclesiastical States, the Borghese also seated themselves, the Pope facilitating their doing so by the grant of peculiar privileges. In some places, for example, they received the right of restoring exiles; in others, that of holding a market, or certain exemptions were granted to those who became their vassals. They were freed from various imposts, and even obtained a bull, by virtue of which their possessions were never to be confiscated.'—*Ranke*, '*Hist. of the Popes*.'

'Si l'on peut reprocher à Paul, avec Muratori, ses libéralités envers ses neveux, envers le Cardinal Scipion, envers le duc de Sulmone, il est juste d'ajouter que la plupart des membres de cette noble famille rivalisèrent avec le pape de magnificence et de générosité. Or, chaque année, Paul V. distribuait un million d'écus d'or aux pèlerins pauvres et un million et demi aux autres nécessiteux. C'est à lui que remonte la fondation de la banque du Saint-Esprit, dont les riches immeubles servirent d'hypothèques aux dépôts qui lui furent confiés. Mais ce fut surtout dans les constructions qu'il entreprit, que Paul V. déploya une royale magnificence.'—*Gournerie*.

'The Palazzo Borghese is an immense edifice standing round the four sides of a quadrangle; and though the suite of rooms comprising the picture-gallery forms an almost interminable vista, they occupy only a part of the ground floor of one side. We enter from the street into a large court surrounded with a corridor, the arches of which support a second series of arches above. The picture-rooms open from one into another, and have many points of magnificence, being large and lofty, with vaulted ceilings and beautiful frescoes, generally of mythological subjects, in the flat central parts of the vault. The cornices are gilded; the deep embrasures of the windows are panelled with wood-work; the doorways are of polished and variegated marble, or covered with a composition as hard, and seemingly as durable. The whole has a kind of splendid shabbiness thrown over it, like a slight coating of rust; the furniture, at least the damask chairs, being a good deal worn; though there are marble and mosaic tables which may serve to adorn another palace, when this has crumbled away with age.'—*Hawthorne*.

The **Palazzetto Borghese**, on the opposite side of the piazza, originally intended as a dower-house for the family, is now let in apartments. It is this house which is described as the 'Palazzo Clementi,' in *Mademoiselle Mori*.

At the corner of the Via Fontanella and the Corso is the handsome **Palazzo Ruspoli**, built in 1586 (when the situation was almost in the open fields), by Ammanati, for one of the Ruccellaj family, on the site of the gardens called Orti Ruccellaj. It soon passed into the hands of the Caetani, and the central entrance towards the Corso was walled up where one of the Caetani was killed by one of the Orsini upon the threshold, and has never been used since. The palace was lost by the Caetani in the last century, in part payment of a gambling debt, to the banker Ruspoli of Siena. Vittoria, the banker's daughter, married a Mariscotti of Bologna, and received a regal dowry from her father on condition that her husband should take the name of Ruspoli, and that her descendants should never aspire to a higher title than that of a marquis. In violation of this, her son Francesco purchased from the Orsini the fief of Cervetri, and never relaxed his efforts till he was created a prince. The famous Giustiniani collection of sculpture described by Venuti was long shown in this palace. Each step of the staircase of 155 steps is formed of a solid block of Parian marble, and cost 80 gold scudi at the time it was built. Beyond this are the insignificant palaces, **Fiano, Verospi, and Teodoli.** In the vestibule of Palazzo Fiano are some of the reliefs found on the site of the palace in 1554, and belonging to the **Ara Pacis Augustae**, erected 13 B.C. on the triumphant return of Augustus from his campaigns in Germany and Gaul.

'Les palais de Rome, bien que n'ayant pas un caractère original comme ceux de Florence ou de Venise, n'en sont pas moins cependant un des traits de la ville des papes. Ils n'appartiennent ni au moyen-âge, ni à la renaissance (le Palais de Venise seul rappelle les constructions massives de Florence); ils sont des modèles d'architecture civile moderne. Les Bramante, les Sangallo, les Balthazar Peruzzi, qui les ont bâtis, sont des maîtres qu'on ne se lasse pas d'étudier. La magnificence de ces palais réside principalement dans leur architecture et dans les collections artistiques que quelques-uns contiennent. Un certain nombre sont malheureusement dans un triste état d'abandon. De plus, à l'exception d'un très-petit nombre, ils sonte restés inachevés. Cela ce conçoit; presque tous sont le produit du luxe célibataire des papes ou des cardinaux; très-peu de ces personnages ont pu voir la fin de ce qu'ils avaient commencé. Leurs héritiers, pour la plupart, se souciaient fort peu de jeter les richesses qu'ils venaient d'acquérir dans les édifices de luxe et de vanité. A l'intérieur, le plus souvent, est un mobilier rare, suranné, et mesquin.'—*A. du Pays.*[1]

The **Palazzo Bernini** (151 Corso), on the left, has, inside its entrance, a curious statue of 'Calumny' by *Bernini*, with an inscription relative to his own sufferings from slander.

On the right, the small Piazza of S. Lorenzo (now a central omnibus station) opens out of the Corso. Here is the **Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina**, founded in the fifth century, but rebuilt in its present form by Paul V. in 1606. The campanile is of an older date, and so are the lions in the portico.

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[1] Of the many one-volume Handbooks for Italy which have appeared, that of Du Pays is the most comprehensive, and—as far as its very condensed form allows—much the most interesting.

'When the lion, or other wild beast, appears in the act of preying on a smaller animal or on a man, is implied the severity of the Church towards the impenitent or heretical; but when in the act of sporting with another creature, her benignity towards the neophyte and the docile. At the portal of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, this idea is carried out in the figure of a manikin affectionately stroking the head of the terrible creature who protects, instead of devouring him.'—*Heman's 'Christian Art.'*

No one should omit seeing the grand picture of *Guido Reni*, over the high altar of this church,—the Crucifixion, seen against a wild, stormy sky.

'I have known men, strong men, who believed neither in God's existence nor their own, sob before that picture in some terrible pain and come away comforted.'—*Kassandra Vivaria.*

Nicholas Poussin, ob. 1660, is buried here, and one of his best-known Arcadian landscapes is reproduced in a bas-relief upon his tomb, which was erected by Chateaubriand, with the epitaph—

'Parce piis lacrymis, vivit Pussinus in urnâ,
Vivus qui dederat, nescius ipse mori.
Hîc tamen ipse silet; si vis audire loquentem,
Mirum est, in tabulis vivit, et eloquitur.'

In 'The Ring and the Book' of Browning, this church is the scene of Pompilia's baptism and marriage. She is made to say:—

—'This S. Lorenzo seems
My own particular place, I always say.
I used to wonder, when I stood scarce high
As the bed here, what the marble lion meant,
Eating the figure of a prostrate man.'

Here the bodies of her parents are represented as being exposed after the murder:—

—'Beneath the piece
Of Master Guido Reni, Christ on Cross,
Second to nought observable in Rome.'

The church of S. Lorenzo occupies the site of the Horologium or Solarium of Augustus, of which remains were visible here in the XV. and XVI. c.

On the left, where the Via della Vite turns out of the Corso, an inscription in the wall records the destruction, in 1665, of the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius, which existed here till that time. The magnificence of this arch is attested by the bas-reliefs representing the history of the emperor, which were removed from it, and (c. 399) used to decorate the walls of S. Martina, but now are preserved on the staircase of the palace of the Conservators. Two of its columns, of verde antico, adorn the high altar at S. Agnese in Piazza Navona; others are in the Corsini chapel at the Lateran.

'Les Barbares n'en savaient pas assez et n'avaient pas assez de patience pour démolir les monuments romains: mais, avec les ressources de la science moderne et à la suite d'une administration régulière, on est venu à bout de presque tout ce que le temps avait épargné. Il y avait, par exemple, au commencement du xvie siècle, quatre arcs de triomphe qui n'existent plus; le dernier, celui de Marc-Aurèle, a été enlevé par le pape Alexandre VII. On lit encore dans le Corso l'inconcevable inscription dans laquelle le pape se vante d'avoir débarrassé la promenade publique de ce monument, qui, vu sa date, devait être d'un beau style.'—*Ampère, 'Voyage Dantesque.'*

The next turn on the right leads into the Via di Giardino, running parallel with the Corso for a short distance. The **Palazzo Palombara**, at the corner, was the Palazzaccio, where Hugo Basseville, the French Secretary of Embassy and Revolutionary propagandist, was murdered, January 13, 1793.

A little farther down the Corso the Via delle Convertite leads, on the left, to **S. Silvestro in Capite**, one of the three churches in Rome dedicated to the sainted Pope of the time of Constantine. This, like S. Lorenzo, has a fine mediaeval campanile. The day of S. Sylvester's death, December 31 (A.D. 335), is kept here with great solemnity, and is celebrated by magnificent musical services. This Pope was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, whence his remains were removed to S. Martino al Monte. The title 'In Capite' is given to this church on account of the head of S. John the Baptist, which it professes to possess, as is narrated by an inscription engrafted into its walls.

The convent attached to this church was founded in 1318, especially for noble sisters of the house of Colonna who dedicated themselves to God. Here it was that the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, came to reside in 1525, when widowed in her thirty-sixth year, and here she began to write her sonnets, a kind of 'In Memoriam' to her husband. It is a curious proof of the value placed upon her remaining in the world, that Pope Clement VII. was persuaded to send a brief to the abbess and nuns, desiring them to offer her 'all spiritual and temporal consolations,' but forbidding them, under pain of the greater excommunication, to permit her to take the veil in her affliction.[1] The buildings of this convent are now used as the **Post Office**. In the piazza is a modern statue of Metastasio.

At the end of this street, continued under the name of Via di Mercede [No. 11 was the residence of Bernini, and is also marked by a tablet as the house where Sir W. Scott made a brief stay in 1832], and behind the Propaganda, is the **Church of S. Andrea delle Fratte**, whose brick cupola by Borromini is so picturesque a feature. The bell-tower beside it swings when the bells are rung. In the second chapel on the right, spoilt by being raised into a position for which it was not intended, is the beautiful modern tomb of Mademoiselle Falconnet, by Miss Hosmer. The opposite chapel is remarkable for a modern miracle (?) annually commemorated here.

'M. Ratisbonne, un juif, appartenant à une très-riche famille d'Alsace, qui se trouvait accidentellement à Rome, se promenant dans l'église de S. Andrea delle Fratte pendant qu'on y faisait les préparatifs pour les obsèques de M. de la Ferronays, s'y est converti subitement. Il se trouvait debout en face d'une chapelle dédiée à l'ange gardien, à quelques pas, lorsque tout-à-coup il a eu une apparition lumineuse de la Sainte Vierge qui lui a fait signe d'aller vers cette chapelle. Une force irrésistible l'y a entraîné, il y est tombé à genoux, et il a été à l'instant chrétien. Sa première parole à celui qui l'avait accompagné a été, en relevant son visage inondé de larmes: "Il faut que ce monsieur ait beaucoup prié pour moi."'—*Recit d'une Sœur.*

[1] See Trollope's *Life of Vittoria Colonna.*

'Era un istante ch' io mi stava in chiesa allora che di colpo mi sentii preso da inesprimibile conturbamento. Alzai gli occhi; tutto l' edifizio s' era dileguato a' miei sguardi; sola una cappella aveva come in se raccolta tutta la luce, e di mezzo di raggianti splendori s' è mostrata diritta sull' altare, grande sfolgoreggiante, piena di maestà e di dolcezza, la Vergine Maria. Una forza irresistibile m' ha sospinto verso di lei. La Vergine m' ha fatto della mano segno d' inginocchiarmi; pareva volermi dire, "Bene!" Ella non mi ha parlato, ma io ho inteso tutto.'—*Recital of Alfonso Ratisbonne.*[1]

M. de la Ferronays, whose character is now so well known from the beautiful family memoirs of Mrs. Augustus Craven, is buried beneath the altar where this vision occurred. In the third chapel on the left is the tomb of Angelica Kauffmann; in the right aisle that of the Prussian artist, Schadow. In front of the choir were, till recently, two angels by *Bernini*, who intended them for the bridge of S. Angelo, where the municipality placed them in 1896.

Returning to the Corso, the Via S. Claudio (left) leads to the pretty little church of that name, adjoining the only remaining portion of the **Palazzo Parisani**. Beyond, facing an addition to the Piazza Colonna, is the Church of **S. Maria in Via**. A little behind S. Claudio the Via del Nazzareno leads to the Via Tritone. Here some arches of the **Aqua Vergine** may be seen, following the line of an old Roman street. An iron gate has recently been placed here, and the old gate, surmounted by the arms of Sixtus IV., pulled down. This is especially to be regretted, as the fact of Sixtus IV. having restored the Arco di Trevi close to this is mentioned in the inscription on his famous portrait in the Vatican by Melozzo da Forlì. The arms of Pope Sixtus are to be seen over a picturesque little doorway on the other side of the street.

The recent and meaningless enlargement of the Piazza has destroyed the handsome Palazzo Piombino, on the line of the Corso, which occupied the site of the Porticus Vipsaniae, burnt in A.D. 80.

At the corner of the **Piazza Colonna** is the **Palazzo Chigi**, begun in 1526 by Giacomo della Porta, and finished by Carlo Maderno. It contains several good pictures, but is seldom shown.[2] The library—Biblioteca Chisiana—is open on Thursdays from 10 to 12.

The most remarkable members of the great family of Chigi have been the famous banker Agostino Chigi, who lived so sumptuously at the Farnesina, and Fabio Chigi, who mounted the papal throne as Alexander VII., and who long refused to have anything to do with the aggrandisement of his family, saying, that the poor were the only relations he would acknowledge, and, like Christ, he did not wish for any nearer ones. To keep himself in mind of the shortness of earthly grandeur, this Pope always kept a coffin in his room, and drank out of a cup shaped like a skull.

[1] See '*Un Figliuol' di Maria, ossia un Nuovo nostro Fratello*,' edited by the Baron di Bussiere. 1842.

[2] It is more worth while to visit the Palazzo Chigi at Lariccia, near Albano, which retains its stamped leather hangings and much of its old furniture. Here may be seen, assembled in one room, the portraits of the twelve nieces of Alexander VII., who were so enchanted when their uncle was made Pope, that they all took the veil immediately to please him.

One of the ridiculous plans of the municipality for the destruction of Roman grandeur has been the erection of a glass-gallery on the site of the Palazzo Piombino, pulled down for the purpose, in imitation of that at Milan, but, fortunately, funds have hitherto been wanting.

In the centre of the piazza is placed the fine **Column**, which was found on the Monte Citorio in 1709, having been originally erected by the senate and people A.D. 174, to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (adopted son of the Emperor Hadrian, husband of his niece Annia Faustina, father of the Emperor Commodus). It is surrounded by bas-reliefs, representing the conquest of the Marcomanni. One of these has long been an especial object of interest, from being supposed to represent a divinity (Jupiter ?) sending rain to the troops, in answer to the prayers of a Christian legion from Mitylene. Eusebius gives the story, stating that the piety of these Christians induced the emperor to ask their prayers in his necessity, and a letter in Justin Martyr (of which the authenticity is much doubted), in which Aurelius allows the fact, is produced in proof. The statue of S. Paul on the top of the column was erected by Sixtus V.; the pedestal also is modern.

Behind the Piazza Colonna is the **Piazza Monte Citorio**, containing an **Obelisk** which was discovered in broken fragments near the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Pius VI. was incited to raise it here by the 'supplica degli obelischi giacenti' of the Abbé Cancellieri. So it was repaired with pieces of the column of Antoninus Pius, the pedestal of which may still be seen in the Vatican Gardens. Its hieroglyphics are very perfect and valuable, and show that it was erected more than 600 years before Christ in honour of Psammeticus I. It was brought from Heliopolis by Augustus, and erected by him in the Campus Martius, where it received the name of Obeliscus Solaris, from being made to act as a sundial.

'Ei, qui est in campo, divus Augustus addidit mirabilem usum, ad deprehendas solis umbras, dierumque ac noctium ita magnitudines, strato lapide ad magnitudinem obelisci, cui par fieret umbra, brumae confectae die, sexta hora; paulatimque per regulas (quae sunt ex aere inclusae) singulis diebus decresceret, ac rursus augesceret: digna cognitu res et ingenio foecundo. Manilius mathematicus apici auratam pilam addidit, cujus umbra vertice colligeretur in se ipsa, alias enormiter jaculante apice, ratione (ut ferunt) a capite hominis intellecta. Haec observatio triginta jam ferè annis non congruit, sive solis ipsius dissono cursu, et coeli aliqua ratione mutato, sive universa tellure a centro suo aliquid emota, ut deprehendi et in aliis locis accipio: sive urbis tremoribus, ibi tantum gnomone intorto, sive inundationibus Tiberis sedimento molis facto: quanquam ad altitudinem impositi oneris in terram quoque dicantur acta fundamenta.'—*Pliny, Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi. 15.

The **Palace of the Monte Citorio** (designed by Bernini) has been used, since the united kingdom of Italy, as the **Camera dei Deputati**.[1] The base of the pillar of Antoninus Pius, now in the Vatican Gardens, was found near this in the garden of the Casa della Missione. The Monte Citorio conceals the site of the Temple of Marcus Aurelius,

[1] An order to visit the Camera dei Deputati may be obtained from any member.

in front of which the column stood in a forum something like that of Trajan.

Proceeding up the Corso, the Via di Pietra (right) leads into the small Piazza di Pietra, one side of which is occupied by the eleven remaining columns, sometimes called the **Temple of Neptune**, and sometimes that of Hadrian, built up by Innocent XII. into the walls of a building long used as the Custom-house. The pillars are of Marmor Lunense, from Luna—the modern Carrara. A tiny figure of Christ on the cross on the flutings of the fourth column on the left, prove that, like almost all other pagan buildings, this temple was converted to Christian purposes. It is worth while to enter the courtyard in order to look back and observe the immense masses of stone above the entrance, part of the ancient temple, which are here uncovered.

'The fifteen provinces and fourteen trophies belonging to the north side of the temple have all been accounted for. . . . Three provinces and two trophies have migrated to Naples with the rest of the Farnese marbles, one has been left behind in the portico of the Farnese palace, five provinces and four trophies are in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, two are in the Palazzo Odescalchi, one in the Palazzo Altieri, two pieces of the entablature are used as a rustic seat in the Giardino delle Tre Pile on the Capitol, and another has been used in the restoration of the Arch of Constantine.'—*Lanciani.*

Near the Piazza de Pietra the foundations of an early mediaeval church, S. Stefano del Trullo, were found in 1878, the whole church appearing to have been built with material plundered from the Temple of Neptune and the Arch of Claudius in the Piazza Sciarra.

Close to this, behind the Palazzo Cini, in the Piazza Orfanelli, is the **Teatro Capranica**, occupying part of a palace of *c.* 1350, with gothic windows. The opposite church, **S. Maria in Aquiro**, recalls by its name the column of the Equiria, celebrated in ancient annals as the place where certain games and horse-races, instituted by Romulus, were celebrated. Ovid describes them in his Fasti. The church was founded *c.* 400, but was rebuilt under Francesco da Volterra in 1590. S. Maria in Aquiro was sometimes called 'Ad Arcum Pacis,' from a memorial arch, to which the legend of the justice of Trajan was transferred from the Forum of Trajan, probably on account of a sculpture existing here, and representing a suppliant nation at the feet of an emperor, which was mistaken for the widow of the legend.

'In this place, upon a time when the emperor was ready in his chariot to go forth to war, a poor widow fell at his feet, weeping and crying, "O my lord, before thou goest, let me have justice." And he promised her that on his return he would do her full right; but she said, "Peradventure thou shalt die first." This considering, the emperor leapt from his chariot, and held his consistory on the spot. And the woman said, "I had one only son, and a young man hath slain him." Upon this saying the emperor gave sentence. "The murderer," said he, "shall die, he shall not live." "Thy son, then," said she, "shall die, for it is he that, playing with my son, hath slain him." But when he was led to death, the woman sighed aloud, and said, "Let the young man that is to die be given unto me in the stead of my son; so shall I be recompensed, else I shall never

confess that I have had full right." This therefore was done, and the woman departed with rich gifts from the emperor.'—'*Mirabilia Orbis Romae*,' *Eng. Vers. of F. M. Nichols.*

A small increase of width in the Corso is now dignified by the name of the **Piazza Sciarra.** The street which turns off hence (Via delle Muratte, on the left) leads to the **Fountain of Trevi**, erected in 1735 by Niccolò Salvi for Clement XII. The statue of Neptune is by Pietro Bracci.

'The fountain of Trevi draws its precious water from a source far beyond the walls, whence it flows hitherward through old subterranean aqueducts, and sparkles forth as pure as the virgin who first led Agrippa to its well-springs by her father's door. In the design of the fountain, some sculptor of Bernini's school has gone absolutely mad, in marble. It is a great palace-front, with niches and many bas-reliefs, out of which looks Agrippa's legendary virgin, and several of the allegoric sisterhood: while at the base appears Neptune with his floundering steeds and tritons blowing their horns about him, and twenty other artificial fantasies, which the calm moonlight soothes into better taste than is native to them. And, after all, it is as magnificent a piece of work as ever human skill contrived. At the foot of the palatial façade is strewn, with careful art and ordered regularity, a broad and broken heap of massive rock, looking as if it may have lain there since the deluge. Over a central precipice falls the water, in a semicircular cascade; and from a hundred crevices, on all sides, snowy jets gush up, and streams spout out of the mouths and nostrils of stone monsters, and fall in glistening drops; while other rivulets, that have run wild, come leaping from one rude step to another, over stones that are mossy, shining, and green with sedge, because, in a century of their wild play, Nature has adopted the fountain of Trevi, with all its elaborate devices, for her own. Finally, the water, tumbling, sparkling, and dashing, with joyous haste and never-ceasing murmur, pours itself into a great marble basin and reservoir, and fills it with a quivering tide; on which is seen, continually, a snowy semicircle of momentary foam from the principal cascade, as well as a multitude of snow-points from smaller jets. The basin occupies the whole breadth of the piazza, whence flights of steps descend to its border. A boat might float and make mimic voyages on this artificial lake.[1]

'In the daytime there is hardly a livelier scene in Rome than the neighbourhood of the fountain of Trevi; for the piazza is then filled with stalls of vegetable and fruit dealers, chestnut-roasters, cigar-vendors, and other people whose petty and wandering traffic is transacted in the open air. It is likewise thronged with idlers, lounging over the iron railing, and with *forestieri*, who come hither to see the famous fountain. Here, also, are men with buckets, urchins with cans, and maidens (a picture as old as the patriarchal times) bearing their pitchers upon their heads. For the water of Trevi is in request, far and wide, as the most refreshing draught for feverish lips, the pleasantest to mingle with wine, and the wholesomest to drink, in its native purity, that can anywhere be found. But, at midnight, the piazza is a solitude; and it is a delight to behold this untameable water, sporting by itself in the moonshine and compelling all the elaborate trivialities of art to assume a natural aspect, in accordance with its own powerful simplicity. Tradition goes, that a parting draught at the fountain of Trevi ensures a traveller's return to Rome, whatever obstacles and improbabilities may seem to beset him.'—*Hawthorne.*

'Le bas-relief, placé au-dessus de cette fontaine, représente la jeune fille indiquant la source précieuse, comme dans l'antiquité une peinture représentait le même événement dans une chapelle construit au lieu où il s'était passé.'—*Ampère, Emp.* i. 264.

In this piazza is the handsome front of **S. Maria in Trevia**, formerly S. Maria in Fornica, erected by Cardinal Mazarin, on the

[1] The fountain has been deprived of this magnificent luxuriance of water since the fall of the Papacy and destruction of the beauty of Rome.

site of an older church built by Belisarius—as is told by an inscription:—

'Hanc vir patricius Belisarius urbis amicus
Ob culpae veniam condidit ecclesiam.
Hanc, idcirco, pedem qui sacram ponis in aedem
Ut miseretur eum saepe precare Deum.'

The fault which Belisarius wished to expiate was the exile of Pope Silverius (A.D. 536), who was starved to death in the island of Ponza. The crypt of the present building, being the parish church of the Quirinal, contains the entrails of twenty Popes (removed for embalmment)—from Sixtus V. to Pius VIII.—who died in the Quirinal Palace! The urns are placed in a vault below and behind the high altar; on the left of the apse is a monument erected by Benedict XIV., and on the right is a tablet recording the names of the Popes who left so singular a bequest to the church. Behind the church, between the fountain and the Quirinal Palace, the site of the Porta Sanqualis has been ascertained by the discovery of some tombs outside the line of the Servian wall. The interesting travertine **Tomb of the Gens Sempronia**, discovered 1866, is of the first century B.C.

The little church near the opposite corner of the piazza is that of **The Crociferi**, and was served till quite lately by the venerable Don Giovanni Merlini, Father General of the Order of the Precious Blood, and the personal friend of its founder, Gaspare del Buffalo.

The fountain of Trevi occupies one end of the gigantic **Palazzo Poli**, partly rebuilt in 1886, and formerly celebrated for the collections of the famous jeweller, Castellani. Some of them may be seen in a house opposite the fountain.

'Castellani est l'homme qui a ressuscité la bijouterie romaine. Son escalier, tapissé d'inscriptions et de bas-reliefs antiques, fait croire que nous entrons dans un musée. Un jeune marchand aussi érudit que les archéologues fait voir une collection de bijoux anciens de toutes les époques, depuis les origines de l'Etrurie jusqu'au siècle de Constantin. C'est la source où Castellani puise les éléments d'un art nouveau qui détrônera avant dix ans la pacotille du Palais-Royal.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine.*'

'C'est en s'inspirant des parures retrouvées dans les tombes de l'Etrurie, des bracelets et des colliers dont se paraient les femmes étrusques et sabines, que M. Castellani, guidé par le goût savant et ingénieux d'un homme qui porte dignement l'ancien nom de Caetani, a introduit dans la bijouterie un style à la fois classique et nouveau. Parmi les artistes les plus originaux de Rome sont certainement les orfèvres Castellani et D. Miguele Caetani, duc de Sermoneta.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* i. 388.

The **Cassa del Risparmio**, in the Piazza Sciarra, occupies the site of the Caffè Veneziano, the oldest caffè in Rome (closed 1868), frequented by Metastasio, Monti, Rossini, &c.

The **Palazzo Sciarra** (on left of the Corso), built in 1603 from designs of Flaminio Ponzio, with an admirable, but later, portico, contains, or contained, a gallery of pictures, upon which no ordinary visitor has looked since the change of Government, in consequence of an iniquitous attempt made by the authorities to seize them for the State. These pictures are or were the private property of Prince Sciarra. They were originally in the Palazzo Barberini, where Miss

Berry[1] describes them in 1784, but came to the family of Sciarra when the Barberini pictures were divided between two heiresses. The six celebrated gems of the gallery, now believed to be taken out of Italy, were :—

Fra Bartolommeo or *Fra Paolino*. The Holy Family. Sometimes ascribed to Mariotto Albertinelli.
Raffaelle. The Violin Player (the improvisatore Andrea Marone of Brescia?). This picture is often considered to be by Sebastiano del Piombo.
Caravaggio. The Gamblers.
Leonardo da Vinci? (or *Bernardino Luini?*). Modesty and Vanity.
Titian. 'La Bella Donna di Tiziano.' Sometimes supposed to represent Donna Laura Eustachio, the peasant Duchess of Alphonso I. of Ferrara. This picture is sometimes attributed to Palma Vecchio.
Guido Reni. La Maddalena della Radice.

Four arches and five piers of the aqueduct of Aqua Vergine remained till recently in the courtyard of the palace.

The Piazza Sciarra was disgraced by the ferocious murder of a high-minded priest by the people, at the very moment when the French, under Oudinot, were entering Rome—the final atrocity of the republicans of 1848.

Near the Piazza Sciarra, the Corso (as Via Flaminia) was formerly spanned by the Arch of Claudius (supporting the Aqua Vergine), removed in 1527. Some reliefs from this arch are preserved in the portico of the Villa Borghese, and, though much mutilated, are of fine workmanship. The inscription, which commemorated the erection of the arch in honour of the conquest of Britain, is preserved in the courtyard of the Barberini Palace.

To the right of the Piazza Sciarra opens the Via della Caravita, containing the small but popular **Church of the Caravita,**[2] used for the peculiar religious exercises of the Jesuits, especially for their terrible Lenten 'flagellation' services, which are one of the most extraordinary sights afforded by Catholic Rome.

'The ceremony of pious whippings, one of the penances of the convents, still takes place at the time of vespers in the oratory of the Padre Caravita, and in another church in Rome. It is preceded by a short exhortation, during which a bell rings, and whips, that is, strings of knotted whipcord, are distributed quietly amongst such of the audience as are on their knees in the nave. On a second bell, the candles are extinguished—a loud voice issues from the altar, which pours forth an exhortation to think of unconfessed, or unrepented, or unforgiven crimes. This continues a sufficient time to allow the kneelers to strip off their upper garments; the tone of the preacher is raised more loudly at each word, and he vehemently exhorts his hearers to recollect that Christ and the martyrs suffered much more than whipping. "Show, then, your penitence—show your sense of Christ's sacrifice—show it with the whip." The flagellation begins. The darkness, the tumultuous sound of blows in every direction—"Blessed Virgin Mary, pray for us!" bursting out at intervals; the persuasion that you are surrounded by atrocious culprits and maniacs, who know of an absolution for every crime, so far from exciting a smile, fixes you to the spot in a trance of restless horror, prolonged beyond bearing. The scourging continues ten or fifteen minutes.'—*Lord Broughton.*

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1 Journals.
2 So called from the Jesuit father of that name who lived in the seventeenth century.

'Each man on entering the church was supplied with a scourge. After a short interval the doors were barred, the lights extinguished; and from praying, the congregation proceeded to groaning, crying, and finally, being worked up into a kind of ecstatic fury, applied the scourge to their uncovered shoulders without mercy.'—*Whiteside's 'Italy in the Nineteenth Century.'*

Beyond the Caravita, facing a pretty little piazza of peculiar arrangement, is the **Church of S. Ignazio**, built by Cardinal Ludovisi. Its proportions are singularly noble; the façade, of 1685, is by Algardi. This church contains the tomb of Gregory XV. (Alessandro Ludovisi, 1621–23), and that of S. Luigi Gonzaga, both sculptured by *Le Gros*.

'In S. Ignazio is the chapel of San Luigi Gonzaga, on whom not a few of the young Roman damsels look with something of the same kind of admiration as did Clytie on Apollo, whom he and S. Sebastian, these two young, beautiful, graceful saints, very fairly represent in Christian mythology. His festa falls in June, and then his altar is embosomed in flowers, arranged with exquisite taste; and a pile of letters may be seen at its foot, written to the saint by young men and maidens, and directed to Paradiso. They are supposed to be burnt unread, except by San Luigi, who must find singular petitions in these pretty little missives, tied up now with a green ribbon, expressive of hope; now with a red one, emblematic of love, or whatever other significant colour the writer may prefer.'—'*Mademoiselle Mori.*'

The frescoes on the roof and tribune are by the Padre Pozzi.

'Amid the many distinguished men whom the Jesuits sent forth to every region of the world, I cannot recollect the name of a single artist, unless it be the Father Pozzi, renowned for his skill in perspective, and who used his skill less as an artist than a conjurer, to produce such illusions as make the vulgar stare;—to make the impalpable to the grasp appear as palpable to the vision; the near seem distant, the distant near; the unreal, real; to cheat the eye; to dazzle the sense;—all this has Father Pozzi most cunningly achieved in the Gesù and Sant' Ignazio at Rome; but nothing more, and nothing better than this. I wearied of his altar-pieces and of his wonderful roofs which pretend to be no roofs at all. Scheme, tricks, and deceptions in art should all be kept for the theatre. It appeared to me nothing less than profane to introduce *shams* into the temples of God.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

On the left of the Corso—opposite the handsome Palazzo Simonetti—is the **Church of S. Marcello** (Pope, 308–10),[1] containing some interesting modern monuments. Among them are those of Pierre Gilles, the traveller (ob. 1555), and of the English Cardinal Weld. Here also, Cardinal Consalvi, the famous and liberal minister of Pius VII.—the last great papal minister—is buried in the same tomb with his beloved younger brother, Marchese Andrea Consalvi. Their monument, by Rinaldi, tells that here repose the bodies of two brothers—

'Qui cum singulari amore dum vivebant
Se mutuo dilexissent
Corpore etiam sua
Una eademque urna condi voluere.'

Here are the masterpieces which made the reputation of *Pierino del Vaga* (1501–47). In the chapel of the Virgin are the cherubs, whose graceful movements and exquisite flesh-tints Vasari declares

[1] The name of Pope—*Popa*—originally belonging to all teachers, was first applied to Pope Marcellus, in the letter of a deacon; but it was not till 400 that the Bishops of Rome took it formally.

to have been unsurpassed by any artist in fresco. In the chapel of the Crucifix is the Creation of Eve, which is even more beautiful.

'The perfectly beautiful figure of the naked Adam is seen lying overpowered by sleep, while Eve, filled with life, and with folded hands, rises to receive the blessing of her Maker—a most grand and solemn figure standing erect in heavy drapery.'—*Vasari*, iv.

This church is said to occupy the site of a house of the Christian matron Lucina, in which Marcellus died of wounds incurred in attempting to settle a quarrel among his Christian followers. It was in front of it that the body of the tribune Rienzi, after his murder on the Capitol steps, was hung up by the feet for two days as a mark for the rabble to throw stones at.

The next street to the right leads to the **Collegio Romano**, founded by S. Francesco Borgia, Duke of Gandia (a descendant of Pope Alexander VI.), who, after a youth spent amid the splendours of the Court of Madrid, retired to Rome in 1550, in the time of Julius III., and became the successor of Ignatius Loyola as general of the Jesuits. The buildings were erected, as we now see them, by Ammanati, in 1582, for Gregory XIII. Till 1870 the college was entirely under the superintendence of the Jesuits: now, men like Carducci the poet, who glorified Satan, and wrote a hymn in praise and defence of Judas Iscariot, sit amongst its professors. The library is large and valuable. The *Museo Kircheriano*, on the third floor, entered from 27 Via del Collegio Romano, is chiefly interesting to antiquaries. It is visible from 10 to 3 daily—admission 1 fr., free on holidays. It contains a number of antiquities illustrative of Roman and Etruscan customs, and many beautiful ancient bronzes. The most important object is the 'Cista Mistica,' a bronze vase and cover, which was given as a prize to successful gladiators, and which was originally fitted up with everything useful for their profession. In the Christian collection is the curious *graffito*, usually supposed to represent the Crucifixion, found on the Palatine, and described in Chap. VI.[1] Another gallery is filled with interesting objects found during recent excavations at Palestrina. The little cortile at the left of the entrance to the museum contains many interesting architectural fragments, especially the base of the statue of Valens, which stood on the Pons Cestius, with an inscription.

The **Observatory** of the Collegio Romano has obtained a European reputation from the important astronomical researches of its late famous director, the Padre Secchi, who died February 26, 1878.

The Collegio Romano has produced eight Popes—Urban VIII., Innocent X., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent XII., Clement XI., Innocent XIII., and Clement XII. Among its other pupils have been S. Camillo de Lellis, the Blessed Leonardo di Porto-Maurizio, the Venerable Pietro Berna, and others.

'Ignace, François Borgia, ont passé par ici. Leur souvenir plane, comme un encouragement et une bénédiction, sur ces salles où ils présidèrent aux études,

[1] It is in the room at the end of the corridor on the left.

sur ces chaires où peut-être retentit leur parole, sur ces modestes cellules qu'ils ont habitées. A la fin du seizième siècle, les élèves du collège Romain perdirent un de leurs condisciples que sa douce aménité et ses vertus angéliques avaient rendu l'objet d'un affectueux respect. Ce jeune homme avait été page de Philippe II.; il était allié aux maisons royales d'Autriche, de Bourbon et de Lorraine. Mais au milieu de ces illusions d'une grande vie, sous ce brillant costume de cour qui semblait lui promettre honneurs et fortune, il ne voyait jamais que la pieuse figure de sa mère agenouillée au pied des autels, et priant pour lui. A peine âgé de seize ans, il s'échappe de Madrid, il vient frapper à la porte du collège Romain, et demande place, au dortoir et à l'étude, pour Louis Gonzague, fils du comte de Castiglione. Pendant sept ans, Louis donna dans cette maison le touchant exemple d'une vie céleste; puis ses jours *déclinèrent*, comme parle l'Ecriture; il avait assez vécu.'—*Gournerie*, '*Rome Chrétienne*,' ii. 211.

The books stolen from the monasteries after the fall of Rome were stacked on the ground floor of the Collegio Romano, in the charge of a single porter, who was only discovered to be selling them as waste-paper when a student found that the butter which he bought in Piazza Navona was wrapped up in an autograph letter of Columbus!

The Via del Collegio Romano passes over the site of the great temple of Isis and Serapis, chiefly due to Domitian. The obelisks of the Pantheon and Villa Mattei came from hence, as well as the great statue of the Nile, and many curious Egyptian statues.

We now reach, on the right of the Corso, the **Church of S. Maria in Via Lata**, which was founded by Sergius I. in the eighth century, but twice rebuilt, the second time under Alexander VII. in 1662, when the façade was added by Pietro da Cortona.

In this church 'they still show a little chapel in which, as hath been handed down from the first ages, S. Luke the Evangelist wrote, and painted the effigy of the Virgin Mother of God.'—*See Jameson's* '*Sacred Art*,' p. 155.

The subterranean church is shown as the actual house in which S. Paul lodged when he was in Rome. It belonged to Martialis, whom a beautiful tradition identifies with the child who was especially blessed by the Divine Master, when He said, 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' and who, ever after a faithful follower of Christ, bore the basket of bread and fishes in the wilderness, and served at table during the Last Supper.

'And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him.

'And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging: to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses and out of the prophets, from morning till evening. . . .

'And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.'—*Acts* xxviii. 16, 23, 30, 31.

'S. Paul, after his arrival in Rome, having made his usual effort, in the first place, for the salvation of his own countrymen, and, as usual, having found it vain, turned to the Gentiles, and during two whole years, in which he was a prisoner, received all that came to him, preaching the kingdom of God. It was thus that God overruled his imprisonment for the furtherance of the gospel, so that his bonds in Christ were manifest in the palace, and in all other places, and many of the brethren of the Lord, waxing confident by his bonds, were much

more bold to speak the word without fear. Even in the palace of Nero, the most noxious atmosphere, as we should have concluded, for the growth of divine truth, his bonds were manifest, the Lord Jesus was preached, and, more than this, was received to the saving of many souls; for we find the apostle writing to his Philippian converts: "All the saints salute you, chiefly they which are of Caesar's household." '—*Blunt's 'Lectures on S. Paul.*'

'In writing to Philemon, Paul chooses to speak of himself as the captive of Jesus Christ. Yet he went whither he would, and was free to receive those who came to him. It is interesting to remember, amid these solemn vaults, the different events of S. Paul's apostolate during the two years that he lived here. It was here that he converted Onesimus, that he received the presents of the Philippians, brought by Epaphroditus; it was hence that he wrote to Philemon, to Titus, to the inhabitants of Philippi and of Colosse; it was here that he preached devotion to the cross with that glowing eagerness, with that startling eloquence, which gained fresh power from contest, and which inspiration rendered sublime.

'Peter addressed himself to the uncircumcised: Paul to the Gentiles[1]—to their silence that he might confound it, to their reason that he might humble it. Had he not already converted the proconsul Sergius Paulus, and Dionysius the Areopagite? At Rome his word is equally powerful, and among the courtiers of Nero, perhaps even amongst his relations, are those who yield to the power of God, who reveals Himself in each of the teachings of His servant.[2] Around the Apostle his eager disciples group themselves—Onesiphorus of Ephesus, who was not ashamed of his chain;[3] Epaphras of Colosse, who was captive with him, *concaptivus meus;*[4] Timothy, who was one with his master in a holy union of every thought, and who was attached to him like a son, *sicut patri filius;*[5] Hermas, Aristarchus, Marcus, Demas, and Luke the physician, the faithful companion of the Apostle, his well-beloved disciple—"Lucas medicus carissimus." '—*From Gournerie, 'Rome Chrétienne.'*

'I honour Rome for this reason; for though I could celebrate her praises on many other accounts—for her greatness, for her beauty, for her power, for her wealth, and for her warlike exploits—yet, passing over all these things, I glorify her on this account, that Paul in his lifetime wrote to the Romans, and loved them, and was present with and conversed with them, and ended his life amongst them. Wherefore the city is on this account renowned more than on all others—on this account I admire her, not on account of her gold, her columns, or her other splendid decorations.'—*S. John Chrysostom, 'Homily on the Ep. to the Romans.'*

'The Roman Jews expressed a wish to hear from S. Paul himself a statement of his religious sentiments, adding that the Christian sect was everywhere spoken against. . . . A day was fixed for the meeting at his private lodging.

'The Jews came in great numbers at the appointed time. Then followed an impressive scene, like that of Troas (Acts xxi.)—the Apostle pleading long and earnestly—bearing testimony concerning the kingdom of God—and endeavouring to persuade them by arguments drawn from their own Scriptures—"from morning till evening." The result was a division among the auditors—"not peace, but a sword"—the division which has resulted ever since, when the Truth of God has encountered, side by side, earnest conviction with worldly indifference, honest investigation with bigoted prejudice, trustful faith with the pride of scepticism. After a long and stormy discussion, the unbelieving portion departed; but not until S. Paul had warned them, in one last address, that they were bringing upon themselves that awful doom of judicial blindness which was denounced in their own Scriptures against obstinate unbelievers; that the salvation which they rejected would be withdrawn from them, and the inheritance they renounced would be given to the Gentiles. The sentence with which he gave emphasis to this solemn warning was that passage in Isaiah which, recurring thus with solemn force at the very close of the Apostolic history, seems to bring very strikingly together the Old Dispensation and the New, and to connect the ministry of our Lord with that of His Apostles: "Go unto this people and say: Hearing ye shall

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[1] Gal. ii. 7. [2] Phil. iv. 22. [3] 2 Tim. i. 16.
[4] Philem. 23. [5] Phil. ii. 22.

hear and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them."

'. . . During the long delay of his trial S. Paul was not reduced, as he had been at Caesarea, to a forced inactivity. On the contrary, he was permitted the freest intercourse with his friends, and was allowed to reside in a house of sufficient size to accommodate the congregation which flocked together to listen to his teaching. The freest scope was given to his labours, consistent with the military custody under which he was placed. We are told, in language peculiarly emphatic, that his preaching was subjected to no restraint whatever. And that which seemed at first to impede, must really have deepened the impression of his eloquence; for who could see without emotion that venerable form subjected by iron links to the coarse control of the soldier who stood beside him? how often must the tears of the assembly have been called forth by the upraising of that fettered hand, and the clanking of the chain which checked its energetic action!

'We shall see hereafter that these labours of the imprisoned Confessor were not fruitless; in his own words, he "begot many children in his chains." Meanwhile, he had a wider sphere of action than even the metropolis of the world. Not only "the crowd which pressed upon him daily," but also "the care of all the churches," demanded his constant vigilance and exertion. . . . To enable him to maintain this superintendence, he manifestly needed many faithful messengers; men who (as he says of one of them) "rendered him profitable service;" and by some of whom he seems to have been constantly accompanied wheresoever he went. Accordingly we find him, during this Roman imprisonment, surrounded by many of his oldest and most valued attendants. Luke, his fellow-traveller, remained with him during his bondage; Timotheus, his beloved son in the faith, ministered to him at Rome, as he had done in Asia, in Macedonia, and in Achaia. Tychicus, who had formerly borne him company from Corinth to Ephesus, is now at hand to carry his letters to the shores which they had visited together. But there are two names amongst his Roman companions which excite a peculiar interest, though from opposite reasons—the names of Demas and of Mark. The latter, when last we heard of him, was the unhappy cause of the separation of Barnabas and Paul. He was rejected by Paul, as unworthy to attend him, because he had previously abandoned the work of the gospel out of timidity or indolence. It is delightful to find him now ministering obediently to the very Apostle who had then repudiated his services; still more, to know that he persevered in this fidelity even to the end, and was sent for by S. Paul to cheer his dying hours. Demas, on the other hand, is now a faithful "fellow-labourer" of the Apostle; but in a few years we shall find that he had "forsaken" him, having "loved this present world."

'Amongst the rest of S. Paul's companions at this time there were two whom he distinguishes by the honourable title of his "fellow-prisoners." One of these is Aristarchus, the other Epaphras. With regard to the former, we know that he was a Macedonian of Thessalonica, one of "Paul's companions in travel," whose life was endangered by the mob at Ephesus, and who embarked with S. Paul at Caesarea when he set sail for Rome. The other, Epaphras, was a Colossian, who must not be identified with the Philippian Epaphroditus, another of S. Paul's fellow-labourers during this time. It is not easy to say in what exact sense these two disciples were peculiarly *fellow-prisoners* of S. Paul. Perhaps it only implies that they dwelt in his house, which was also his prison.

'But of all the disciples now ministering to S. Paul at Rome, none has a greater interest than the fugitive Asiatic slave Onesimus. He belonged to a Christian named Philemon, a member of the Colossian Church. But he had robbed his master, and fled from Colosse, and at last found his way to Rome. Here he was converted to the faith of Christ, and had confessed to S. Paul his sins against his master.'—*Conybeare and Howson*, '*Life of S. Paul.*'

'Rome contained on the same day within her walls such men as Sophonius Tigellinus, Nero, Seneca, Thrasea, Paetus, and Paul of Tarsus; gradations of human nature, from the devilish worshipper of sensuality to the worshipper of the Ideal in the crown of thorns. They might have trodden the pavement of the

Forum at the same moment. And while the court Epicureans, who made beauty as independent of morality as a later age would have made religious faith independent of reason, held their wild revels on the Palatine, in the Ghetto of that time walked the poor tent-maker from Cilicia, looking compassionately on these orgies of the flesh—for he felt their might in his own frame—and absorbed in the great mystery of salvation, the annihilation of sin, and the reunion of erring mankind to a spiritual body in the true ideal of beauty, the First-born of the creation.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

A fountain in the crypt is shown, as having miraculously sprung up in answer to the prayers of S. Paul, that he might have wherewithal to baptize his disciples. At the end of the crypt are some large blocks of peperino, said to be remains of the arch erected by the senate in honour of the Emperor Gordian III., and destroyed by Innocent VIII. By some these remains, and others under the Palazzo Doria, are supposed to be remains of the Septa Julia, covered porticoes for the use of the Roman people, begun by Julius Caesar[1] and finished by Agrippa in 27 B.C.[2]

On the side of the Via Lata, opposite the church, is a quaint little fountain of a man with a barrel, whence pours the water; removed from the Corso in 1872.

Far along the right side of the Corso now extends the façade of the immense **Palazzo Doria**, built by Valvasori (the front towards the Collegio Romano being by Pietro da Cortona, and that towards the Piazza Venezia by Amati).

'The Doria Palace is almost two-thirds of the size of S. Peter's, and within the ground plan of S. Peter's the Coliseum could stand. It used to be said that a thousand persons lived under the roof outside of the gallery and the private apartments, which alone surpass in extent the majority of royal residences. . . . One often hears foreign visitors, ignorant of the real size of palaces in Rome, observe, with contempt, that the Roman princes let their palaces. It would be more reasonable to inquire what use could be made of such buildings if they were not let, or how any family could be expected to inhabit a thousand rooms.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The **Picture Gallery** (open on Mondays and Fridays from 10 to 2—on fasts the day following) is reached from the Piazza del Collegio Romano, at the back of the palace. It contains, amid a chaos of pictorial rubbish, a very few fine works, partly collected by Olympia Maldacchini, partly acquired in the time of the great Andrea Doria, and brought to Rome from Genoa. Amongst the gems of the collection, but removed to the private apartments, are—

* *Sebastiano del Piombo.* (Celebrated for his great power of making use of all the tints of the same colour, which is especially shown in this picture.) Portrait of Andrea Doria.

A portrait by *Bronzino* is said to represent Gianetto Doria.

The pictures are ill restored. Entering the galleries and turning to the left, we may notice—

1*st Gallery*—

Algardi. Bust of Olympia Maldacchini Pamfili, the sister-in-law of Innocent X., who ruled Rome in his time, and built the Villa Doria Pamfili for her son.

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[1] Cicero, *Ad Att.* v. 16.

[2] Dion. Cass. liii. 23.

65. *Holbein?* Portrait of a man holding a carnation (1545).
66. *Holbein?* Female Portrait.
*68. *Claude Lorraine.* The Mill.

'The foreground of the picture of "The Mill" is a piece of very lovely and perfect forest scenery, with a dance of peasants by a brook-side; quite enough subject to form, in the hands of a master, an impressive and complete picture. On the other side of the brook, however, we have a piece of pastoral life; a man with some bulls and goats tumbling head foremost into the water, owing to some sudden paralytic affection of all their legs. Even this group is one too many: the shepherd had no business to drive his flock so near the dancers, and the dancers will certainly frighten the cattle. But when we look further into the picture, our feelings receive a sudden and violent shock, by the unexpected appearance, amidst things pastoral and musical, of the military; a number of Roman soldiers riding in on hobby-horses, with a leader on foot, apparently encouraging them to make an immediate and decisive charge on the musicians. Beyond the soldiers is a circular temple, in exceedingly bad repair; and close beside it, built against its very walls, a neat water-mill in full work; by the mill flows a large river with a weir across it. . . . At an inconvenient distance from the water-side stands a city, composed of twenty-five round towers and a pyramid. Beyond the city is a handsome bridge; beyond the bridge, part of the Campagna, with fragments of aqueducts; beyond the Campagna the chain of the Alps; on the left, the cascades of Tivoli.

'This is a fair example of what is commonly called an "ideal" landscape: *i.e.* a group of the artist's studies from nature, individually spoiled, selected with such opposition of character as may ensure their neutralising each other's effect, and united with sufficient unnaturalness and violence of association to ensure their producing a general sensation of the impossible.'—*Ruskin's 'Modern Painters.'*

'Many painters take a particular spot, and sketch it to perfection; but Claude was convinced that taking nature as he found it seldom produced beauty. Neither did he like exhibiting in his pictures accidents of nature. He professed to portray the style of general nature, and so his pictures were a composition of the various drafts which he had previously made from beautiful scenes and prospects.'—*Sir J. Reynolds.*

76. *Annibale Caracci.* Pietà.
79. *Claude Lorraine.* Landscape, with the Temple of Apollo.
88. *Dosso Dossi.* Portrait, probably a heroine of the 'Orlando Furioso' (said to represent Vanozza, mother of Lucretia and Cesare Borgia—who died before the birth of Dosso!)

Cabinet—

Bernini. Bust of Innocent X. (with whose ill-acquired wealth this palace was built), in rosso-antico, with a bronze head.
*112. *Raffaelle.* 'Bartolo and Baldo'—the Venetians Beazzano and Navagero, painted in Rome, April 1516.[1]
*113. *Velasquez.* Portrait of Innocent X.—Gio. Battista Pamfili (1644–55)—'l'uomo dall' aspetto tetrice e saturnino,' as Giovanni Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, wrote of him. 'Un Papa buono per le donne,' is the description of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. This stupendously magnificent picture is the finest portrait in Rome, and one of the finest in the world.
114. *Titian?* Portrait, called, without reason, Marco Polo.
116. *Ignoto.* Niccolaus Macciavellus, Historiar Scriptor.
148. *Vandyke?* Portrait of a Widow.

The *2nd Gallery* is decorated with mirrors, and statues of no especial merit. Hence four rooms, with indifferent pictures, lead to a *Cabinet* containing busts of Philippo, Prince Doria, his wife

[1] Letter of Bembo to Cardinal Dovizio da Bibbiena, referring to the presence of the two Venetians in Rome.

(Lady Mary Talbot), and her sister Gwendolen, the saintly Princess Borghese. Returning we enter

The 3rd Gallery—

257. *Sassoferrato.* Holy Family.
265. *Titian.* A Portrait.
278. *Garofalo* (1519). The Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth.
292. *Saraceni.* The Flight into Egypt.
296. *Guido Reni.* Madonna and Sleeping Child.

The *Great Hall* contains in the centre a Centaur in rosso-antico, found in the villa of Pompey at Albano. Round the walls are four fine sarcophagi, with reliefs of the Hunt of Meleager, the story of Marsyas, Endymion and Diana, and a Bacchic procession. Of two ancient circular altars, one serves as the pedestal of a bearded Dionysius. 'Noah's Sacrifice' is a large but feeble work of *Pietro da Cortona.*

The 4th Gallery—

387. *Quentin Matsys.* The Misers.
408. *Rubens.* Portrait of a Monk who was the confessor of the artist.
414. *Titian* (called *Pordenone*). The Daughter of Herodias.
A grand bust of Andrea Doria.
418. A feeble Flemish imitation of *Leonardo da Vinci.* Joanna of Arragon.
422. *Garofalo* (ascribed to *L'Ortolano*). The Nativity—a beautiful picture.

'In the whole immense range of rooms of the Palazzo Doria, I saw but a single fireplace, and that so deep in the wall that no amount of blaze would raise the atmosphere of the room ten degrees. If the builder of the palace, or any of his successors, have committed crimes worthy of Tophet, it would be a still worse punishment to him to wander perpetually through this suite of rooms, on the cold floors of polished brick tiles, or marble, or mosaic, growing a little chillier and chillier through every moment of eternity, or at least till the palace crumbles down upon him.'—*Hawthorne, 'Notes on Italy.'*

Opposite the Palazzo Doria is the **Palazzo Salviati,** where Cardinal de Bernis, the favourite of Madame du Barri, held his court; and received 'Mesdames'—Tantes du Roi—when they fled from the Chateau de Bellevue at the Great Revolution. The next two streets on the left lead into the long narrow square, **Piazza Santi Apostoli** (where General Oudinot returned public thanks after the capture of Rome by the French, June 29, 1849), containing several handsome palaces. That on the right is the **Palazzo Odescalchi,** built by Bernini, in 1660, for Cardinal Fabio Chigi, to whose family it formerly belonged. It has some fine painted and carved wooden ceilings. This palace is supposed to be the scene of one of the latest miracles of the Roman Catholic Church. The Princess Odescalchi had long been bedridden, and was apparently dying of a hopeless disease, when, while her family were watching what they considered her last moments, the Pope (Pius IX.) sent, by the hands of a nun, a little loaf (*panetello*), which he desired her to swallow. With terrible effort the sick woman obeyed, and was immediately healed, and on the following day the astonished Romans saw her go in person to the Pope, at the Vatican, to return thanks for her restoration!

The building at the end of the square is the **Palazzo Valentini**, now the Prefettura, which once contained a collection of antiquities. In the courtyard were a number of curious heads of animals, now in the Museo delle Terme.

Near this, on the left, but separated from the piazza by a courtyard, is the vast **Palazzo Colonna**, begun in the fifteenth century by Martin V., and continued at various later periods. Martin V. resided here with his kindred, considering the Colonna Palace more secure than the Vatican. The people tried to force his successor (Eugenius IV.) to live here also. Julius II. at one time made the palace his residence, and also Cardinal (afterwards San Carlo) Borromeo. Part of it is now a residence for French ambassadors. The palace is built very near the site of the ancient fortress of the Colonna family—so celebrated in times of mediaeval warfare with the Orsini—of which one lofty tower still remains in a street leading up to the Quirinal.

The *Gallery*, shown from 11 to 3 on Tuesdays and Saturdays, can only now be entered at No. 17 Via della Pilotta—the picturesque street at the back of the palace. Hence you at once reach the *Great Hall*, a truly grand room, hung with mirrors and painted with flowers by *Mario de' Fiori*, and with genii by *Maratta*. The statues here are unimportant. The ceiling is adorned with paintings, by *Coli* and *Gherardi*, of the battle of Lepanto, Oct. 8, 1571, which Marc-Antonio Colonna assisted in gaining. The best pictures are the family portraits: Federigo Colonno, *Sustermanns;* Don Carlo Colonna, *Vandyke;* Card. Pompeio Colonna, *Lorenzo Lotto;* Vittoria Colonna, *Muziano;* Lucrezia Colonna, *Vandyke* (the best work of the artist in Rome); Pompeio Colonna, *Agostino Caracci;* Giacomo Sciarra Colonna, *Giorgione*. We may also notice an extraordinary picture of the Madonna rescuing a child from a demon, by *Niccolo d' Alunno*, with two male figures by *Tintoret*. Near the entrance are some glorious old cabinets, inlaid with ivory and lapis-lazuli. On the steps leading to the upper end of the hall is a bomb left on the spot where it fell during the siege of Rome in 1848.

'The Galleria is itself too brilliant a picture for the pictures which it contains.'—*Forsyth.*

From the lower end of the Great Hall, on the right, we enter—

The 1*st Room*. The ceiling has a fresco, by *Battoni* and *Luti*, of the apotheosis of Martin V. (Oddone Colonna, 1417–24)—the Colonnas rise from the grave bearing the column, the heraldic emblem of their race. The pictures include—

Paolo Veronese. A portrait.
Holbein. Lorenzo Colonna.
Ann. Caracci. Peasant dining.
Titian. Onuphrio Pavinio.
Giov. Bellini? S. Bernard.

The 3*rd Room* has an interesting collection of the early schools, including Madonnas of *Filippo Lippi*, *Luca Longhi*, *Botticelli*,

Gentile da Fabriano, Innocenzo da Imola; a curious Crucifixion, by *Jacopo d' Avanzo;* and a portrait by *Giovanni Sanzio,* father of Raffaelle.

These lead into a fine, gloomy old hall, containing the family daïs, and hung with decaying Colonna portraits. Then come three rooms covered with tapestries, the last containing a pretty statue of a girl, not often shown, sometimes called Niobe.

(Through the palace access may be obtained to the beautiful Colonna Gardens; but as they are generally visited from the Quirinal they will be noticed in the description of the hill.)

'On parle d'un Pierre Colonna, dépouillé de tous ses biens en 1100 par le pape Pascal II. Il fallait que la famille, fût déjà passablement ancienne, car les grandes fortunes ne s'élèvent pas en un jour.'—*About.*

'Si'l n'étoit le différent des Ursins et de Colonnois [Orsini and Colonna] la terre de l'Eglise seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les subjects, qui soit en tout le monde.'—*Phillippe de Comines,* 1500.

'Gloriosa Colonna, in cui s' appoggia
Nostra speranza, e 'l gran nome latino,
Ch' ancor non torse dal vero cammino
L' ira di Giove per ventosa pioggia.'
—*Petrarca, Sonetto* x.

Adjoining the Palazzo Colonna is the fine **Church of the Santi Apostoli,** founded in the sixth century, rebuilt by Martin V. in 1420, and modernised, *c.* 1602, by Fontana. The façade is by Meo del Caprino. The portico contains a magnificent bas-relief of an eagle and an oak-wreath (frequently copied and introduced in architectural designs), brought from the Forum of Trajan.

'Entrez sous le portique de l'église des Saints-Apôtres, et vous trouverez là, encadré par hasard dans le mur, un aigle qu'entoure une couronne d'un magnifique travail. Vous reconnaîtrez facilement dans cet aigle et cette couronne la représentation d'une enseigne romaine, telle que les bas-reliefs de la colonne Trajane vous en ont montré plusieurs; seulement ce qui était là en petit est ici en grand.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 168.

Beneath the eagle is a quaint thirteenth-century lion—'opus magistri Vassallecti'—removed, since the change of Government, from the front of the church towards the piazza. The famous *calix marmoreus*—a vase mentioned in the Bull of John III., A.D. 570, by which the boundary-line of the parish was determined—has been removed to the Baths of Diocletian. Also in the portico is a monument, by *Canova,* to Volpato the engraver. The church is the stately burial-place of the house of Colonna. Over the sacristy door is also the tomb of Pope Clement XIV. (Giov. Antonio Ganganelli, 1769–74), also by Canova, executed in his twenty-fifth year. Clement XIV. was the last Pope who took part in the public procession of the 'cavalcata' to the Lateran (Nov. 26, 1769), riding, as Popes had always done hitherto, upon a white palfrey, covered with a crimson velvet gold-embroidered saddle-cloth. He was supposed to have died from poison administered by the Jesuits (Sept. 30, 1774).

'The nature of the Pope's illness, and all the circumstances of his death, make every one believe it could not be natural.'—*Cardinal de Bernis.*

'Morì Clemente, e il suo morir fatale
Fa imprimerci nel cuore alto spavento
Che nel trasse al lugubre funerale
D' occulta man venefico ardimento.'
—*Contemporary Verses.*

'La mort de Clément XIV. est du 22 Septembre 1774. A cette époque, Alphonse de Liguori était évêque de Sainte-Agathe des Goths, au royaume de Naples. Le 22 Septembre, au matin, l'évêque tomba dans une espèce de sommeil léthargique après avoir dit la messe, et, pendant vingt-quatre heures, il demeura sans mouvement dans son fauteuil. Ses serviteurs s'étonnant de cet état, le lendemain, avec lui: "Vous ne savez pas," leur dit-il, "que j'ai assisté le pape que vient de mourir." Peu après, la nouvelle du décès de Clément arriva à Sainte-Agathe.'—*Gournerie,* '*Chrétienne,*' ii. 362.

In 1873 the traditional grave of S. Philip and S. James the Less, the 'Apostoli' to whom this church is dedicated, was opened during its restoration. Two bodies were found, enclosed in a sarcophagus of beautiful transparent marble, and have been duly enshrined.

In the choir are two beautiful monuments of the fifteenth century; on the left is that with an admirable portrait-statue to Piero Riario, the profligate and luxurious nephew of Sixtus IV., made cardinal at twenty-five, who flaunted his mistresses in attire of such surpassing costliness that even their slippers were embroidered with pearls. On the right is the monument, with a portrait, of Cardinal Raffaello Riario, and beneath it the tomb of Giraud Auseduno, who married a niece of Pope Julius II. and was maître-d'hôtel ('familiae praefectus') to Charles VIII. and Louis XII. of France. The tomb of Cardinal Bessarion was removed from the church in 1702 to the cloisters of the adjoining Convent, which is the residence of the General of the Order of 'Minori Conventuali' (Black Friars). The altarpiece, by *Muratori,* represents the martyrdom of SS. Philip and James.

Against the second pillar on the right is the monument of the heart of Maria Clementina Sobieski (buried in S. Peter's), wife of James III., called the Old Pretender, as is shown by the inscription, 'Hic Clementinae remanent praecordia, nam cor coelestis fecit ne superesset amor.'

'Le roi d'Angleterre est dévot à l'excès; sa matinée se passe en prières aux Saints-Apôtres, près du tombeau de sa femme.'—*De Brosses,* 1739.

Here also the 'Old Pretender' (Chevalier de S. George) himself lay in state for five days, crowned, sceptred, and in royal robes, under a canopy inscribed—'Jacobus, Magnae Britanniae Rex, Anno MDCCLXVI.'

In 1552 the church was remarkable for the sermons of the monk Felix Peretti, afterwards Sixtus V.

'Suivant un manuscrit de la bibliothèque Alfieri, un jour, pendant qu'il était dans la chaire des Saints-Apôtres, un billet cacheté lui fut remis; Frère Félix l'ouvre et y lit, en face d'un certain nombre de propositions que l'on disait étr. extraites de ses discours, ce mot écrit en gros caractères: MENTIRIS (tu mens)

Le fougueux orateur eut peine à contenir son émotion; il termina son sermon en quelques paroles, et courut au palais de l'Inquisition présenter le billet mystérieux et demander qu'on examinât scrupuleusement sa doctrine. Cet examen lui fut favorable, et il lui valut l'amitié du grand inquisiteur, Michel Ghislieri, qui comprit aussitôt tout le parti qu'on pouvait tirer d'un homme dont les moindres actions étaient empreintes d'une inébranlable force de caractère.'—*Gournerie.*

In this church is buried the young Countess Savorelli, the story of whose love, misfortunes, and death has been celebrated by About, under the name of *Tolla* (the Lello of the story having been one of the Doria-Pamfili family).

'The convent which Tolla had sanctified by her death sent three embassies in turn to beg to preserve her relics: already the people spoke of her as a saint. But Count Feraldi (Savorelli) considered that it was due to his honour and to his vengeance to bear her remains with pomp to the tomb of his family. He had sufficient influence to obtain that for which permission is not granted once in ten years—the right of transporting her uncovered, upon a bed of white velvet, and of sparing her the horrors of a coffin. The beloved remains were wrapped in the white muslin robe which she wore in the garden on the day when she exchanged her sweet vows with Lello. The Marchesa Trasimeni, ill and wasted as she was, came herself to arrange her hair in the manner she loved. Every garden in Rome despoiled itself to send her its flowers; it was only necessary to choose. The funeral procession quitted the church of S. Antonio Abbate on Thursday evening at 7.30 for the Santi Apostoli, where the Feraldi are buried. The body was preceded by a long file of the black and white confraternities, each bearing its banner. The red light of the torches played upon the countenance of the beautiful dead, and seemed to animate her afresh. The piazza was filled with a dense and closely packed but dumb crowd; no discordant sound troubled the grief of the relations and friends of Tolla, who wept together at the Palazzo Feraldi. . . .

'The Church of the Apostoli and the tomb of the poor loving girl become at certain days of the year an object of pilgrimage, and more than one young Roman maiden adds to her evening litany the words, "S. Tolla, virgin and martyr, pray for us."'—*About.*

Just beyond the church is the **Palazzo Muti-Pappazzuri** or **Savorelli**, the home of Tolla ('Palazzo Feraldi'). The palace was the Roman residence of the Stuart princes. Here Clementina Sobieski died in the habit of a Dominican nun, and lay in state (Jan. 22, 1735) 'upon royal robes with a royal crown,' and was carried hence with royal pomp to S. Peter's. James III., called 'the Old Pretender,' died here in 1766. His eldest son, Prince Charles Edward, 'the Young Pretender,' also died Jan. 31, 1788, in the arms of his daughter by Miss Walkenshaw (Duchess of Albany), here in the house where he had been born on New Year's Eve, 1720, amid tumultuous rejoicings.

'The cannon of S. Angelo thundered in his honour. A new star was said to appear in the heavens that night to hail him. The Pope provided the baby-linen to the value of 6000 scudi. The Sacred College and the Spanish court came with their liberal offerings of gold. He was baptized by the names of Charles Edward Louis Casimir.'—*Dublin Review*, p. 245.

Cardinal York used to drive hither from Albano with four horses, full gallop, attended by running footmen, who were so active and well-trained that they could tire out the fleetest horse.[1] Sir Horace

[1] Silvagni.

Mann mentions in one of his letters (May 2, 1772) that the Romans used to call the wife of Charles Edward 'Regina apostolorum,' from the situation of her palace.[1] The Palazzo Savorelli has buried the site of the central office of the Roman Vigiles or firemen. It was discovered under the Palace in 1644, and consisted of huge walls with mosaic pavements and statues. There were seven main stations (*stationes*) and fourteen offshoots (*excubitoria*) of the fire brigade in Rome.

Returning to the Corso, we pass (right) **Palazzo Bonaparte** (formerly D'Asti), built by Giovanni dei Rossi in 1660. There is a gigantic statue of Napoleon I. opposite the foot of the staircase. Here Laetitia Bonaparte—'Madame Mère'—the mother of Napoleon I., three kings and a queen, lived in dignified simplicity, and died February 2, 1836. When she was dying, the porter, for a fee of one scudo, used to let people in to look at her through the crevices of a screen.[2] The Roman Princes Bonaparte represent the fusion of the two lines of Joseph and Lucien, brothers of Napoleon I. The recent head of the family was Cardinal Lucien-Louis Bonaparte, son of Prince Charles (son of Lucien) and of Princess Zénaïde, daughter of King Joseph of Spain. His only surviving brother is Prince Charles.

This palace forms one corner of the **Piazza di Venezia**, which contains the ancient castellated **Palace** of the Republic of Venice, erected in 1468 by Meo del Caprino and Giacomo di Pietrasanta, with materials plundered from the Coliseum. It was built for the firm, sagacious, and merciful Pope Pius II., who was of Venetian birth. He built it as cardinal, and continued after his election to make it his chief residence in preference to the Vatican. The Capitoline Museum owes its best bronzes to the collection formed here by Pius II. On the ruin of the republic the palace fell into the hands of Austria, and is still the residence of the Austrian ambassador, to whom it was specially reserved on the cession of Venice to Italy.

Opposite this, on a line with the Corso, is the **Palazzo Torlonia** (formerly Frangipani), built by Fontana in 1650 for the Bolognetti family. The family of Torlonia was founded by Giovanni, mercer and draper, born in 1754. He rose as a banker under Pius VI. and VII., was created marquis, duke, and prince, and united his sons and daughters with princely families.

'Nobility is certainly more the fruit of wealth in Italy than in England. Here, where a title and estate are sold together, a man who can buy the one secures the other. From the station of a lacquey, an Italian who can amass riches may rise to that of duke. Thus, Torlonia, the Roman banker, who purchased the title and estate of the Duca di Bracciano, fitted up the "Palazzo Nuovo di Torlonia" with all the magnificence that wealth commands, and a marble gallery, with its polished floors, modern statues, painted ceilings, and gilded furniture,

[1] The proclamation of James III. exhibited at the market-cross of Edinburgh in '45, his shoe-buckles, and the communion plate of Cardinal York, are preserved at the Scotch College in Via Quattro Fontane.

[2] Dr. Wellesley's Reminiscences.

far outshines the faded splendour of the halls of the old Roman nobility.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'Un ancien domestique de place, devenu spéculateur et banquier, achète un marquisat, puis une principauté. Il crée un majorat pour son fils aîné et une seconde géniture en faveur de l'autre. L'un épouse une Sforza-Cesarini et marie ses deux fils à une Chigi et une Ruspoli; l'autre obtient pour femme une Colonna-Doria. C'est ainsi que la famille Torlonia, par la puissance de l'argent et la faveur du saint-père, s'est élevée presque subitement à la hauteur des plus grandes maisons népotiques et féodales.'—*About.*

The most interesting of the antiquities preserved in this palace is a bas-relief, representing a combat between men and animals, brought hither from the Palazzo Orsini, and probably portraying the famous dedication of the theatre of Marcellus on that site, celebrated by the slaughter of six hundred animals. A handsome suite of rooms, bequeathed to the town by Don Giovanni Torlonia, is open to the public on Tuesdays and Fridays from 11 to 2, and will be interesting to those who have not other opportunities of seeing the furniture and fittings of an old Roman palace.

The end of the Corso—narrowed by a projecting wing of the Venetian Palace—was known as the **Ripresa dei Barberi**, because there the horses which ran in the races during the Carnival were caught in large folds of drapery let down across the street to prevent their dashing themselves to pieces against the opposite wall. An attempt has been made to sacrifice the wing of the grand historic palace in order to allow a better view of the trashy monument to Victor Emmanuel, to obtain a site for which the tower of Paul III., the noblest ornament of the Corso, was pulled down several years ago.

Close to the end of the street, formerly built into the wall of a house in the Via di Marforio, is one of the few relics of republican times in the city—a Doric **Tomb**, bearing an inscription, which states that it was erected by order of the people on land granted by the Senate, 'on account of his honours and worth,' to Caius Publicius Bibulus, the plebeian aedile, and his posterity. Petrarch mentions in one of his letters that he wrote a sonnet leaning against this tomb.

The tomb has a secondary interest as marking the commencement of the Via Flaminia, as it stood just outside the Porta Ratumena, from whence that road issued. This gate took its name from a chariot-driver, whose horses ran away during races at Veii, and did not stop till they reached this spot, when they upset his car and killed him.[1] There are remains of another tomb on the opposite side of the street. The Via Flaminia, like the Via Appia, was once fringed with tombs. In the court of No. 18 Via del Ghetarello, which opens out of the Via di Marforio (the ancient Via Lata), are some remains of the outer wall of the **Forum of Julius Caesar.**

The **Via Macel dei Corvi**, near this, is supposed to mark the site of the arch called Arcus Manus Carneae in the Middle Ages. The *Mirabilia* narrates that when the Christian matron Lucia was beaten

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 42.

by order of Diocletian, 'he that smote her was made stone, but his hand remained flesh till the seventh day, wherefore the name of that place is called the Hand of Flesh unto this day.' In the Via Macel dei Corvi, the very picturesque house of Giulio Romano has been recently destroyed, together with the ascent by steps to the Capitol from the Via di Marforio, a subject well known to artists.

From the Ripressa dei Barberi, a street passing (1900) under a picturesque and lofty arch on the right leads to the back of the Venetian Palace, where is the **Church of S. Marco**, originally founded in the time of Constantine, but rebuilt in 833, and modernised by Cardinal Quirini in 1744. Its portico, which is lined with early Christian inscriptions, contains a fine fifteenth-century doorway, surmounted by a figure of S. Mark. The interior is in the form of a basilica, its naves and aisles separated by twenty beautiful columns of Sicilian jasper, and ending in an apse. Much of the pavement is of Opus Alexandrinum. The best pictures are S. Marco, 'a Pope enthroned, by *Carlo Crivelli*, resembling in sharpness of finish and individuality the works of Bartolommeo Viviani,'[1] and a Resurrection by *Palma Giovane*.

'The mosaics of S. Marco, executed under Pope Gregory IV. (A.D. 827–44), with all their splendour, exhibit the utmost poverty of expression. Above the tribune, in circular compartments, is the portrait of Christ between the symbols of the Evangelists, and further below SS. Peter and Paul (or two prophets) with scrolls; within the tribune, beneath a hand extended with a wreath, is the standing figure of Christ with an open book, and on either side, S. Angelo and Pope Gregory IV. Farther on, but still belonging to the dome, are the thirteen lambs, forming a second and quite uneven circle round the figures. The execution is here especially rude, and of true Byzantine rigidity, while, as if the artist knew that his long lean figures were anything but secure upon their feet, he has given them each a separate little pedestal. The lines of the drapery are chiefly straight and parallel, while, with all this rudeness, a certain play of colour has been contrived by the introduction of high lights of another colour.'—*Kugler*.

This church is said to have been originally founded in honour of the Evangelist in 337 by Pope Marco, but the Pope, being himself canonised, is also honoured here, and is buried under the high altar. On April 25, S. Mark's Day, a grand procession of clergy used to start from hence. The *biga* of the Vatican was long used as an episcopal throne in the choir of this church.

Behind the Palazzo Venezia is the vast **Church of Il Gesù**, begun in 1568 by the celebrated Vignola, but the cupola and façade completed in 1575 by his scholar Giacomo della Porta. In the interior is the monument of Cardinal Bellarmin, and various pictures representing events in the lives or deaths of the Jesuit saints—that of the death of S. Francis Xavier is by *Carlo Maratta*. The high altar, by Giacomo della Porta, has fine columns of giallo-antico. The altar of S. Ignatius at the end of the left transept is of gaudy magnificence. It was designed by Padre Pozzi, the group of the Trinity being by Bernardino Ludovisi; the globe in the hand of the

[1] Kugler.

Almighty is said to be the largest piece of lapis-lazuli in existence. Beneath this altar, and his silver statue, lies the body of S. Ignatius Loyola, in an urn of gilt bronze, adorned with precious stones. A great ceremony takes place in this church on July 31, the feast of S. Ignatius; and after vespers on December 31 a Te Deum is sung here for the mercies of the closing year—a really solemn and impressive service.

The **Convent of the Gesù** is the residence of the General of the Jesuits ('His Paternity'), and the centre of religious life in their Order. The rooms in which S. Ignatius lived and died are of the deepest historical interest. They consist of four chambers. The first, now a chapel, is that in which he wrote his 'Constitutions.' The second, also a chapel, is that in which he died. It contains the altar at which he daily celebrated mass, and the autograph engagement to live under the same laws of obedience, poverty, and chastity, signed by Laynez, Francis Xavier, and Ignatius Loyola. On its walls are two portraits of Loyola, one as a young knight, the other as a Jesuit father, and portraits of S. Carlo Borromeo and S. Filippo Neri. It was in this chamber also that S. Francis Borgia died. The third room was that of the attendant monk of S. Ignatius; the fourth is now a kind of museum of relics, containing portions of his robe and small articles which belonged to him and to other saints of the Order. Loyola prayed that his Order might be persecuted, and his prayer has been cordially answered.

Facing the Church of the Gesù is the **Palazzo Altieri**, built by Cardinal Altieri in 1670, from designs of Giov. Antonio Rossi.

'Il palazzo Altieri è indubbiamente uno dei più belli e più grandi di Roma, è una residenza da sovrani è non da privati.'—*Silvagni.*

'Quand le palais Altieri fut achevé, les Altieri, neveux de Clément X., invitèrent leur oncle à le venir voir. Il s'y fit porter, et d'aussi loin qu'il aperçut la magnificence et l'étendue de cette superbe fabrique, il rebroussa chemin le cœur serré, sans dire un seul mot, et mourut peu après.'—*De Brosses.*

On the staircase is the statue of a Dacian (of the time of Trajan) found under Clement IX. in the Via del Governo Vecchio, apparently never having been taken away from its original workshop on that site.

'On the staircase of the Palazzo Altieri is also an ancient colossal marble *finger*,[1] of such extraordinary size that it is really worth a visit.'—*Mrs. Eaton.*

The Altieri claim an origin of the time of Constantine, but probably came into Italy with Otho III. Their palace was the residence of the noble-hearted vicar-general, Cardinal Altieri, who died a martyr to his devotion to his flock (as Bishop of Albano) during the terrible visitation of cholera at Albano in 1867. Near the entrance of the palace from the piazza is a record of the justice of Clement X.—though altered—the tiny house of an old widow, who refused to give up her hovel of two rooms, when

[1] The finger was found in laying the foundations of the palace.

streets, palaces, and churches were pulled down to make room for the new building.

The **Piazza del Gesù** is considered to be the most draughty place in Rome. The legend runs that the devil and the wind were one day taking a walk together. When they came to this square, the devil, who seemed to be very devout, said to the wind, 'Just wait a minute, mio caro, while I go into this church.' So the wind promised, and the devil went into the Gesù, and has never come out again—and the wind is blowing about in the Piazza del Gesù to this day.

CHAPTER III

THE CAPITOLINE

The Story of the Hill—Piazza del Campidoglio—Palace of the Senator—View from the Capitol Tower—The Tabularium—The Museo Capitolino—Gallery of Statues—Palace of the Conservators—Gallery of Pictures—Palazzo Caffarelli—Tarpeian Rock — Convent and Church of Ara-Coeli — Mamertine Prisons.

THE Capitoline was the hill of the kings and the republic, as the Palatine was of the empire.

Entirely composed of tufa, its sides, now concealed by buildings or by the accumulated rubbish of ages, were abrupt and precipitous, as are still the sides of the neighbouring citadels of Corneto and Cervetri. It was united to the Quirinal by an isthmus of land cut away by Trajan, but in every other direction was isolated by its perpendicular cliffs:—

> 'Arduus in valles et fora clivus erat.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* i. 264.

Up to the time of the Tarquins, the hill bore the name of Mons Saturnius,[1] from the mythical king Saturn, who is reported to have come to Italy in the reign of Janus, and to have made a settlement here. His name was derived from sowing, and he was looked upon as the introducer of civilisation and social order, both of which are inseparably connected with agriculture. His reign here was thus considered to be the golden age of Italy. His wife was Ops, the representative of plenty.[2]

'C'est la tradition d'un âge de paix représenté par la règne paisible de Saturne; avant qu'il y eut une *Roma*, ville de la force, il y eut une *Saturnia*, ville de la paix.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* i. 86.

Virgil represents Evander, the mythical king of the Palatine, as exhibiting Saturnia, already in ruins, to Æneas.

> 'Haec duo praeterea disjectis oppida muris,
> Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
> Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
> Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.'
> —*Æn.* viii. 355.

When Romulus had fixed his settlement upon the Palatine, he opened an asylum for fugitive slaves upon the then deserted

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1 Varo, *De Ling. Lat.* v. 42.

2 Smith's '*Roman Mythology.*'

Saturnius, and here, at a sacred oak, he is said to have offered up the spoils of the Caecinenses, and their king Acron, who had made a war of reprisal upon him, after the rape of their women in the Campus Martius; here also he vowed to build a temple to Jupiter Feretrius, where spoils should always be offered. But in the meantime the Sabines, under Titus Tatius, besieged and took the hill, having a gate of its fortress (said to have been on the ascent above the spot where the Arch of Severus now stands) opened to them by Tarpeia, who gazed with longing upon the golden bracelets of the warriors, and, obtaining a promise to receive that which they wore upon their arms, was crushed by their shields as they entered.[1] Some authorities, however, maintain that she asked and obtained the hand of King Tatius. From this time the hill was completely occupied by the Sabines, and its name became partially merged in that of **Mons Tarpeia**, which its southern side has always retained. Niebuhr states that it is a popular superstition that the beautiful Tarpeia still sits, sparkling with gold and jewels, enchanted and motionless, in a cave in the centre of the hill.

After the death of Tatius, the Capitoline again fell under the government of Romulus, and his successor, Numa Pompilius, founded here a Temple of Fides Publica, in which the flamens were always to sacrifice with a fillet on their right hands, in sign of fidelity. To Numa also is attributed the worship of the god Terminus, who had a temple here in very early ages.

Under Tarquinius Superbus, B.C. 535, the magnificent **Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus**, which had been vowed by his father, was built with money taken from the Volscians in war. In digging its foundations, the head of a man was found, still bloody, an omen which was interpreted by an Etruscan augur to portend that Rome would become the head of Italy. In consequence of this, the name of the hill was once more changed, and has ever since been **Mons Capitolinus**, or Capitolium.

The site of this temple has always been one of the vexed questions of history. At the time it was built, as now, the hill consisted of two peaks, with a level space between them. Niebuhr and Gregorovius place the temple on the south-eastern height, but Canina and other authorities incline to the north-eastern eminence, the present site of Ara-Coeli, because, among many other reasons, the temple faced the south, and also the Forum, which it could not have done upon the south-eastern summit; and also because the citadel is always represented as having been nearer to the Tiber than the temple: for when Herdonius, and, at a later time, the Gauls, arriving by the river, scaled the heights of the Capitol, it was the *citadel* which barred their path, and in which, in the latter case, Manlius was awakened by the noise of the sacred geese of Juno. The remains of an important building, discovered in November 1875 on the south-eastern eminence, are in favour of that site: but the question is still undecided.

[1] Propertius, *El.* iv. 4; Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* v. 41.

The temple of Jupiter occupied a lofty platform, the summit of the rock being levelled to receive it. Its façade was decorated with three ranges of columns, and its sides by a single colonnade. It was nearly square, being 200 Roman feet in length, and 185 in width.[1] The interior was divided into three cells; the figure of Jupiter occupied that in the centre, Minerva was on his right, and Juno on his left. The figure of Jupiter was the work of an artist of the Volscian city of Fregellae,[2] and was formed of terrra-cotta, painted like the statues which we may still see in the Etruscan museum at the Vatican, and clothed with the tunica palmata and the toga picta, the costume of victorious generals. In his right hand was a thunderbolt, and in his left a spear.

'Jupiter angusta vix totus stabat in aede;
Inque Jovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* i. 202.

At a later period the statue was formed of gold, but this figure had ceased to exist in the time of Pliny.[3] When Martial wrote, the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were all gilt.

'Scriptus es aeterno nunc primum, Jupiter, auro,
Et soror, et summi filia tota patris.'
—*Martial, Ep.* xi. 5.

In the wall adjoining the cella of Minerva, a nail was fastened every year, to mark the lapse of time.[4] In the centre of the temple was the statue of Terminus.

'The sumptuous fane of Jupiter Capitolinus had peculiar claims on the veneration of the Roman citizens; for not only the great lord of the earth was worshipped in it, but the conservative principle of property itself found therein its appropriate symbol. While the statue of Jupiter occupied the usual place of the divinity in the farthest recess of the building, an image of the god Terminus was also placed in the centre of the nave, which was open to the heavens. A venerable legend affirmed that when, in the time of the kings, it was requisite to clear a space on the Capitoline to erect on it a temple to the great father of the gods, and the shrines of the lesser divinities were to be removed for the purpose, Terminus alone, the patron of boundaries, refused to quit his place, and demanded to be included in the walls of the new edifice. Thus propitiated, he was understood to declare that henceforth the bounds of the republic should never be removed; and the pledge was more than fulfilled by the ever-increasing circuit of her dominion.'—*Merivale, 'Romans under the Empire.'*

The gates of the temple were of gilt bronze, and its pavement of mosaic;[5] in a vault beneath were preserved the Sibylline books, placed there by Tarquin. The building of Tarquin lasted 400 years, and was burnt down in the civil wars, B.C. 83. It was rebuilt very soon afterwards by Sulla, and adorned with columns of Pentelic marble, which he had brought from the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens.[6] Sulla, however, did not live to re-dedicate it, and it was finished by Q. Lutatius Catulus, B.C. 62. This temple lasted till it was burnt to the ground by the soldiers of Vitellius, who set fire to

1 Vitruvius, iv. 7. 1.
2 Pliny, xxxv. 12.
3 Pliny, vii. 39.
4 Livy, vii. 3.
5 Pliny, xxxiii. 18.
6 Pliny, xxxvi. 5.

it by throwing torches upon the portico, A.D. 69, and dragging forth Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, murdered him at the foot of the Capitol, near the Mamertine Prisons.[1] Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, was, at that time, in the temple with his uncle, and escaped in the dress of a priest; in commemoration of which he erected a chapel to Jupiter Conservator, close to the temple, with an altar upon which his adventure was sculptured. The temple was rebuilt by Vespasian, who took so great an interest in the work that he carried away some of the rubbish on his own shoulders; but his temple was the exact likeness of its predecessor, only higher, as the aruspices said that the gods would not allow it to be altered.[2] In this building Titus and Vespasian celebrated their triumph after the fall of Jerusalem. The ruin of the temple began in A.D. 404, during the short visit of the youthful Emperor Honorius to Rome, when the plates of gold which lined its doors were stripped off by Stilicho.[3] It was finally plundered by the Vandals in A.D. 455, when its statues were carried off to adorn the African palace of Genseric, and half its roof was stripped of the gilt bronze tiles which covered it; but it is not known precisely when it ceased to exist—the early fathers of the Christian Church speak of having seen it. The story that the bronze statue of Jupiter, belonging to this temple, was transformed by Leo I. into the famous image of S. Peter, is quite disproved.

Close beside this, the queen of Roman temples, stood the Temple of Fides, said to have been founded by Numa, where the senate were assembled at the time of the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, B.C. 133, who fell in front of the Temple of Jupiter, at the foot of the statues of the kings—his blood being the first spilt in Rome in a civil war.[4] Near this, also, were the twin temples of Mars and Venus Erycina, vowed after the battle of Thrasymene, and consecrated, B.C. 215, by the consuls R. Fabius Maximus and T. Otacilius Crassus. Near the top of the Clivus was the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Augustus, in consequence of a vow which he made in an expedition against the Cantabri, when his litter was struck, and the slave who preceded him was killed by lightning. This temple was so near, that it was considered as a porch to that of Jupiter Capitolinus, and, in token of that character, Augustus hung some bells upon its pediment.

On the Arx, or height of the Capitol opposite to that which was occupied by the Temple of Jupiter, was the temple of Honour and Virtue, built B.C. 103, by Marius, with the spoils taken in the Cimbric wars. The temple was of sufficient size to allow of the senate meeting there, to pass the decree for Cicero's recall.[5] Here Nardini places the ancient Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, in which

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[1] Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 74.
[2] Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 53.
[3] Zosimus, lib. v. c. 38.
[4] Valerius Maximus, ii. 3. 3.
[5] Vitruvius, iii. 2, 5; Propertius, iv. 11, 45; Cic. *Pro Planc.* 32.

Romulus dedicated the first spolia opima. Here, on the site of the house of Manlius, was built the Temple of Juno Moneta, B.C. 345, in accordance with a vow of L. Furius Camillus.[1] It was a little temple used as a mint, whence our word 'money.' On this height, also, was the altar of Jupiter Pistor, which commemorated the stratagem of the Romans, who threw down loaves into the camp of the besieging Gauls, to deceive them as to the state of their supplies.[2]

'Nomine, quam pretio, celebratior arce Tonantis,
Dicam Pistoris quid velit ara Jovis.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 349.

It was probably also on this side of the hill that the gigantic statue of Jupiter stood, which was formed out of the armour taken from the Samnites, B.C. 293, and which is stated by Pliny to have been of such a size that it was visible from the top of Monte Cavi.

Two cliffs are now rival claimants to be considered as the Tarpeian Rock; but it is most probable that the whole of the hill on this side of the Intermontium was called the Mons Tarpeius, and was celebrated under that name by the poets.

'In summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat:
Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
Atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser
Porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat.'
—*Virgil, Aen.* viii. 652.

'Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,
Et junget nostro templorum culmina coelo.'
—*Sil. Ital.* iii. 623.

'. . . juvat inter tecta Tonantis
Cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantes.'
—*Claud.* vi. *Cons. Hon.* 44.

Among the buildings upon the **Intermontium**, or space between the two heights, were the Tabularium, or Record Office, part of which still remains; a portico built by Scipio Nasica,[3] and an arch which Nero built here to his own honour, the erection of which, upon the sacred hill hitherto devoted to the gods, was regarded even by the subservient senate as an unparalleled act of presumption.[4]

In the mediaeval times the revolutionary government of Arnold of Brescia established itself on this hill (1144), and Pope Lucius II., attempting to regain his temporal power, was slain with a stone in attacking it. Here Petrarch received his laurel crown (1341); and here the tribune Rienzi promulgated the laws of the 'good estate.' At this time nothing existed on the Capitol but the church and convent of Ara-Coeli and a few ruins. Yet the cry of the people at the coronation of Petrarch, 'Long life to *the Capitol* and the poet!'

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1 Livy, vi. 20.
2 Livy, v. 48.
3 Velleius Paterc. ii. 3.
4 See Merivale, '*Hist. of the Romans*,' vol. vi.

shows that the scene itself was then still more present to their minds than the principal actor upon it. But, when the Popes returned from Avignon, the very memory of the Capitol seemed effaced, and the spot was only known as the Goat's Hill—*Monte Caprino*. Pope Boniface IX. (1389–94) was the first to erect on the Capitol, on the ruins of the Tabularium, a residence for the senator and his assessors. Paul III. (1544–50) employed Michelangelo to lay out the Piazza del Campidoglio, and the Capitoline Museum and the Palace of the Conservators were designed by him. Pius IV., Gregory XIII., and Sixtus V. added the sculptures and other monuments which now adorn the steps and balustrade.[1]

Just beyond the end of the Corso the Via Giulio Romano, formerly della Pedacchia, turns to the right, under a quaint archway in the secret passage constructed as a means of escape for the Franciscan Generals of Ara-Coeli to the Palazzo Venezia, as that in the Borgo is for the escape of the Popes to S. Angelo. In this street is a house decorated with simple but elegant Doric details, and bearing an inscription over the door which shows that it was that of Pietro da Cortona.

The street ends in the sunny open space at the foot of the Capitol, with Ara-Coeli on its left, approached by an immense flight of steps, removed hither from the Temple of the Sun on the Quirinal. It does not, however, as has been often stated, mark the site of the famous staircase to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which Julius Caesar descended on his knees, after his triumph for his Gallic victories. Till the fourteenth century there was no access whatever to the Capitol from this side of the Campus Martius. The staircase was renewed in 1887, and has lost all the interest of antiquity.

The grand staircase, '*La Cordonnata*,' was opened in its present form on the occasion of the entry of Charles V. in 1536.[2] At its foot were two lions of Egyptian porphyry, which were removed hither from the Church of S. Stefano in Cacco by Pius IV. These are now taken to the Capitoline Museum, and replaced by copies. It was down the first staircase which existed on this site that Rienzi, the tribune, fled in his last moments, and close to the spot where the left-hand lion stands that he fell, covered with wounds, his wife witnessing his death from a window of the burning palace above. A small space between the two staircases has lately been transformed into a garden, through which access may be obtained to four vaulted brick chambers, said by some to be remnants of the substructions of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. In this garden living wolves are kept, to commemorate the nurse of Romulus. A modern statue of Rienzi is by *Masini*.

At the head of the stairs are colossal statues of the twin heroes,

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1 Dyer's '*Rome*,' 407, 408, 409.

2 When four hundred houses and three or four churches were levelled to the ground to make a road for his triumphal approach.—*Rabelais*, *Lettre* viii. p. 21.

Castor and Pollux (brought hither in 1583 from the Ghetto), commemorating the victory of the Lake Regillus, after which they rode before the army to Rome, to announce the joyful news, watered their horses at the Aqua Argentina, and then passed away from the gaze of the multitude into celestial spheres. Beyond these, on either side, are two trophies of imperial times, discovered (1590) in the ruin on the Esquiline, misnamed the Trophies of Marius, which was the castellum of the Aqua Julia. Next come statues of Constantine the Great and his son Constantine II. from their Baths on the Quirinal. The two ends of the parapet are occupied by ancient Milliaria, being the first and seventh milestones of the Appian Way. The first milestone was found *in situ*, and showed that the miles counted from the gates of Rome, and not, as was formerly supposed, from the Milliarium Aureum, at the foot of the Capitol.

We now find ourselves in the **Piazza del Campidoglio**, occupying the Intermontium, where Brutus harangued the people after the murder of Julius Caesar. In the centre of the square is the famous **Statue of Marcus Aurelius**, the most perfect ancient equestrian statue in existence. It was originally gilt, as may still be seen from marks of gilding upon the figure, said, without certain foundation, to have stood in front of the Arch of Septimius Severus. In the time of Sergius III. it was in front of the Lateran, where, not long after, it was put to a singular use by John XII., who hung a refractory prefect of the city from it by his hair.[1] During the rejoicings consequent upon the elevation of Rienzi to the tribuneship in 1347, one of its nostrils was made to flow with water and the other with wine. From its vicinity to the Lateran, so intimately connected with the history of Constantine, it was supposed during the Middle Ages to represent that Christian emperor,[2] and this fortunate error alone preserved it from the destruction which befell so many other ancient imperial statues. Michelangelo, when he designed the buildings of the Capitoline Piazza, wished to remove the statue to its present site, but the canons of the Lateran were unwilling to part with their treasure, and only consented to its removal in 1538, upon an annual acknowledgment of their proprietorship, for which a bunch of flowers is still presented once a year by the senators to the chapter of the Lateran. Michelangelo, standing in fixed admiration before this statue, is said to have bidden the horse 'Cammina.' Even until late years an especial guardian has been appointed to take care of it, with an annual stipend of ten scudi, and the title of 'Il Custode del Cavallo.' The pedestal, with the disregard for antiquities which characterised all the great masters of the cinque-cento, was made by Michelangelo out of one of the pillars of the temple of Castor and Pollux.

'They stood awhile to contemplate the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. The moonlight glistened upon traces of the gilding which had once

1 Dyer's '*City of Rome*,' p. 379.

2 The Mirabilia (XIII. c.) says that, when at the Lateran, the statue was called by the pilgrims Theodoric, by the people Constantine, and by the clergy Marcus Quintus Curtius.

covered both rider and steed; these were almost gone, but the aspect of dignity was still perfect, clothing the figure, as it were, with an imperial robe of light. It is the most majestic representation of the kingly character that ever the world has seen. A sight of the old heathen emperor is enough to create an evanescent sentiment of loyalty even in a democratic bosom, so august does he look, so fit to rule, so worthy of man's profoundest homage and obedience, so inevitably attractive of his love. He stretches forth his hand with an air of proud magnificence and unlimited authority, as if uttering a decree from which no appeal was permissible, but in which the obedient subject would find his highest interests consulted; a command that was in itself a benediction.'—*Hawthorne.*

'I often ascend the Capitoline Hill to look at Marcus Aurelius and his horse, and have not been able to refrain from caressing the lions of basalt. You cannot stand on the Aventine or the Palatine without grave thoughts, but standing on the spot brings me very little nearer the image of past ages.'—*Niebuhr's Letters.*

'La statue équestre de Marc-Aurèle a aussi sa légende, et celle-là n'est pas du moyen âge, mais elle a été recueillie il y a peu d'années de la bouche d'un jeune Romain. La dorure, en partie détruite, se voit encore en quelques endroits. A en croire le jeune Romain, cependant, la dorure, au lieu d'aller s'effaçant toujours davantage, était en voie de progrès. "Voyez, disait-il, la statue de bronze commence à se dorer, et quand elle le sera entièrement, le monde finira."—C'est toujours, sous une forme absurde, la vieille idée romaine, que les destinées et l'existence de Rome sont liées aux destinées et à l'existence du monde. C'est ce qui faisait dire au septième siècle, ainsi que les pèlerins saxons l'avaient entendu et le répétaient: "Quand le Colisée tombera, Rome et le monde finiront."'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 228.

'Marcus Aurelius is perhaps the most beautiful character in history. He is one of those consoling and hope-inspiring marks, which stand for ever to remind our weak and easily-discouraged race how high human goodness and perseverance have once been carried, and may be carried again. . . . The record of him on which his fame chiefly rests is the record of his inward life—his "Journal"—a priceless treasure for those who seek eagerly for that substratum of right thinking and right doing, which in all ages must surely have somewhere existed. "From my mother I learnt piety and beneficence, and abstinence not only from evil deeds but from evil thoughts; and further, simplicity in my way of living, far removed from the habits of the rich. From my tutor I learnt (hear it, ye tutors of princes!) endurance of labour, and to want little, and to work with my own hands, and not to meddle with other people's affairs, and not to be ready to listen to slander.'—*Matthew Arnold.*

The building at the back of the piazza is the **Palace of the Senator**, originally built by Boniface IX. (1389), but altered by Michelangelo to correspond with the buildings on either side. He intended to have a portico surmounted by statues at the summit of the stairs. The fountain at the foot of the double staircase was erected by Sixtus V., and is adorned with statues of river-gods found in the Colonna Gardens, and a curious porphyry figure of Minerva—adapted as Rome. The body of this statue was found at Cori, but the head and arms are modern additions.

'Rome personnifiée, cette déesse à laquelle on érigea des temples, voulut d'abord être une Amazone, ce qui se conçoit, car elle était guerrière avant tout. C'est sous la forme de Minerve que Rome est assise sur la place du Capitole.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 242.

The **Tower of the Capitol**, built 1579, from designs of Martino Longhi, contains the great bell of Viterbo, carried off from that town during the wars of the Middle Ages, which is never rung

except to announce the death of a sovereign or the opening of the Carnival. The ascent of the tower is well repaid by the view from the summit, which embraces not only the seven hills of Rome, but the various towns and villages of the neighbouring plain and mountains which successively fell under its dominion.

'Pour suivre les vicissitudes des luttes extérieures des Romains contre les peuples qui les entourent et les pressent de tous côtés, nous n'aurons qu'à regarder à l'horizon la sublime campagne romaine et ces montagnes qui l'encadrent si admirablement. Elles sont encore plus belles et l'œil prend encore plus de plaisir à les contempler quand on songe à ce qu'elles ont vu d'efforts et de courage dans les premiers temps de la république. Il n'est presque pas un point de cette campagne qui n'ait été témoin de quelque rencontre glorieuse; il n'est presque pas un rocher de ces montagnes qui n'ait été pris et repris vingt fois.

'Toutes ces nations sabelliques qui dominaient la ville du Tibre et semblaient placées là sur des hauteurs disposées en demi-cercle pour l'envelopper et l'écraser, toutes ces nations sont devant nous et à la portée du regard.

'Voici du côté de la mer les montagnes des Volsques; plus à l'est sont les Herniques et les Aeques; au nord, les Sabins; à l'ouest, d'autres ennemis, les Etrusques, dont le mont Ciminus est le rempart.

'Au sud, la plaine se prolonge jusqu'à la mer. Ici sont les Latins, qui, n'ayant pas de montagnes pour leur servir de citadelle et de refuge, commenceront par être des alliés.

'Nous pouvons donc embrasser le panorama historique des premiers combats qu'eurent à soutenir et que soutinrent si vaillamment les Romains affranchis.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 373.

'Possis nihil urbe Roma
Visere majus.'
—*Hor. Car. Sec.* iii.

Beneath the Palace of the Senator (entered by a door in the street on the right) are the gigantic remains of the **Tabularium**, consisting of huge rectangular blocks of peperino supporting a Doric colonnade, which is shown by an inscription still preserved to have been that of the Public Record Office, where the Tabulae, engraved plates bearing important decrees of the Senate, were preserved, having been placed there by Q. Lutatius Catulus in B.C. 79. The lower part of the wall is built from the peperino known as Lapis Gabinus, and is as fresh as ever; the upper portion, of Alban stone, is less well preserved. A gallery (open daily 10–3, 50 c.) in the interior of the Tabularium has been fitted up as a museum of architectural antiquities collected from the neighbouring temples. This building is, as it were, the boundary between inhabited Rome and that Rome which is a city of ruins.

'I came to the Capitol, and looked down on the other side. There before my eyes opened an immense grave, and out of the grave rose a city of monuments in ruins, columns, triumphal arches, temples, and palaces, broken, ruinous, but still beautiful and grand,—with a solemn mournful beauty! It was the giant apparition of ancient Rome.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

Sixty-four steps of an ancient staircase still exist, which led down from the Tabularium to the Forum. They are as sharp and perfect as when they were built, mainly owing to the disuse of this approach caused by Domitian, who built the existing temple of Vespasian close against the Tabularium in such a way that the

cella of the Temple completely blocked up the only lower entrance to the staircase.[1]

The east side of the piazza—on the left as one stands at the head of the steps—is occupied by the **Museo Capitolino**, chiefly built under Innocent X. (open daily from 10 to 3, for a fee of 50 c., and on Sundays gratis). The museum was founded in 1471 by Sixtus IV. (Riario della Rovere), when the famous collection of bronzes previously kept at the Lateran was removed to it.

Above the fountain in the court, opposite the entrance, reclines the colossal statue of a river-god, called Marforio, removed hither from the end of the Via di Marforio (Forum Martis?), near the Arch of Severus. This figure, according to Roman fancy, was the friend and gossip of Pasquino (at the Palazzo Braschi), and lively dialogues, merciless to the follies of the Government and the times, used to appear with early morning, placarded on their respective pedestals, as passing between the two. Thus, when Clement XI. mulcted Rome of numerous sums to send to his native Urbino, Marforio asked, 'What is Pasquino doing?' The next morning Pasquino answered, 'I am taking care of Rome, that it does not go away to Urbino.' In the desire of putting an end to such inconvenient remarks, the Government ordered the removal of one of the statues to the Capitol, and since Marforio has been shut up, Pasquino has lost his spirits. Here are now the two basalt Egyptian lions from the foot of the Capitol steps.

From the corridor on the ground floor, on the left, open several rooms devoted to ancient inscriptions and sarcophagi with basreliefs. In the 1st Room are very ancient mosaics brought hither from S. Antonio Abbate on the Esquiline. The principal one represents a tiger tearing a bull, being a relic of the Basilica of Junius Bassus, which occupied the site of the monastic cloisters.

'Pope Simplicius (468–483) transformed the Basilica of Junius Bassus into the Church of S. Andrea. The faithful, raising their eyes towards the tribune, could see the figures of Christ and His apostles in mosaic; turning to the side walls, they could see Nero, Galba, and six other Roman emperors, Diana hunting the stag, Hylas stolen by the nymphs, Cybele in the chariot drawn by lions, a lion attacking a centaur, the chariot of Apollo, figures performing mysterious Egyptian rites, and other such profanities, represented in *opus sextile marmoreum*, a sort of Florentine mosaic. This unique set of intarsios was destroyed in the sixteenth century by the French Antonian monks for a reason worth relating. They believed that the glutinous substance by which the layers of marble or mother-of-pearl was kept fast was an excellent remedy against the ague; hence every time one of them was attacked by fever, a portion of these marvellous works was sacrificed.'—*Lanciani.*

'Le tigre en mosaïque conservé dans l'église de S. Antoine, patron des animaux, est, selon toute apparence, le portrait d'un acteur renommé.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iv. 28.

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[1] See an admirably corrective article on '*Walks in Rome*' by the writer of a recent work on the '*Remains of Ancient Rome*,' in the *Builder*, August 27, 1887. It is not 'a thankless task to correct Mr. Hare's misstatements;' he takes this opportunity of saying how exceedingly grateful he is for even the most severe notice of them.

In the 2nd Room are two skeletons in their sarcophagi, found in 1889 in the Prati di Castello. That to the right is the girl Creperia Tryphaena, buried with her ornaments and doll (see Ch. XV.). An interesting sarcophagus in the vestibule is that (found at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura) of Licentius, the friend and pupil of S. Augustine, who was vainly urged by his master and by Paulinus of Nola to turn his back upon the world, and became a Roman senator, but died a Christian in 406. At the foot of the staircase is a colossal statue of the Emperor Hadrian in armour, found on the Coelian.

Opposite the foot of the staircase, a door leads into three rooms filled with sculpture. In the first is a fragment of a female statue, found on the Via Appia, with admirable drapery. The grand sarcophagus in the second room represents a battle between the Gauls and Romans, the Gauls distinguished by their torques. Many of the inscriptions let into the walls relate to members of the imperial family. In the third room is the glorious sarcophagus, said to be that of the murdered Alexander Severus and (his mother) Julia Mamaea, and found in the Monte del Grano, outside the Porta S. Giovanni. The reliefs on the sides, which are of the noblest period of Roman art, represent the history of Achilles. The vase which contained the ashes belonging to this sarcophagus is the famous 'Portland vase' of the British Museum.

The **Staircase** is lined with the fragments of the **Pianta Capitolina**, a series of marble slabs of imperial date (found, for the most part, in the sixteenth century under SS. Cosmo and Damian), inscribed with ground-plans of Rome, and exceedingly important from the light they throw upon the ancient topography of the city. A number of missing slabs, formerly in the hands of the Farnese, were found in the winter of 1898–99, near the fountain of the Mascherone.

The upper **Corridor** is lined with statues and busts. Here and elsewhere we will only notice those especially remarkable for beauty or historic interest.[1]

L. 60. Satyr playing on a flute—found on the Aventine.
R. 5. Cupid bending his bow—probably a copy from the bronze of Lysippus, found at Tivoli.
R. 8. Old woman intoxicated.

'Tout le monde a remarqué dans le musée du Capitole une vieille femme serrant des deux mains une bouteille, la bouche entr'ouverte, les yeux mouraunts tournés vers le ciel, comme si, dans la jubilation de l'ivresse, elle savourait le vin qu'elle vient de boire. Comment ne pas voir dans cette caricature en marbre une reproduction de la *Vieille Femme Ivre* de Myron, qui passait pour une des curiosités de Smyrne?'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 272.

L. The infant Hercules strangling a serpent.
L. Grand sarcophagus—The Rape of Proserpine.
R. 12. Faun playing on a flute.
(In the wall on the left, inscriptions from the Columbarium of Livia.)
L. Sarcophagus—the birth and childhood of Bacchus.
L. 42. Statue, draped—supposed to be Julia Maesa, sister-in-law of Septimius Severus, found near the Domine quo Vadis.

[1] R, right; L, left.

R. 22. Head of Ariadne.
R. 25. Jupiter, on a cippus with a curious relief of Claudia drawing the boat with the image of the Magna Mater up the Tiber.
L. 33. Bust of Caligula.
*R. 28. Marcus Aurelius, as a boy—a very beautiful bust.
R. 29. Statue of Minerva from Velletri. The same as that called Minerva Giustiniani in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican.
R. 30. Trajan.
R. 31. Caracalla.
R. 76. In the window, a magnificent vase, found near the tomb of Cecilia Metella, standing on a puteal adorned with reliefs of the twelve principal gods and goddesses.

From the right of this corridor open two chambers. The first is named the **Room of the Doves**, from the famous mosaic found in the ruins of Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, and generally called **Pliny's Doves**, because Pliny, when speaking of the perfection to which the mosaic art had attained, describes a wonderful mosaic of Sosus of Pergamos, in which one dove is seen drinking and casting her shadow on the water, while others are pluming themselves on the edge of the vase. As a pendant to this is another mosaic of a **Tragic and Comic Mask**. In the farther window is (83) the **Iliac Tablet**, an interesting relief in the soft marble called palombino, relating to the story of the destruction of Troy and the flight of Aeneas, and found at Bovillae.

'L'ensemble de la guerre contre Troie est contenu dans un abrégé figuré qu'on appelle la Table Iliaque, petit bas-relief destiné à offrir un résumé visible de cette guerre aux jeunes Romains, et à servir dans les écoles soit pour l'*Iliade*, soit pour les poëmes cycliques comme d'un *Index parlant*.

'La Table Iliaque est un ouvrage romain fait à Rome. Tout ce qui touche aux origines troyennes de cette ville, inconnues à Homère et célébrées surtout par Stésichore avant de l'être par Virgile, tient dans ce bas-relief une place importante et domine dans sa composition.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 431.

The second chamber contains the famous **Venus of the Capitol**—a Greek statue, a copy from Praxiteles, found immured in a wall upon the Quirinal.

'La vérité et la complaisance avec lesquelles la nature est rendue dans la Vénus du Capitole faisaient de cette belle statue un sujet de scandale pour l'austérité des premiers chrétiens. C'était sans doute afin de la soustraire à leurs mutilations qu'on l'avait enfouie avec soin, ce qui l'a conservée dans son intégrité; ainsi son danger l'a sauvée. Comme on l'a trouvée dans le quartier suspect de la Suburra, on peut supposer qu'elle ornait l'atrium élégant de quelque riche courtisane.'—*Ampère*, iii. 318.

The two smaller sculptures of Leda and the Swan, and Cupid and Psyche—two lovely children embracing—were found on the Aventine.

From the end of the gallery we enter

The Hall of the Emperors. In the centre is the beautiful seated statue of Agrippina (grand-daughter of Augustus, wife of Germanicus, and mother of Caligula).

'On s'arrête avec respect devant la première Agrippine, assise avec une si noble simplicité et dont le visage exprime si bien la fermeté virile.'—*Ampère*, iv.

'Ici nous la contemplons telle que nous pouvons nous la figurer après la mort de Germanicus. Elle semble mise aux fers par le destin, mais sans pouvoir encore renoncer aux pensées superbes dont son âme était remplie aux jours de son bonheur.'—*Braun.*

'Femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem.'—*Tacitus, Ann.* i. 69.

'Tiberius did not spare his own kindred when he sacrificed that of others. Can one see the seated statue of Agrippina without remembering the scene where the centurion, her guard, lifts the staff against that noble head, and strikes out one of her eyes? Under such ill-usage Agrippina carries out her resolve to die of hunger, and when she is dead, the senate renders thanks to Caesar for his clemency towards her!'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

Round the room are ranged eighty-three busts of Roman emperors, empresses, and their near relations, forming perhaps the most interesting portrait-gallery in the world.

'It is a high-born company, but there is cause to doubt if it be as good as it is select.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

All the Julian family are handsome: even viewed as works of art, many of the busts are of the utmost importance. They are—

1. Julius Caesar, nat. B.C. 100; ob. B.C. 44. Murdered.
2. Augustus, Imp. B.C. 12—A.D. 14—'beaming with dignity and personal charm.'

'His features were quiet and cheerful, whether he spoke or was silent.'—*Suetonius.*

3. Marcellus, his nephew and son-in-law, son of Octavia, ob. B.C. 23, aged 20.
4, 5. Tiberius, Imp. A.D. 14–37.

'In spite of the curved nose—the Roman nose, so seldom seen in Rome—Tiberius has so strong a family likeness to his stepfather that many have suspected a nearer relationship between them.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

6. Drusus, his brother, son of Livia and Claudius Nero, ob. B.C. 10.
7. Drusus, son of Tiberius and Vipsania, ob. A.D. 23.
8. Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia, wife of the elder Drusus, mother of Germanicus and Claudius.
9. Germanicus, son of Drusus and Antonia, ob. A.D. 19.
10. Agrippina, daughter of Julia and Agrippa, grand-daughter of Augustus, wife of Germanicus. Died of starvation under Tiberius, A.D. 33.

'Colloquium filii exposcit, ubi nihil pro innocentia, quasi diffideret, nec beneficiis, quasi exprobaret disseruit, sed ultionem in delatores et praemia amicis obtinuit.'—*Tacitus, Ann.* xiii. 21.

11. Caligula, Imp. A.D. 37–41, son of Germanicus and Agrippina. Murdered by the tribune Chaerea (a noble bust in basalt).

'That imperial maniac, whose portrait in green basalt, with the stain of dire mental tension on the forehead, is still so beautiful that we are able at this distance of time to pity more than loathe him.'—*J. A. Symonds.*

'The head is turned slightly aside, the brow thunders, the eyes lighten, the fine mouth is pressed wrathfully and scornfully together; but one can at once see that this look is counterfeited or practised; it is still only the theatre tyrant, with features according to rule. "His whole exterior," says Tacitus, "was an imitation of that which Tiberius had put on for the day, and he spoke almost with the words of the latter."'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

12. Claudius, Imp. A.D. 41–54, younger son of Drusus and Antonia. Poisoned by his wife Agrippina the younger.

'A well-formed head, against which, from the point of view of beauty, one can hardly note anything, but that the oval of the face is too compressed. The broad forehead is overcast with clouds of melancholy. The eyes disclose, with their unsteady, sad, and kindly look, a plodding and suffering spirit, that is conscious of its noble birth, but unable to maintain its freedom.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

13. Messalina, third wife of Claudius. Put to death by Claudius, A.D. 48—the dressing of the hair characteristic and curious.

'Une grosse commère sensuelle, aux traits bouffis, à l'air assez commun, mais qui pouvait plaire à Claude.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 32.

14. Agrippina the younger, sixth wife of Claudius, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder, great-grand-daughter of Augustus. Murdered by her son Nero, A.D. 60.

'Ce buste la montre avec cette beauté plus grande que celle de sa mère, et qui était pour elle un moyen. Agrippine a les yeux levés vers le ciel; on dirait qu'elle craint, et qu'elle attend.'—*Emp.* ii. 34.

15, 16. Nero, Imp. A.D. 54–69, son of Agrippina the younger by her first husband, Ahenobarbus. Died by his own hand.

'Suetonius says that the features of Nero were more handsome than engaging His hair, like that of all the Domitians, was light-brown, his eyes were bluish-grey.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

17. Poppaea Sabina (?), the beautiful second wife of Nero. Killed by a kick from her husband, A.D. 62. The extravagance of Poppaea was so great that, when she travelled, she took with her 500 she-asses, that she might not fail to have her bath of milk every morning.

'Ce visage a la délicatesse presque enfantine que pouvait offrir celui de cette femme, dont les molles recherches et les soins curieux de toilette étaient célèbres, et dont Diderot a dit avec vérité, bien qu'avec un peu d'emphase, "C'était une furie sous le visage des grâces."'—*Emp.* ii. 38.

18. Galba, Imp. A.D. 69. Murdered in the Forum—full of character.

19. Otho, Imp. A.D. 69. Died by his own hand.

20. Vitellius (?), Imp. A.D. 69. Murdered at the Scalae Gemoniae—a coarse, sensuous face.

21. Vespasian, Imp. A.D. 70–79.

22. Titus, Imp. A.D. 79–81, son of Vespasian and Domitilla. Supposed to have been poisoned by his brother Domitian—a grand bust.

'With the Flavians, a coarser mould of features comes on; "the urbane" gives way for a something rustic, the æsthetic for a something common. The honest, good-humoured, but stingy toll-officer, who was a father of this house, plainly has handed down his face to Vespasian and Titus.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

23. Julia, daughter of Titus.

24. Domitian, Imp. A.D. 81–96, second son of Vespasian and Domitilla. Murdered in the Palace of the Caesars.

'Domitien est sans comparaison le plus beau des trois Flaviens; mais c'est une beauté formidable, avec un air farouche et faux.'—*Emp.* ii. 12.

25. Domitia Longina (?), wife of Domitian.

26. Nerva (?), Imp. A.D. 96. Elected by the people, after the murder of Domitian.

27. Trajan, Imp. A.D. 98–118. Adopted son of Nerva.

28. Plotina, wife of Trajan—one of the most striking portraitures in this collection.

29. Marciana, sister of Trajan.

30. Matidia, daughter of Marciana, niece of Trajan.

31, 32. Hadrian, Imp. A.D. 118–138, adopted son of Trajan.

33. Julia Sabina, wife of Hadrian, daughter of Matidia—very regal.

34. Elius Verus, first adopted son of Hadrian.

35. Antoninus Pius, Imp. A.D. 138–161, second adopted son of Hadrian.

'Seldom does the quiet and gentle strength of moral will shine forth from the features of a Roman emperor as from the glorious face of Antoninus Pius.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

> 'I saw a calm and Princely Presence come,
> Who, stately as the imperial purple, bore
> His robe, a saint in mien, mild, innocent,
> Perfect in manhood, with clear eye serene,
> And lofty port; who from the sages took
> What lessons earth could give, but trod no less

The toilsome path of Duty to the end;
And as he passed I knew the kingly ghost
Of Antonius, who knew not Christ indeed,
Yet not the less was His. I marked the calm
And thoughtful face of him who ruled himself,
And through himself the world.'—*Lewis Morris.*

36. Faustina the elder, wife of Antoninus Pius and sister of Elius Verus.
37. Marcus Aurelius, Imp. A.D. 161–180, son of Servianus by Paulina, sister of Hadrian, adopted by Antoninus Pius, as a boy.
38. Marcus Aurelius, in later life.
39. Annia Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, daughter of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the elder.
40. Galerius Antoninus, son of Antoninus Pius.
41. Lucius Verus, son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius.
42. Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the younger. Put to death at Capri for a plot against her husband.
43. Commodus, Imp. A.D. 180–193, son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina. Murdered in the Palace of the Caesars—handsome and sensuous.
44. Crispina, wife of Commodus. Put to death by her husband at Capri.
45. Pertinax, Imp. A.D. 193, successor of Commodus, reigned three months. Murdered in the Palace of the Caesars.
46. Didius Julianus, Imp. A.D. 193, successor of Pertinax. Murdered in the Palace of the Caesars.
47. Manlia Scantilla (?), wife of Didius Julianus.
48. Pescennius Niger } rival candidates (after murder of Didius Julianus, A.D. 193) for the Empire, which they failed to obtain, and were both put to death.
49. Clodius Albinus }
50, 51. Septimius Severus, Imp. A.D. 193–211, successor of Didius Julianus.
52. Julia Pia, wife of Septimius Severus—with a movable wig.
53. Caracalla, Imp. A.D. 211–217, son of Septimius Severus and Julia Pia. Murdered. The cruel shrewdness of this emperor is always marvellously portrayed in his busts, which are of perhaps the best period of Roman portraiture.
54. Geta, brother of Caracalla, by whose order he was murdered in the arms of Julia Pia.
55. Macrinus, Imp. A.D. 217, murderer and successor of Caracalla. Murdered.
56. Diadumenianus, son of Macrinus. Murdered with his father.
57. Heliogabalus, Imp. A.D. 218–222, son of Julia Soemis, daughter of Julia Maesa, who was sister of Julia Pia. Murdered.
58. Annia Faustina, third wife of Heliogabalus, great-grand-daughter of Marcus Aurelius—with coloured marble drapery.
59. Julia Maesa, sister-in-law of Septimius Severus, aunt of Caracalla and grandmother of Alexander Severus.
60. Alexander Severus, Imp., son of Julia Mamaea, second daughter of Julia Maesa. Murdered at the age of 28.
61. Julia Mamaea, daughter of Julia Maesa, and mother of Alexander Severus. Murdered with her son.
62. Julius Maximinus, Imp. A.D. 235–238; elected by the army. Murdered.
63. Maximus. Murdered with his father at the age of 18—a very fine bust.
64. Gordianus Africanus, Imp. A.D. 238; a descendant of Trajan. Died by his own hand.
65. (Antoninus) Gordianus, Junior, Imp. A.D. 238, son of Gordianus Africanus and Fabia Orestella, great-grand-daughter of Antoninus Pius. Died in battle.
66. Pupienus, Imp. A.D. 238 } reigned together for four months and then were
67. Balbinus, Imp. A.D. 238 } murdered.
68. Gordianus Pius, Imp. A.D. 238, grandson, through his mother, of Gordianus Africanus. Murdered.
69. Philip II., Imp. A.D. 244, son of, and co-emperor with Philip I. Murdered.
70. Decius (?), Imp. A.D. 249–251. Forcibly elected by the army. Killed in battle.
71. Quintus Herennius Etruscus, son of Decius and Herennia Etruscilla. Killed in battle with his father.
72. Hostilianus, son or son-in-law of Decius, Imp. A.D. 251, with Treb. Gallus. Murdered.
73. Trebonianus Gallus, Imp. A.D. 251–254. Murdered.

74, 75. Volusianus, son of Trebonianus Gallus. Murdered.
76. Gallienus, Imp. A.D. 261–268. Murdered—a low type of bad face.
77. Salonina, wife of Gallienus.
78. Saloninus, son of Gallienus and Salonina. Put to death by Postumus, A.D. 259, at the age of 17.
79. Marcus Aurelius Carinus, Imp. A.D. 283, son of the Emperor Carus. Murdered.
80. Diocletian, Imp. A.D. 284–305; elected by the army.
81. Constantius Chlorus, Imp. A.D. 305–306, son of Eutropius and Claudia, niece of the Emperor Claudius II. and Quintilius; father of Constantine the Great.

'Rude soldiers now change with dull stewards of the realm, and the peculiarities of both kinds unite in a repulsive whole in Constantius Chlorus and Constantine.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

82. Julian the Apostate, Imp. A.D. 361–363, son of Julius Constantius and nephew of Constantine the Great. Died in battle.
83. Magnus Decentius, brother of the Emperor Magnentius. Strangled himself, A.D. 353;—with the characteristics of mediaeval sculpture.

'In their busts the lips of the Roman emperors are generally closed, indicating reserve and dignity, free from human passions and emotions.'—*Winckelmann.*

'At Rome the emperors become as familiar as the popes. Who does not know the curly-headed Marcus Aurelius, with his lifted brow and projecting eyes—from the full round beauty of his youth to the more haggard look of his latest years? Are there any modern portraits more familiar than the severe wedge-like head of Augustus, with his sharp-cut lips and nose,—or the dull phiz of Hadrian, with his hair combed down over his low forehead,—or the vain, perking face of Lucius Verus, with his thin nose, low brow, and profusion of curls,—or the brutal bull head of Caracalla,—or the bestial bloated features of Vitellius?

'These men, who were but lay figures to us at school, mere pegs of names to hang historic robes upon, thus interpreted by the living history of their portraits, the incidental illustrations of the places where they lived and moved and died, and the buildings and monuments they erected, become like men of yesterday. Art has made them our contemporaries. They are as near to us as Pius VII. and Napoleon.'—*Story's 'Roba di Roma.'*

'Nerva est le premier des bons, et Trajan le premier des grands empereurs romains; après lui il y en eut deux autres, les deux Antonins. Trois sur soixante-dix, tel est à Rome le bilan des gloires morales de l'empire.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* liii.

Among the reliefs round the upper walls of this room are two, of Endymion sleeping and of Perseus delivering Andromeda, which belong to the set in the Palazzo Spada, and are exceedingly beautiful.

The Hall of Illustrious Men contains a seated statue called M. Claudius Marcellus (?), the conqueror of Syracuse, B.C. 212. Round the room are ranged ninety-three busts of ancient philosophers, statesmen, and warriors. Among the more important are:—

4, 5, 6. Socrates.
9. Aristides the orator.
10. Seneca (?).
16. Marcus Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus—a grand bust.
19. Theophrastus.
23. Thales.
25. Theon.
27. Pythagoras.
28. Alexander the Great (?).
30. Aristophanes.
31. Demosthenes.
38. Aratus.
39, 40. Democritus of Abdera.
42, 43. Euripides.
44, 45, 46. Homer.
47. Eumenides.
48. Cneius Domitius Corbulo, general under Claudius and Nero.
49. Scipio Africanus.
52. Cato Minor.
54. Aspasia (?).
55. Cleopatra (?).
60. Thucydides (?).
61. Aeschines.
62, 64. Epicurus.
63. Epicurus and Metrodorus.
68, 69. Masinissa.
71. Antisthenes.
72, 73. Julian the Apostate.
76. Cicero.
77. Terence.
83. Aeschylus (?).

Among the interesting bas-reliefs in this room is one of a Roman interior with a lady trying to persuade her cat to dance to a lyre—the cat, meanwhile, snapping, on its hind-legs, at two ducks; the detail of the room is given, even to the slippers under the bed. A relief of three dancing girls and a fawn is inscribed with the name of the Greek artist—Callimachus.

The Saloon contains, down the centre—

1. Jupiter (in nero-antico), from Porto d'Anzio, on an altar with figures of Mercury, Apollo, and Diana.

2, 4. Centaurs (in bigio-morato), by *Aristeas* and *Papias* (their names are on the bases), from Hadrian's Villa.

'Both the youthful and the elder Centaur, we infer from copies, originally carried a winged cupid. While, however, the youthful Centaur is enduring his teasing rider with laughing humour, the elder one, with fettered arms, is sighing over the pain which the tyrannical God of Love is preparing for him. This ingenious idea indicates an older Greek original, and the choice of black marble, as well as the technical skill evidenced in its treatment, seem to infer that the artists worked after a bronze production.'—*Lübke.*

3. The young Hercules—in basalt, found in the Vigna Massimi on the Aventine. It stands on an altar of Jupiter.

'On voit au Capitole une statue d'Hercule très-jeune, en basalte, qui frappe assez désagréablement, d'abord, par le contraste, habilement exprimé toutefois, des formes molles de l'enfance et de la vigueur caractéristique du héros. L'imitation de la Grèce se montre même dans la matière que l'artiste a choisie; c'est un basalte verdâtre, de couleur sombre. Tissagoras et Alcon avaient fait un Hercule en fer, pour exprimer la force, et, comme dit Pline, pour signifier l'énergie persévérante du dieu.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 406.

5. Aesculapius (in nero-antico), on an altar, representing a sacrifice.

Among the statues and busts round the room the more important are :—

6. A Faun—one of the same type as that in rosso-antico.
9. Trajan—a colossal bust.
10. Augustus—a naked figure.
12. An athlete—the head most beautiful.
13. Hadrian—a naked figure, with the attribute of Mars—from Ceprano.
17. Minerva—of rigid archaic sculpture.
21. Beautiful male statue of the time of Hadrian—the lower part of the figure draped.
22. Hecuba.

'Nous avons le personnage même d'Hécube dans la Pleureuse du Capitole. Cette prétendue pleureuse est une Hécube furieuse et une Hécube en scène, car elle porte le costume, elle a le geste et la vivacité du théâtre, je dirais volontiers de la pantomime. . . . Son regard est tourné vers le ciel, sa bouche lance des imprécations; on voit qu'elle pourra faire entendre ces hurlements, ces aboiements de la douleur effrénée que l'antiquité voulut exprimer en supposant que la malheureuse Hécube avait été métamorphosée en chienne, une chienne à laquelle on a arraché ses petits.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 468.

25. Colossal bust of Antoninus Pius.

The Hall of the Faun derives its name from the famous Faun of rosso-antico, holding a bunch of grapes to his mouth, found in Hadrian's Villa. It stands on an altar dedicated to Serapis. Against the right wall is a magnificent sarcophagus (No. 18), whose reliefs (much studied by Flaxman) represent the battle of Theseus

and the Amazons. The opposite sarcophagus (No. 3), found under the Church of S. Eustachio, has a relief of Diana and Endymion. We should also notice—

8. A boy with a mask.
16. A boy with a goose (found near the Lateran).
21. A beautiful eyeless bust of Ariadne.

Let into the wall is a black tablet—the Lex Regia or Senatus Consultum, conferring imperial powers upon Vespasian, being the very table upon which Rienzi declaimed in favour of the rights of the people.

The Hall of the Dying Gladiator contains the three gems of the collection—

1. The Gladiator—from the gardens of Sallust.
10. The Faun of Praxiteles—the best copy extant.
12. The Antinous of the Capitol—from the villa of Hadrian.

'The identity of the Capitoline Antinous may be reckoned more than doubtful. The head is almost certainly not his. How it came to be placed upon a body presenting so much resemblance to the type of Antinous, I do not know. Careful comparison of the torso and the arms with an indubitable portrait will even raise the question whether this fine statue is not a Hermes or a hero of an earlier age. Its attitude suggests Narcissus or Adonis; and under either of these forms Antinous may properly have been idealised.'—*J. A. Symonds.*

Besides these we should notice—

2. Majestic female statue—sometimes called Juno.
3. Head of Alexander the Great.
4. Amazon, from the Villa d'Este.
5. Head of Bacchus—magnificent.
7. Apollo with the lyre.
9. Statuette of a little girl defending a bird from a snake.
16. Bust of M. Junius Brutus, the assassin of Julius Caesar. 'Tu quoque, Brute.'

In the centre of the room is the grand statue of the wounded Gaul, generally known as the Dying Gladiator.

'I see before me the gladiator lie:
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low,—
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.

He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away;
He reck'd not of the life he lost, nor prize,
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their Dacian mother—he, their sire,
Butchered to make a Roman holiday.
All this rushed with his blood—shall he expire,
And unavenged? Arise, ye Goths, and glut your ire!'

—*Byron*, '*Childe Harold.*

It is delightful to read in this room the description in *Transformation*:—

'It was that room, in the centre of which reclines the noble and most pathetic figure of the dying gladiator, just sinking into his death-swoon. Around the walls stand the Antinous, the Amazon, the Lycian Apollo, the Juno, all famous productions of antique sculpture, and still shining in the undiminished majesty and beauty of their ideal life, although the marble that embodies them is yellow with time, and perhaps corroded by the damp earth in which they lay buried for centuries. Here, likewise, is seen a symbol (as apt at this moment as it was two thousand years ago) of the Human Soul, with its choice of Innocence or Evil close at hand, in the pretty figure of a child, clasping a dove to her bosom, but assaulted by a snake.

'From one of the windows of this saloon we may see a broad flight of stone steps, descending alongside the antique and massive foundation of the Capitol, towards the battered triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, right below. Farther on the eye skirts along the edge of the desolate Forum (where Roman washer-women hang out their linen to the sun), passing over a shapeless confusion of modern edifices, piled rudely up with ancient brick and stone, and over the domes of Christian churches, built on the old pavements of heathen temples, and supported by the very pillars that once upheld them. At a distance beyond—yet but a little away, considering how much history is heaped into the intervening space—rises the great sweep of the Coliseum, with the blue sky brightening through its upper tier of arches. Far off, the view is shut in by the Alban mountains, looking just the same, amid all this decay and change, as when Romulus gazed thitherward over his half-finished wall.

'In this chamber is the Faun of Praxiteles. It is the marble image of a young man, leaning his right arm on the trunk or stump of a tree: one hangs carelessly by his side, in the other he holds a fragment of a pipe, or some such sylvan instrument of music. His only garment, a lion's skin with the claws upon the shoulder, falls half-way down his back, leaving his limbs and the entire front of the figure nude. The form, thus displayed, is marvellously graceful, but has a fuller and more rounded outline, more flesh and less of heroic muscle, than the old sculptors were wont to assign to their types of masculine beauty. The character of the face corresponds with the figure; it is most agreeable in outline and feature, but rounded and somewhat voluptuously developed, especially about the throat and chin; the nose is almost straight, but very slightly curves inward, thereby acquiring an indescribable charm of geniality and humour. The mouth, with its full yet delicate lips, seems so really to smile outright, that it calls forth a responsive smile. The whole statue—unlike anything else that ever was wrought in the severe material of marble—conveys the idea of an amiable and sensual creature, easy, mirthful, apt for jollity, yet not incapable of being touched by pathos. It is impossible to gaze long at this stone image without conceiving a kindly sentiment towards it, as if its substance were warm to the touch and imbued with actual life. It comes very near to some of our pleasantest sympathies.'—*Hawthorne.*

'Praxitèle avait dit à Phryné de choisir entre ses ouvrages celui qu'elle aimerait le mieux. Pour savoir lequel des ses chefs-d'œuvre l'artiste préférait, elle lui fit annoncer que le feu avait pris à son atelier. "Sauvez, s'écria-t-il, mon Satyre et mon Amour!"'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 309.

The west or right side of the Capitoline Piazza is occupied by the **Palace of the Conservators**, which contains the Protomoteca, the Picture Gallery, and various other treasures. Admission 50 c.; 10 to 3 on week-days and 10 to 1 on Sundays, when it is free.

The little court at the entrance is full of historical relics, including remains of two gigantic statues of Apollo; a colossal head of Domitian; and the marble pedestal, which once in the mausoleum of Augustus supported the cinerary urn of Agrippina the elder, daughter of Agrippa, wife of Germanicus, and mother of Caligula—'a handful of ashes of old Roman virtue'—with a very perfect inscription. The cippus was evidently the work of Caligula, who

brought back the ashes of his mother from Pandatoria, where she died in exile. It was hollowed out and used as a measure for corn ('rugitella di grano') in the Middle Ages. In the opposite loggia are a statue of Rome Triumphant and a group of a lion attacking a horse, found in the bed of the Arno. In the portico on the left is a statue of Augustus, leaning against the rostrum of a galley, in allusion to the battle of Actium. On the right is the only authentic statue of Julius Caesar.

'Before us stands a military chief in full armour, in whose hard, bony, elderly face never gleamed the most distant flash of that genius which with the fires of lightning split asunder the hosts of Gaul and Germany, crushed the warlike fame of Pompey, overthrew the Republic, and annihilated the remnants of old Roman virtue. Not a glimpse of that affability which in the old Caesars, as in the young, took captive an adversary; or of that sense of beauty which made him an artist among historians and orators; or of that magnanimity which, with human nobleness, gilded the selfishness of a fiend.'—*Viktor Rydberg.*

Opposite the foot of the staircase is a restoration, by Michelangelo, of the column — Columna rostrata—of Caius Duilius. Then, at the end of the corridor, a seated statue of Charles of Anjou, who was made a senator of Rome in the thirteenth century.

'It is a massive, roughly blocked-out figure, seated upon a throne-chair supported by lions, dressed in a long tunic and royal mantle, with a crown upon the head and a sceptre firmly planted upon the right knee. The expression of the face is stolid, but its lineaments are individual, and the shape of the head is so peculiar that we cannot doubt its being a faithful portrait. For this reason it is of high historical value, and as the only mediaeval portrait-statue at Rome, must be regarded with no common interest.'—*Perkins's 'Italian Sculptors.'*

On the first and second landings are magnificent reliefs, representing events in the life of Marcus Aurelius Imp., belonging to the arch dedicated to him, which was wantonly destroyed, in order to widen the Corso, by Alexander VII.

'Jusqu'au règne de Commode Rome est représentée par une Amazone; dans l'escalier du palais des Conservateurs, Rome, en tunique courte d'Amazone et le globe à la main, reçoit Marc-Aurèle; le globe dans la main de Rome date de César.'—*Ampère*, iii. 242.

On the upper flight of the staircase is a bas-relief of Curtius leaping into the gulf, here represented as a marsh, found near S. Maria Liberatrice.

'Un bas-relief d'un travail ancien, dont le style ressemble à celui des figures peintes sur les vases dits archaïques, représente Curtius engagé dans son marais; le cheval baisse la tête et flaire le marécage, qui est indiqué par les roseaux. Le guerrier, penché en avant, presse sa monture. On a vivement, en présence de cette curieuse sculpture, le sentiment d'un incident héroïque probablement réel, et en même temps de l'aspect primitif du lieu qui en fut témoin.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* i. 321.

The Halls of the Conservators consist of eight rooms (entrance 50 c.). The 1st,[1] painted in fresco from the history of the Roman

[1] The chapel (opposite the staircase) is sometimes entered before the other rooms, and leads into the seventh, whence, on the right, you enter the second hall.

kings, by the *Cavaliere d' Arpino*, contains statues of Urban VIII., by Bernini, and Innocent X., in bronze, by Algardi. The 2nd Room, adorned with subjects from republican history by *Lauretti*, has statues of modern Roman generals—Marc Antonio Colonna, Tommaso Rospigliosi, Francesco Aldobrandini, Carlo Barberini, brother of Urban VIII., and Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma. The 3rd Room is painted by *Daniele da Volterra*, with subjects from the wars with the Cimbri. Amongst its decorations are two fine pictures, a dead Christ with a monk praying, by the Capuchin Cosimo Piazza da Castelfranco, and S. Francesca Romana, by *Romanelli*.

The 4th Room contains the *Fasti Consulares*, tables found near the Temple of Vesta, where they are supposed to have been engraved on the walls of a marble chamber in the Regia, the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus.[1] They are inscribed with the names of public officers from Romulus to Augustus. The frescoes are by *Benedetto Bonfigli*, 1420–96. The 5th Room contains two bronze ducks (formerly shown as the sacred geese of the Capitol) and a female head (found in the gardens of Sallust), a bust of Medusa, by *Bernini*, and a fine bronze bust of Michelangelo.

A passage filled with trashy tributes to Garibaldi leads to the 6th or Throne Room, hung with faded tapestry; it has a frieze in fresco by *Annibale Caracci*, representing the triumphs of Scipio Africanus. The 7th Room is painted by *Daniele da Volterra* (?), with the history of the Punic Wars. The 8th Room is a chapel, containing a lovely fresco by *Andrea di Assisi* (*L'Ingegno*), of the Madonna and Child with Angels.

'The Madonna is seated enthroned, fronting the spectator; her large mantle forms a grand cast of drapery; the child on her lap sleeps in the loveliest attitude; she folds her hands and looks down, quiet, serious, and beautiful: in the clouds are two adoring angels.'—*Kugler.*

This fresco was removed from the staircase in 1703, when it was much repainted, the robe of the Virgin being made dark green, and that of the angel on the left red! So it remained till 1878, when the original colouring was discovered and disclosed by Signor Garelli.

The four Evangelists are by *Caravaggio;* the pictures of Roman saints (Cecilia Alexis, Eustachio, Francesca Romana) by *Romanelli*.

A door on the left of the entrance to the Halls of the Conservators leads to a set of rooms and galleries chiefly devoted to the antiquities discovered since the change of Government in 1870. Passing through some rooms occupied by modern Fasti Consulares, and decorated with busts of eminent Italians (the most remarkable being that in the 3rd Room right of the entrance, of Pius VII., a most noble work of Canova) we reach (right) two rooms filled with bronzes. The first contains a couch, litter, and remains of a chariot, discovered in 1862; the second a collection of coins found in the Horti Lamiani in 1876, and others from the Campana and Castellani collection.

From the first of the Bronze Rooms we enter (left) an octagonal

[1] See a paper by F. M. Nichols in *Archaeologia*, vol. l. pt. 1.

hall in which the statues recently found on the Esquiline—chiefly in the gardens of Maecenas—are provisionally arranged. We may notice (beginning from the right)—

1. The lower portion of an armed imperial statue.
2. An altar from the Porta Salara, with a poem inscribed upon it, being the monument of the too clever boy G. Sulpicus Maximus (see Ch. XI.).
18. A beautiful boy pouring water from a vessel.
16. Bust of Commodus, as Hercules, beautifully finished, from the Horti Lamiani.
A very beautiful Apollino, recalling the 'Genius of the Vatican.'
12. Urania (?) (in the inner circle).
21. A magnificent sarcophagus with a boar hunt, from Vicovaro.
*28. Polimnia, with exquisitely simple drapery. The head of this statue was found in 1872, the body not till 1874.
33. Statue of Claudia Justa.
A beautiful bust with the hair turned back.
Seated figure of a girl, much restored, from the Horti Lamiani.
Statuette of Minerva.
46. Maecenas—a bust.
Seated female figure, from Via Principessa Margherita.
Apollo with the lyre, like the 'Genius of the Vatican.'
38, 42. Runners.
43. Beautiful male fragment.
46. Marsyas—the tree, hands and feet added.
(Inner circle.) Old fisherman.
10. Old woman with a kid, from the Horti Vettiani.
8. A statuette of Ceres (Terrae Matris) in the shrine in which it was found, the iron hinges for the doors still in their place.
(Opposite the entrance.) A beautiful vase of Greek workmanship, with an inscription. By Pontios of Athens, from the gardens of Maecenas.
(Behind this a delightful dog in verde-antico.)

Hence, by a passage containing a bust in a Phrygian cap with remains of polychrome colour, and crossing the end of the gallery, we enter a room filled with objects in terra-cotta found on the Esquiline. Especially worthy of notice are three cinerary urns, as found, enclosing each other, first terra-cotta, then lead, then alabaster. Among the smaller objects preserved here are a writing tablet inscribed with the owner's name, and an inkstand with its bronze pens.

We now enter the **Camera dei Bronzi**, which contains the famous *Bronze Wolf of the Capitol*, one of the most interesting relics in the city. The figure of the wolf is believed to be that dedicated by the Ogulnii, aediles, in B.C. 297; the figures of Romulus and Remus are modern. It has been doubted whether this is the wolf described by Dionysius as 'an ancient work of brass' standing in the Temple of Romulus under the Palatine, or the wolf described by Cicero, who speaks of a little gilt figure of the founder of the city sucking the teats of a wolf. The Ciceronian wolf was struck by lightning in the time of the great orator, and a fracture in the existing figure, attributed to lightning, is adduced in proof of its identity with it.

'Geminos huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam
Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua.'
—*Virgil, Aen.* viii. 632.

'And thou, the thunder-stricken nurse of Rome!
She-wolf! whose brazen-imaged dugs impart
The milk of conquest yet within the dome,
Where, as a monument of antique art,
Thou standest:—mother of the mighty heart,
Which the great founder sucked from thy wild teat,
Scorch'd by the Roman Jove's ethereal dart,
And thy limbs black with lightning—dost thou yet
Guard thy immortal cubs, nor thy fond charge forget?'
—*Byron, 'Childe Harold.'*

The wolf (with the Hercules, the Boy extracting a thorn, the Camillus, and the colossal head of Domitian) was preserved in the Papal Museum at the Lateran from the beginning of the ninth century, and removed to the Capitol in 1473.

Standing near the wolf is the well-known and beautiful figure of a boy extracting a thorn from his foot, called the Shepherd Martius.

'La ressemblance du type si fin de l'Apollon au lézard et du charmant bronze du Capitole *le tireur d'épine* est trop frappante pour qu'on puisse se refuser à voir dans celui-ci une inspiration de Praxitèle ou de son école. C'est tout simplement un enfant arrachant de son pied une épine qui l'a blessé, sujet naïf et champêtre analogue au Satyre se faisant rendre ce service par un autre Satyre. On a voulu y voir un athlète blessé par une épine pendant sa course et qui n'en est pas moins arrivé au but; mais la figure est trop jeune et n'a rien d'athlétique. Le moyen âge avait donné aussi son explication et inventé sa légende. On racontait qu'un jeune berger, envoyé à la découverte de l'ennemi, était revenu sans s'arrêter et ne s'était permis qu'alors d'arracher une épine qui lui blessait le pied. Le moyen âge avait senti le charme de cette composition qu'il interprétait à sa manière, car elle est sculptée sur un arceau de la cathédrale de Zurich qui date du siècle de Charlemagne.'—*Ampère*, iii. 315.

In the back of the room is the statue of Hercules, in gilt bronze, found in the Forum-Boarium in the time of Sixtus IV.

'On cite de Myron trois Hercules, dont deux à Rome; l'un de ces derniers a probablement servi de modèle à l'Hercule en bronze doré du Capitole Cette statue a été trouvée dans le marché aux bœufs, non loin du grand cirque. L'Hercule de Myron était dans un temple élevé par Pompée et situé près du grand cirque; mais la statue du Capitole, dont le geste est maniéré, quel que soit son mérite, n'est pas assez parfaite pour qu'on puisse y reconnaître une œuvre de Myron. Peut-être Pompée n'avait placé dans son temple qu'une copie de l'un des deux Hercules de Myron et la donnait pour l'original; peut-être aussi Pline y a-t-il été trompé. La vanité que l'un montre dans tous les actes de sa vie, et le peu de sentiment vrai que trahit si souvent la vaste composition de l'autre, s'accordent également avec cette supposition et la rendent assez vraisemblable.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 273.

A gigantic hand is supposed to have belonged to the statue of Commodus; a colossal foot belonged to a statue of Caius Cestius, erected near his pyramid, with the sale of the gold stuff in which he had desired (contrary to law) to be buried; the famous bronze horse was found (1849) in the Trastevere.

'Calamis venu un peu avant Phidias, n'eut point de rival pour les chevaux. Calamis, qui fut fondeur en bronze, serait-il l'auteur du cheval de bronze du Capitole, qui, en effet, semble plutôt un peu antérieur que postérieur à Phidias?' —*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 234.

A beautiful vase of fluted bronze, found in the sea at Porto d'Anzio, is that sent by Mithridates, king of Pontus, to the college of the Eupatorian Gymnasiarchs. It is supposed to have been lost

while it was being carried off in the triumph of Pompey; the handles are modern. Near the door is the curious bust said to represent Junius Brutus, who drove out the kings, and became the first consul.

'Il est permis de voir dans le buste du Capitole un vrai portrait de Brutus; il est difficile d'en douter en le contemplant. Voilà bien le visage farouche, la barbe *hirsute*, les cheveux roides collés si rudement sur le front, la physionomie inculte et terrible du premier consul romain; la bouche serrée respire la détermination et l'énergie; les yeux, formés d'une matière jaunâtre, se détachent en clair sur le bronze noirci par les siècles et vous jettent un regard fixe et farouche. Tout près est la louve de bronze. Brutus est de la même famille. On sent qu'il y a du lait de cette louve dans les veines du second fondateur de Rome, comme dans les veines du premier, et que lui aussi, pareil au Romulus de la légende, marchera vers son but à travers le sang des siens.

'Le buste de Brutus est placé sur un piédestal qui le met à la hauteur du regard. Là, dans un coin sombre, j'ai passé bien des moments face à face avec l'impitoyable fondateur de la liberté romaine.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 270.

The next room is occupied by Etruscan vases and antiquities, the gift of Castellani.

Returning to the corridor, a staircase on the right leads to the Picture Gallery of the Capitol, founded by Benedict XIV., which contains very few first-rate pictures, but has a beautiful S. Sebastian, by *Guido*, and several fine works of *Guercino*. The pictures are not hung in the order of their numbers. We may notice—

1st Room (opposite the stairs—beginning R.)—

84. *Rubens.* Romulus and Remus.
78. *Romanelli.* S. Cecilia.
70. *Lorenzo di Credi*—later period. Madonna and Child, with angels.
68. *Guercino.* S. John Baptist.
61. *Guido Reni.* Mary Magdalen.
*59. *Domenichino.* The Cumaean Sibyl.
58. *Albani.* The Nativity of the Virgin.
57. *Tintoret.* Mary Magdalene.
54. Copy from *Subleyras* by his wife. Mary Anointing the Feet of Christ.
53. *Garofalo.* Holy Family.
47. *Guercino.* The Persian Sibyl.
29. *Cola dell' Amatrice.* Death and Assumption of the Virgin.

'Here the death of the Virgin is treated at once in a mystical and dramatic style. Enveloped in a dark blue mantle, spangled with golden stars, she lies extended on a couch; S. Peter, in a splendid scarlet cope as bishop, reads the service; S. John, holding the palm, weeps bitterly. In front, and kneeling before the couch or bier, appear the three great Dominican saints as witnesses of the religious mystery: in the centre, S. Dominic; on the left S. Catherine of Siena; and on the right S. Thomas Aquinas. In a compartment above is the Assumption.'—*Jameson's 'Legends of the Madonna,'* p. 315.

17. *Guido Reni.* Disembodied spirit (unfinished).
13. *F. Francia,* 1513. Madonna and Saints—an early work of the master.

High up are hung some exquisitely beautiful fragments of the frescoes of Raffaelle, removed from the walls of the villa of Leo X. at Maglione. They have been engraved by Gruner.

2nd Room (entered from the corner of 1st Room)—

189. *Velasquez?* Portrait. If authentic, this picture is of the first period of the master.

3rd Room—

155. *Romanelli.* Innocence.
143. *Titian.* Baptism of Christ. An early work of the master ruined by restoration.
141. *Giovanni Bellini.* Portrait of himself.

4th Room—

254. *Pietro da Cortona.* The Defeat of Darius.
250. *Tintoret.* The Flagellation.
249. *Tintoret.* The Crowning with Thorns.
248. *Tintoret.* Baptism of Christ.
*245. *Guido Reni.* S. Sebastian—splendid in form and colour.
241. *Guercino.* Cleopatra and Augustus.
240. *Caravaggio.* S. Sebastian.
*221. *Guercino.* S. Petronilla. An enormous picture, brought hither from S. Peter's, where it has been replaced by a mosaic copy. The composition is divided into two parts. The lower represents the burial of S. Petronilla, the upper the ascension of her spirit.

'The Apostle Peter had a daughter, born in lawful wedlock, who accompanied him on his journey from the East. Petronilla was wonderfully fair; and Valerius Flaccus, a young and noble Roman, who was a heathen, became enamoured of her beauty, and sought her for his wife; and he being very powerful, she feared to refuse him; she therefore desired him to return in three days, and promised that he should then carry her home. But she prayed earnestly to be delivered from this peril; and when Flaccus returned in three days, with great pomp, to celebrate the marriage, he found her dead. The company of nobles who attended him carried her to the grave, in which they laid her, crowned with roses; and Flaccus lamented greatly.'—*Mrs. Jameson, from the 'Perfetto Legendario.'*

197. *Paolo Veronese.* The Rape of Europa.

At the head of the Capitol steps, to the right of the terrace, is the entrance to the **Palazzo Caffarelli**, the residence of the Prussian ambassador. It contains a magnificent hall, used as a ball-room, and the view from the upper windows is most beautiful.

'After dinner, Bunsen called for us, and took us first to his house on the Capitol, the different windows of which command the different views of ancient and modern Rome. Never shall I forget the view of the former: we looked down on the Forum, and just opposite were the Palatine and the Aventine, with the ruins of the Palace of the Caesars on the one, and houses intermixed with gardens on the other. The mass of the Coliseum rose beyond the Forum, and beyond all, the wide plain of the Campagna to the sea. On the left rose the Alban hills, bright in the setting sun, which played full upon Frascati and Albano, and the trees which edge the lake, and farther away in the distance it lit up the old town of Labicum.'—*Arnold's Letters.*

From the farther end of the courtyard of the Caffarelli Palace one can look down upon part of the bare cliff of what was probably the Rupe Tarpeia. Here there existed till 1868 a small court, which is represented as the scene of the murder in Hawthorne's 'Marble Faun' or 'Transformation.' The door, the niche in the wall, and all other details mentioned in the novel, were realities. The character of the place is now changed by the removal of the boundary-wall and formation of a new road. The part of the rock seen from here is that usually visited from below by the Via Tor de' Specchi.

To reach the principal portion of the south-eastern height of the Capitol, we must ascend the staircase beyond the Palace of the Conservators on the right. Here we shall find ourselves upon the highest part of

'The Tarpeian rock, the citadel
Of great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enriched
Of nations.' —*Paradise Regained.*

'The steep
Tarpeian, fittest goal of treason's race,
The promontory whence the traitor's leap
Cured all ambition.' —*Childe Harold.*

The lane, with its grass-grown spaces and quiet houses, has little to remind one of the appearance of the hill as seen by Virgil and Propertius, who speak of the change in their time from an earlier aspect.

'Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis;
Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
Dira loci; jam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.'
—*Virgil, Aen.* viii. 347.

'Hoc quodcumque vides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est,
Ante Phrygem Aeneam collis et herba fuit.'
—*Propertius, Eleg.* iv. 1.

It was on this side that the different attacks were made upon the Capitol. The first was by the Sabine Herdonius at the head of a band of slaves, who scaled the cliffs and surprised the garrison in B.C. 460, and from the heights of the citadel proclaimed freedom to all slaves who should join him, with abolition of debts, and defence of the plebs from their oppressors; but his offers were disregarded, and on the fourth day the Capitol was retaken, and he was slain with nearly all his followers. The second attack was by the Gauls, who, according to the well-known story, climbed the rock near the Porta Carmentalis, and had nearly reached the summit unobserved —for the dogs neglected to bark—when the cries of the sacred geese of Juno aroused an officer named Manlius, who rushed to the defence, and hurled over the precipice the first assailant, who dragged down others in his fall, and thus the Capitol was saved. In remembrance of this incident, a goose was annually carried in triumph, and a dog annually crucified upon the Capitol, between the temple of Summanus and that of Youth.[1] This was the same Manlius, the friend of the people, who was afterwards condemned by the patricians on the pretext that he wished to make himself king, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock, on the same spot, in sight of the Forum, where Spurius Cassius, an ex-consul, had been thrown down before. To visit the part of the rock from which these executions must have taken place, it is necessary to enter a little garden near the German Hospital.

'Quand on veut visiter la roche Tarpéienne, on sonne à une porte de peu d'apparence, sur laquelle sont écrits ces mots: *Rocca Tarpeia.* Une pauvre femme arrive et vous mène dans un carré de choux. C'est de là qu'on précipita Manlius. Je serais désolé que le carré de choux manquât.'—*Ampère,* '*Portraits de Rome.*'

This side of the Intermontium is now generally known as **Monte Caprino**, a name which Ampère derives from the fact that Vejovis,

[1] Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 14. 1; Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 12.

the Etruscan ideal of Jupiter, was always represented with a goat.[1] On this side of the hill, the wooden bridge from the Palatine, built by Caligula (who affected to require it to facilitate communication with his friend Jupiter), joined the Capitoline.

We have still to examine the north-eastern height, by many still thought the probable site of the most interesting of pagan temples, now occupied by one of the most interesting of Christian churches. The name of the famous **Church of Ara-Coeli** is generally attributed to an altar erected by Augustus to commemorate the Delphic oracle respecting the coming of our Saviour, which is still recognised in the well-known hymn of the Church:

'Teste David cum Sibylla.'[2]

The altar bore the inscription 'Ara Primogeniti Dei.' Those who seek a more humble origin for the church say that the name merely dates from mediaeval times, when it was called 'S. Maria in Aurocoelio.' It originally belonged to the Benedictine Order, but was transferred to the Franciscans by Innocent IV. in 1252, from which time its convent occupied an important position as the residence of the General of the Minor Franciscans (Greyfriars), and is the centre of religious life in that Order. In the Middle Ages, Ara-Coeli was the church of the Roman Senate, and it has often served as a Parliament House for the city of Rome.

The staircase on the left of the Senator's palace, which leads to the side entrance of Ara-Coeli, is in itself full of historical associations. It was at its head that Valerius the consul was killed in the conflict with Herdonius for the possession of the Capitol. It was down the ancient steps on this site that Annius, the envoy of the Latins, fell (B.C. 340), and was nearly killed, after his audacious proposition in the Temple of Jupiter, that the Latins and Romans should become one nation, and have a common senate and consuls. Here also,[3] in B.C. 133, Tiberius Gracchus was knocked down with the leg of a chair, and killed in front of the Temple of Jupiter. On the right of the staircase, above the Mamertine prisons, a fine fragment of the primitive wall of the Capitol, five courses high, may be seen.

It is at the top of these steps that the monks of Ara-Coeli, who were celebrated as dentists, used to perform their hideous, but useful and gratuitous operations, which might be witnessed here every morning!

Over the side entrance of Ara-Coeli (of 1564) is a beautiful mosaic of the Virgin and Child by one of the Cosmati. This, with the ancient brick arches above, framing fragments of deep blue sky—and the worn steps below—forms a subject dear to Roman artists, and is often introduced as a background to groups of monks and peasants. The interior of the church is vast, solemn, and highly

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1 *Hist. Rom.* i. 382.
2 The *Dies Irae*, by Tommaso di Celano, of the fourteenth century.
3 'Per gradus qui sunt super Calpurnium fornicem.'

picturesque. It was here, as Gibbon himself tells us, that on the 15th of October 1764, as he sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers, the idea of writing the 'Decline and Fall' of the city first started to his mind.

'As we lift the great curtain and push into the church, a faint perfume of incense salutes the nostrils. The golden sunset bursts in as the curtain of the (west) door sways forward, illuminates the mosaic floor, catches on the rich golden ceiling, and flashes here and there over the crowd (gathered in Epiphany), on some brilliant costume or closely shaven head. All sorts of people are thronging there, some kneeling before the shrine of the Madonna, which gleams with its hundreds of silver votive hearts, legs, and arms, some listening to the preaching, some crowding round the chapel of the *Presepio*. Old women, haggard and wrinkled, come tottering along with their *scaldini* of coals, drop down on their knees to pray, and, as you pass, interpolate in their prayers a parenthesis of begging. The church is not architecturally handsome, but it is eminently picturesque, with its relics of centuries, its mosaic pulpit and floors, its frescoes of Pinturicchio and Pesaro, its antique columns, its rich golden ceiling, its gothic mausoleum to the Savelli, and its mediaeval tombs. A dim, dingy look is over all—but it is the dimness of faded splendour; and one cannot stand there, knowing the history of the church, its great antiquity, and the varied fortunes it has known, without a peculiar sense of interest and pleasure.

'It was here that Romulus, in the grey dawning of Rome, built the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Here the *spolia opima* were deposited. Here the triumphal processions of the emperors and generals ended. Here the victors paused before making their vows, until, from the Mamertine prisons below, the message came to announce that their noblest prisoner and victim—while the clang of their triumph and his defeat rose ringing in his ears as the procession ascended the steps—had expiated with death the crime of being the enemy of Rome. On the steps of Ara-Coeli, nineteen centuries ago, the first great Caesar climbed on his knees after his first triumph. At their base Rienzi, the last of the Roman tribunes, fell—and if the tradition of the Church is to be trusted, it was on the site of the present high altar that Augustus erected the "Ara Primogeniti Dei," to commemorate the Delphic prophecy of the coming of our Saviour. Standing on a spot so thronged with memories, the dullest imagination takes fire. The forms and scenes of the past rise from their graves and pass before us, and the actual and visionary are mingled together in strange poetic confusion.'—*Story's 'Roba di Roma,'* i. 73.

The floor of the church is of the ancient mosaic known as Opus Alexandrinum. The nave is separated from the aisles by twenty-two ancient columns, of which two are of cipollino, two of white marble, and eighteen of Egyptian granite. They are of very different forms and sizes, and have probably been collected from various pagan edifices. The inscription 'A Cubiculo Augustorum,' upon the third column on the left of the nave, shows that it was brought from the Palace of the Caesars. The fine statues of Paul III. (left) and Gregory XIII. (right) were removed from the halls of the Capitol in 1876. The windows in this church are amongst the few in Rome which show traces of gothic. At the end of the nave on either side are two ambones, marking the position of the choir before it was extended to its present site in the sixteenth century.

The transepts are full of interesting monuments. That on the right is the burial-place of the great family of Savelli, and contains —on the left, the monument of Luca Savelli, 1266 (father of Pope Honorius IV.), and his son Pandolfo—an ancient and richly-sculptured sarcophagus, to which a gothic canopy was added by *Agostino*

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and *Agnolo da Siena* from designs of Giotto. Opposite is the tomb of the mother of Honorius, Vana Aldobrandesca, upon which is the statue of the Pope himself, removed from his monument in the old S. Peter's by Paul III.

In the choir are two columns of the rare marble nero-antico. On the left of the high altar is the tomb of Cardinal Gianbattista Savelli, ob. 1498, and near it—in the pavement—the half-effaced gravestone of Sigismondo Conti, whose features are so familiar to us from his portrait introduced into the famous picture of the Madonna di Foligno, which was painted by Raffaelle at his order, and presented by him to this church, where it remained over the high altar till 1565, when his great-niece Anna became a nun at the convent of the Contesse at Foligno, and was allowed to carry it away with her. In the east transept is another fine gothic tomb, that of Cardinal Matteo di Acquasparta (1302), a General of the Franciscans, mentioned by Dante for his wise and moderate rule.[1] The quaint temple-chapel in the middle of this transept, now dedicated to S. Helena, is supposed to occupy the site of the 'Ara Primogeniti Dei,' to commemorate the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl to Augustus.[2] To a point near this the interesting statue of Leo X., by the Sicilian Giacomo della Duca, was removed from the Halls of the Conservators in 1876.[3]

The ambones for the Epistle and the Gospel are very curious and interesting, and are beautiful works of Lorenzo and Jacopo Cosmati. Upon the pier near the ambone of the Gospel is the monument of Queen Catherine of Bosnia, who died at Rome in 1478, bequeathing her states to the Roman Church on condition of their reversion to her son, who had embraced Mohammedanism, if he should return to the Catholic faith. Near this, against the transept wall, is the tomb of Felice de Fredis, ob. 1529, upon which it is recorded that he was the finder of the Laocoön. The Chapel of the Annunciation, opening from the west aisle, has a tomb to G. Crivelli by Donatello, bearing his signature, 'Opus Donatelli Florentini.' The Chapel of Santa Croce is the burial-place of the Ponziani family, and was the scene of the celebrated ecstasy of the famous Roman saint Francesca Romana.

'The mortal remains of Vanozza Ponziani (sister-in-law of Francesca) were laid in the Church of Ara-Coeli, in the Chapel of Santa Croce. The Roman people resorted there in crowds to behold once more their loved benefactress—the mother of the poor, the consoler of the afflicted. All strove to carry away some little memorial of one who had gone about among them doing good, and during the three days which preceded the interment, the concourse did not abate. On the day of the funeral Francesca knelt on one side of the coffin, and, in sight of all the crowd, she was wrapt in ecstasy. They saw her body lifted from the ground, and a seraphic expression on her uplifted face. They heard her murmur several times with an indescribable emphasis the word 'Quando? Quando?'

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1 *Paradiso*, canto xii.

2 They appear on either side the arch above the high altar.

3 The statue of Leo X. is interesting as having been erected to this popular art-loving Pope in his lifetime. It is inscribed, 'Optimi liberalissimique pontificis memoriae.'

When all was over, she still remained immovable; it seemed as if her soul had risen on the wings of prayer, and followed Vanozza's spirit into the realms of bliss. At last her confessor ordered her to rise and go and attend on the sick. She instantly complied, and walked away to the hospital which she had founded, apparently unconscious of everything about her, and only roused from her trance by the habit of obedience, which, in or out of ecstasy, never forsook her.' —*Lady Georgiana Fullerton's 'Life of S. Fr. Romana.'*

There are several good pictures over the altars in the aisles of Ara-Coeli. In the Chapel of S. Margaret of Cortona are frescoes illustrative of her life by *Filippo Evangelisti*,—in that of S. Antonio, frescoes by *Niccolò da Pesaro;* but no one should omit visiting the first chapel on the right of the west door, dedicated to S. Bernardino of Siena, and painted by *Bernardino Pinturicchio*, who has put forth his best powers to do honour to his patron saint with a series of exquisite frescoes, representing his assuming the monastic habit, his preaching, his vision of the Saviour, his penitence, death, and burial.

The second chapel on the right is that of the Della Valle family, whose most celebrated member was Pietro della Valle, the great traveller of the seventeenth century. In Persia he had married a beautiful Georgian, and, on her death, carried her body about with him for four years, even taking it with him to India, and eventually buried it here with great pomp. A papal coachman having insulted one of his Turkish servants, he killed him in the Piazza Quirinale, under the very eyes of Urban VIII., who was about to give his benediction from the balcony. Della Valle then fled to Paliano, where the powerful Colonnas gave him a refuge, till he was pardoned by the Pope, on the intercession of Cardinal Barberini, and thenceforth lived in Rome, in great honour, till his death in 1652. He left several children by his second wife, a young cousin of his first, who intrusted her to his charge upon her death-bed.

Almost opposite this—closed except during Epiphany—is the Chapel of the **Presepio**, where the famous image of the **Santissimo Bambino d' Ara-Coeli** is shown at that season lying in a manger. For those who witness this sight it will be interesting to turn to the origin of a Presepio.

'S. Francis asked of Pope Honorius III. [1223], with his usual simplicity, to be allowed to celebrate Christmas with certain unusual ceremonies which had suggested themselves to him—ceremonies which he must have thought likely to seize upon the popular imagination and impress the unlearned folk. He would not do it on his own authority, we are told, lest he should be accused of levity. When he made this petition, he was bound for the village of Grecia, a little place not far from Assisi, where he was to remain during that sacred season. In this village, when the eve of the Nativity approached, Francis instructed a certain grave and worthy man, called Giovanni, to prepare an ox and an ass, along with a manger and all the common fittings of a stable, for his use, in the church. When the solemn night arrived, Francis and his brethren arranged all these things into a visible representation of the occurrences of the night at Bethlehem. The manger was filled with hay, the animals were led into their places; the scene was prepared as we see it now through all the churches of Southern Italy—a reproduction, so far as the people know how, in startling realistic detail, of the surroundings of the first Christmas. . . . We are told that Francis stood by this, his simple theatrical (for such indeed it was—no shame to him) representation, all the night long, singing for joy, and filled with an unspeakable sweetness.'—*Mrs. Oliphant, 'S. Francis.'*

'The simple meaning of the term *Presepio* is a manger, but it is also used in the Church to signify a representation of the birth of Christ. In the Ara-Coeli the whole of one of the side-chapels is devoted to this exhibition. In the foreground is a grotto, in which is seated the Virgin Mary, with Joseph at her side and the miraculous Bambino in her lap. Immediately behind her an ass and an ox. On one side kneel the shepherds and kings in adoration; and above, God the Father is seen surrounded by crowds of cherubs and angels playing on instruments, as in the early pictures of Raffaelle. In the background is a scenic representation of a pastoral landscape, on which all the skill of the scene-painter is expended. Shepherds guard their flock far away, reposing under palm-trees or standing on green slopes which glow in the sunshine. The distances and perspective are admirable. In the middle ground is a crystal fountain of glass, near which sheep, preternaturally white, and made of real wool and cotton wool, are feeding, tended by figures of shepherds carved in wood. Still nearer come women, bearing great baskets of real oranges and other fruits on their heads. All the nearer figures are full-sized, carved in wood, painted, and dressed in appropriate robes. The miraculous Bambino is a painted doll swaddled in a white dress, which is crusted over with magnificent diamonds, emeralds, and rubies. The Virgin also wears in her ears superb diamond pendants. The general effect of the scenic show is admirable, and crowds flock to it and press about it all day long.[1]

'While this is taking place on one side of the church, on the other is a very different and quite as singular an exhibition. Around one of the antique columns a stage is erected, from which little maidens are reciting, with every kind of pretty gesticulation, sermons, dialogues, and little speeches, in explanation of the *Presepio* opposite. Sometimes two of them are engaged in alternate questions and answers about the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Redemption. Sometimes the recitation is a piteous description of the agony of the Saviour and the sufferings of the Madonna, the greatest stress being, however, always laid upon the latter. All these little speeches have been written for them by their priest or some religious friend, committed to memory, and practised with appropriate gestures over and over again at home. Their little piping voices are sometimes guilty of such comic breaks and changes, that the crowd about them rustles into a murmurous laughter. Sometimes, also, one of the little preachers has a *dispetto*, pouts, shakes her shoulders, and refuses to go on with her part;—another, however, always stands ready on the platform to supply the vacancy, until friends have coaxed, reasoned, or threatened the little pouter into obedience. These children are often very beautiful and graceful, and their comical little gestures and intonations, their clasping of hands and rolling up of eyes, have a very amusing and interesting effect.'—*Story's 'Roba di Roma.'*

At other times the Bambino dwells in the inner Sacristy, where it can be visited by admiring pilgrims. It is a fresh-coloured doll, tightly swathed in gold and silver tissue, crowned, and sparkling with jewels. It has servants of its own, and a carriage in which it drives out with its attendants, and goes to visit the sick; for, though an infant, it is the oldest medical practitioner in Rome. Devout peasants always kneel as the blessed infant passes. Formerly it was taken to sick persons and left on their beds for some hours, in the hope that it would work a miracle. Now it is never left alone. In explanation of this, it is said that an audacious woman formed the design of appropriating to herself the holy image and its benefits. She had another doll prepared of the same size and appearance as the 'Santissimo,' and having feigned sickness, and obtained permission to have it left with her, she dressed the false image in its clothes, and sent it back to Ara-Coeli. The

[1] Till late years the figures of Augustus and the Sibyl appeared in the front of the *Presepio* pointing to the Holy Child.

fraud was not discovered till night, when the Franciscan monks were awakened by the most furious ringing of bells and by thundering knocks at the west door of the church, and hastening thither, could see nothing but a wee naked pink foot peeping in from under the door; but when they opened the door, without stood the little naked figure of the true Bambino of Ara-Coeli, shivering in the wind and rain,—so the false baby was sent back in disgrace, and the real baby restored to its home, never to be trusted away alone any more.

In the Sacristy is the following inscription relating to the Bambino:—

'Ad hoc sacellum Arae Coeli a festo Nativitatis Domini usque ad festum Epiphaniae magna populi frequentia invisitur et colitur in presepio Christi nati infantuli simulacrum ex oleae ligno apud montem olivarum Hierosolymis a quodam devoto Minorita sculptum eo animo, ut ad hoc festum celebrandum deportaretur. De quo in primis hoc accidit, quod deficiente colore inter barbaras gentes ad plenam infantuli figurationem et formam, devotus et anxius artifex, professione laicus, precibus et orationibus impetravit, ut sacrum divinitus carneo colore perfunctum reperiretur. Cumque navi Italiam veheretur, facto naufragio apud Tusciae oras, simulacri capsa Liburnum appulit. Ex quo, recognita, expectabatur enim a Fratribus, et jam fama illius a Hierosolymis ad nostrae familiae partes advenerat, ad destinatam sibi Capitolii sedem devenit. Fertur etiam, quod aliquando ex nimia devotione a quadam devota foemina sublatum ad suas aedes miraculosè remeaverit. Quapropter in maxima veneratione semper est habitum a Romanis civibus, et universo populo donatum monilibus, et focalibus pretiosis, liberalioribusque in dies prosequitur oblationibus.'

The outer Sacristy contains a fine picture of the 'Holy Family,' by *Giulio Romano*. Removed to the Capitoline Museum from this church is an altar dedicated to Isis by a traveller who had returned in safety. It bore two footprints, which tradition declared to be those of the angel seen by S. Gregory on the top of the mausoleum of Hadrian.

The scene on the long flight of steps which leads to the west door of Ara-Coeli is very curious during Epiphany.

'If any one visit the Ara-Coeli during an afternoon in Christmas or Epiphany, the scene is very striking. The flight of one hundred and twenty-four steps is then thronged by merchants of Madonna wares, who spread them out over the steps and hang them against the walls and balustrades. Here are to be seen all sorts of curious little coloured prints of the Madonna and Child of the most extraordinary quality, little bags, pewter medals, and crosses stamped with the same figures and to be worn on the neck—all offered at once for the sum of one *baiocco*. Here also are framed pictures of the saints, of the Nativity, and in a word of all sorts of religious subjects appertaining to the season. Little wax dolls, clad in cotton-wool, to represent the Saviour, and sheep made of the same materials, are also sold by the basketful. Children and *Contadini* are busy buying them, and there is a deafening roar all up and down the steps, of "Mezzo baiocco, bello colorito, mezzo baiocco, la Santissima Concezione Incoronata,"—"Diario Romano, Lunario Romano nuovo,"—"Ritratto colorito, medaglia e quadruccio un baiocco tutti, un baiocco tutti,"—"Bambinello di cera, un baiocco." None of the prices are higher than one baiocco, except to strangers, and generally several articles are held up together, enumerated, and proffered with a loud voice for this sum. Meanwhile men, women, children, priests, beggars, soldiers, and *villani* are crowding up and down, and we crowd with them.'—*Roba di Roma*, i. 72.

'On the 6th of January the lofty steps of Ara-Coeli looked like an ant-hill, so thronged were they with people. Men and boys who sold little books (legends and prayers), rosaries, pictures of saints, medallions, chestnuts, oranges, and other things, shouted and made a great noise. Little boys and girls were still preaching zealously in the church, and people of all classes were crowding thither. Processions advanced with the thundering cheerful music of the fire-corps. Il Bambino, a painted image of wood, covered with jewels, and with a yellow crown on its head, was carried by a monk in white gloves, and exhibited to the people from a kind of altar-like erection at the top of the Ara-Coeli steps. Everybody dropped down upon their knees; Il Bambino was shown on all sides, the music thundered, and the smoking censers were swung.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

These steps, brought from the Quirinal, are the only public work executed in Rome during the residence of the Popes at Avignon, and were a votive offering to the Madonna of Ara-Coeli, after the deliverance of Rome from the plague.

The **Convent of Ara-Coeli** was wantonly destroyed in 1886, together with the noble tower of Paul III., which rose so grandly at the end of the Corso, to make way for an uninteresting and utterly misplaced monument to Victor Emmanuel II., which is wholly out of place on the Roman Capitol, though it might well have been erected in one of the dreary squares of his own new town. The destroyed convent contained much that was picturesque and interesting in its noble gothic cloisters, curious well, &c., and was especially dear to all Catholic Christians, as always having been the residence of the General of the Franciscan Order. S. Giovanni Capistrano was abbot here in the reign of Eugenius IV.

Let us now descend from the Capitoline Piazza towards the Forum, by the staircase on the left of the Palace of the Senator. Close to the foot of this staircase is a church, very obscure-looking, with some rude frescoes on the exterior. Yet every one must enter this building, for here are the famous **Mamertine Prisons** (so called from a statue of Mars or Mamers, which also gave a name to the Via di Marforio), excavated from the solid rock under the Capitol.

The prisons are entered through the low church of **S. Pietro in Carcere**, hung round with votive offerings and blazing with lamps.

'There is an upper chamber in the Mamertine Prisons, over what is said to have been—and very possibly may have been—the dungeon of S. Peter. This chamber is now fitted up as an oratory, dedicated to that saint; and it lives as a distinct and separate place in my recollection, too. It is very small and low-roofed; and the dread and gloom of the ponderous, obdurate old prison are on it, as if they had come up in a dark mist through the floor. Hanging on the walls, among the clustered votive offerings, are objects at once strangely in keeping and strangely at variance with the place—rusty daggers, knives, pistols, clubs, divers instruments of violence and murder, brought here fresh from use, and hung up to propitiate offended Heaven; as if the blood upon them would drain off in consecrated air, and have no voice to cry with. It is all so silent and so close and tomblike, and the dungeons below are so black, and stealthy, and stagnant, and naked, that this little dark spot becomes a dream within a dream: and in the vision of great churches which come rolling past me like a sea, it is a small wave by itself, that melts into no other wave, and does not flow with the rest.'—*Dickens.*

Enclosed in the church, near the entrance, may be observed the outer frieze of the prison wall, with the inscription C. VIBIUS. C. F. RUFINUS. M. COCCEIUS. NERVA. COS. EX. S. C., recording the names

of two consuls of A.D. 22, who are supposed to have repaired the prison. This is the prison—*carcer . . . media urbe imminens foro*—mentioned by Livy.[1] Juvenal's description of the times when one prison was sufficient for all the criminals in Rome naturally refers to this building:

> 'Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
> Saecula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
> Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.'
>
> —*Sat.* iii. 312.

A modern staircase leads to the horrible dungeon of Ancus Martius, sixteen feet in height, thirty in length, and twenty-two in breadth. Originally there was no staircase, and the prisoners were let down here, and hence into the lower dungeon, through a hole in the middle of the ceiling. The large door at the side is a modern innovation, having been opened to admit the vast mass of pilgrims during the festa. The whole prison is constructed of huge blocks of tufa without cement. Some remains are shown of the **Scalae Gemoniae**—so called from the groans of the prisoners—by which the bodies were dragged forth to be exposed to the insults of the populace or to be thrown into the Tiber. It was by this staircase that Cicero came forth and announced the execution of the Catiline conspirators to the people in the Forum, by the single word *Vixerunt* ('They have ceased to live'). Close to the exit of these stairs the Emperor Vitellius was murdered—hacked to pieces—where he had caused the death of Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian. On the wall by which you descend to the lower dungeon is a mark, kissed by the faithful, as a spot against which S. Peter's head rested. The lower prison, called **Robur**, is constructed of huge blocks of tufa, which originally met in a conical roof, but are now fastened together by cramps of iron, and approach horizontally to a common centre. It has been attributed from early times to Servius Tullius; but Ampère[2] argues against the idea that the lower prison was of later origin than the upper, and suggests that it is Pelasgic, and older than any other building in Rome. It is described by Livy and by Sallust, who depicts its horrors in his account of the execution of the Catiline conspirators.[3] The spot is shown to which these victims were attached and strangled in turn. In this dungeon, at an earlier period, Appius Claudius and Oppius the decemvirs committed suicide (B.C. 449). Here Jugurtha, king of Mauritania, was starved to death by Marius, and exclaimed when he found the bottom of his cell covered with water, 'Hercules, how cold your bath is!' Here Julius Caesar, during his triumph for the conquest of Gaul, caused his gallant enemy Vercingetorix to be

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1 i. 33.

2 *Hist. Rom.*

3 'Est locus in carcere quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum descenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta; sed incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est.'—*Sall. Catil.* lv.

put to death. Here Sejanus, the friend and minister of Tiberius, disgraced too late, was executed for the murder of Drusus, son of the emperor, and for an intrigue with his daughter-in-law, Livilla. Here also, Simon Bar-Gioras, the last defender of Jerusalem, suffered during the triumph of Titus.

'Pourquoi les guides et les antiquaires qui nous ont si souvent montré la voie triomphale qui mène au Capitole et nous en ont tant de fois énuméré les souvenirs, pourquoi aucun d'eux ne nous a-t-il jamais parlé de ce qui survint le jour du triomphe de Titus, là-bas, près des prisons Mamertines? Laissez-moi vous rappeler que ce jour-là le triomphateur, au moment de monter au temple, devant verser le sang d'une victime, s'arrêta à cette place, tandis que l'on détachait de son cortège un captif de plus haute taille et plus richement vêtu que les autres, et qu'on l'emmenait dans cette prison pour y achever son supplice avec le lacet même qu'il portait autour du cou. Ce ne fut qu'après cette immolation que le cortège reprit sa marche et acheva de monter jusqu'au Capitole! Ce captif dont on ne daigne nous parler, c'était Simon Bar-Gioras; c'était un des trois derniers défenseurs de Jérusalem; c'était un de ceux qui la défendirent jusqu'au bout, mais hélas! qui la défendirent comme des démons maîtres d'une âme de laquelle ils ne veulent pas se laisser chasser, et non point comme des champions héroïques d'une cause sacrée et perdue. Aussi cette grandeur que la seule infortune suffit souvent pour donner, elle manque à la calamité la plus grande que le monde ait vue, et les noms attachés à cette immense catastrophe ne demeurèrent pas même fameux! Jean de Giscala, Eléazar, Simon Bar-Gioras: qui pense à eux aujourd'hui? L'univers entier proclame et vénère les noms de deux pauvres Juifs qui, quatre ans auparavant, dans cette même prison, avaient eux aussi attendu le supplice; mais le malheur, le courage, le mort tragique des autres, ne leur ont point donné la gloire, et un dédaigneux oubli les a effacés de la mémoire des hommes!'—*Mrs. Augustus Craven*, '*Anne Severin*.'

'Along the sacred way
Hither the triumph came, and, winding round
With acclamation, and the martial clang
Of instruments, and cars laden with spoil,
Stopped at the sacred stair that then appeared,
Then thro' the darkness broke, ample, star-bright,
As tho' it led to heaven. 'Twas night; but now
A thousand torches, turning night to day,
Blazed, and the victor, springing from his seat,
Went up, and, kneeling as in fervent prayer,
Entered the Capitol. But what are they
Who at the foot withdrawn, a mournful train
In fetters? And who, yet incredulous,
Now gazing wildly round, now on his sons,
On those so young, well pleased with all they see,
Staggers along, the last? They are the fallen,
Those who were spared to grace the chariot-wheels;
And there they parted, where the road divides,
The victor and the vanquished—there withdrew;
He to the festal board, and they to die.
Well might the great, the mighty of the world,
They who were wont to fare deliciously
And war but for a kingdom more or less,
Shrink back, nor from their thrones endure to look,
To think that way! Well might they in their pomp
Humble themselves, and kneel and supplicate
To be delivered from a dream like this!'

—*Rogers*' '*Italy*.'

Here Pliny records the devotion of a dog, which watched without food by the dead body of his master for three days and nights; and afterwards, when the body was thrown into the Tiber,

dived beneath, and was drowned in trying to support it, all Rome looking on.

The spot is more interesting to the Christian world as the prison of SS. Peter and Paul, who are said to have been bound for nine months to a pillar, which is shown here. A fountain of excellent water, beneath the floor of the prison, is attributed to the prayers of S. Peter, that he might have wherewith to baptize his gaolers, Processus and Martinianus; but, unfortunately for this ecclesiastical tradition, the fountain is described by Plutarch as having existed at the time of Jugurtha's imprisonment. This fountain probably gave the dungeon the name of **Tullianum**, by which it was sometimes known, *tullius* meaning a spring.[1] Livy[2] mentions a prisoner being put in the Tullianum. This name probably gave rise to the idea of the connection of the prison with Servius Tullius. A thin layer of lime is used in the construction as mortar.

It is hence that the Roman Catholic Church believes that S. Peter and S. Paul addressed their farewells to the Christian world.

That of S. Peter:—

'Shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me. Moreover I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance. For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Nevertheless we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.'—*2nd S. Peter.*

That of S. Paul:—

'God hath not given us a spirit of fear. . . . Be not thou, therefore, ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me His prisoner; but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel according to the power of God. . . . I suffer trouble as an evil-doer, even unto bonds; but the word of God is not bound. Therefore I endure all things, for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus. . . . I charge thee by God and by the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead . . . preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine; . . . watch in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry. For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.'—*2nd Timothy.*

On July 4, the prisons are the scene of a picturesque solemnity, when they are visited at night by the religious confraternities, who first kneel and then prostrate themselves in silent devotion.

Other chambers under the Vicolo del Ghettarello have recently been discovered, which were probably an extension of the ancient prison.

Above the Church of S. Pietro in Carcere is that of **S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami**, S. Joseph of the Carpenters.

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[1] See Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* ii. 31. [2] xxix. 22.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORUMS AND THE COLISEUM

Forum of Trajan—(S. Maria di Loreto)—Temple of Mars Ultor—Forum of Augustus—Forum of Nerva—Forum of Julius Caesar—(Academy of S. Luke)—Forum Romanum—Tribune—Comitium—Vulcanal—Temple of Concord—Temple of Vespasian—Temple of Saturn—Arch of Septimius Severus—Temple of Castor and Pollux—Temple of Vesta—House of the Vestals—Pillar of Phocas—Temple of Antoninus and Faustina—Temple of Romulus—Temple Sacrae Urbis—Basilica of Constantine—(S. Martina—S. Adriano—S. Maria Liberatrice—SS. Cosmo and Damian—S. Francesca Romana)—Temple of Venus and Rome—Arch of Titus—(S. Maria Pallara—S. Buonaventura)—Meta Sudans—Arch of Constantine—Coliseum.

FOLLOWING the Corso to its end at the Ripresa dei Barberi, and turning to the left, we find ourselves at once amid the remains of the **Forum of Trajan,** erected by the architect Apollodorus for the Emperor Trajan on his return from the wars of the Danube. This forum now presents the appearance of a ravine between the Capitoline and Quirinal, but is an artificial hollow, excavated to facilitate the circulation of life within the city. An inscription over the door of the column, which overtops the other ruins, shows that it was raised in order to mark the depth of earth which was removed to construct the forum. The earth, forming a barrier between the two parts of the town, was formerly as high as the top of the column, which reaches (140 feet) to the level of the Palatine Hill. The forum was sometimes called the 'Ulpian,' from one of the names of the emperor.

'Before the year A.D. 107 the splendours of the city and the Campus beyond it were still separated by a narrow isthmus, thronged perhaps by the squalid cabins of the poor, and surmounted by the remains of the Servian wall which ran along its summit. Step by step the earlier emperors had approached with their new forums to the foot of this obstruction. Domitian was the first to contemplate and commence its removal. Nerva had the fortune to consecrate and to give his own name to a portion of his predecessor's construction; but Trajan undertook to complete the bold design, and the genius of his architect triumphed over all obstacles, and executed a work which exceeded in extent and splendour any previous achievement of the kind. He swept away every building on the site, levelled the spot on which they had stood, and laid out a vast area of columnar galleries, connecting halls and chambers for public use and recreation. The new forum was adorned with two libraries, one of Greek, the other of Roman volumes, and it was bounded on the west by a basilica of magnificent dimensions. Beyond this basilica, and within the limits of the Campus, the same architect (Apollodorus) erected a temple for the worship of Trajan himself; but this work probably belonged to the reign of Trajan's successor, and no doubt the Ulpian forum, with all its adjuncts, occupied many years in building. The area was adorned with numerous statues, in which the figure of Trajan was frequently

repeated, and among its decorations were groups in bronze or marble, representing his most illustrious actions. The balustrades and cornices of the whole mass of buildings flamed with gilded images of arms and horses. Here stood the great equestrian statue of the emperor; here was the triumphal arch decreed him by the senate, adorned with sculpture, which Constantine, two centuries later, transferred without a blush to his own, a barbarous act of this first Christian emperor, to which, however, we probably owe their preservation to this day from more barbarous spoliation.'—*Merivale*, '*Romans under the Empire*,' ch. lxiii.

The beautiful **Column of Trajan**, the best of Roman princes, called Columna Cochlis, from its winding stairs like the spiral of a shell, was erected by the senate and people of Rome A.D. 114, to show the height of the mound levelled by the emperor—*ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus sit egestus.* It is composed of thirty-four blocks of marble, and is covered with a spiral band of bas-reliefs illustrative of the Dacian wars, and increasing in size as it nears the top, so that it preserves throughout the same proportion when seen from below. It was formerly crowned by a statue of Trajan, holding a gilt globe, which latter is still preserved in the Hall of Bronzes in the Capitol. The statue had fallen from its pedestal long before Sixtus V. replaced it by the existing figure of S. Peter. At the foot of the column was a sepulchral chamber, intended to receive the imperial ashes, which were, however, preserved in a golden urn, upon an altar in front of it.[1]

'Apostolic statues climb
To crush the imperial urn, whose ashes slept sublime.'
—*Childe Harold*, cx.

The triumphal Arch of Trajan, which formed the entrance to the forum, was destroyed in 1526.

'The forum of Trajan comprised seven different sections, namely, the propylaia, or triumphal arch of the emperor; the square itself, with the equestrian statue in the middle; the Basilica Ulpia; the Bibliotheca Ulpia; the two hemicycles; the monumental column; and the temple of Trajan. The *ensemble* of these various sections was considered not only the masterpiece of Roman architecture of the golden age, but one of the marvels of the world. Let me quote the words with which Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10) describes the impression felt by the Emperor Constantine at the first sight of the group. "Having now entered the forum of Trajan, the most marvellous invention of human genius,—*singularem sub omni coelo structuram*,—he was struck with admiration, and looked round with amazement, without being able to utter a word, wondering at the gigantic structures,—*giganteos contextus*,—which no pen can describe, and which mankind can create and see only once in the course of centuries. Having consequently given up any hope of building himself anything which would approach, even at a respectful distance, the work of Trajan, he turned his attention to the equestrian statue placed in the centre of the forum, and said to his attendants that he would have one like it in Constantinople." These words having been heard by Hermisdas, a young Persian prince attached to his court, he turned quickly towards the emperor, and said, "If your Majesty wants to secure and keep such a horse, you must first provide him with a stable like this." '—*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome*.'

It was while walking in this forum that Gregory the Great, observing one of the marble groups which told of a good and great

[1] There are some who believe that the ashes of the emperor, in their golden urn, would even now be found buried in front of the column which was erected in his lifetime.

action of Trajan, lamented bitterly that the soul of so noble a man should be lost, and prayed earnestly for the salvation of the heathen emperor. He was told that the soul of Trajan should be saved, but that to ensure this he must either himself undergo the pains of purgatory for three days, or suffer earthly pain and sickness for the rest of his life. He chose the latter, and never after was in health. This incident is narrated by his three biographers, John and Paul Diaconus, and John of Salisbury, and is most picturesquely told by Dante in the 10th canto of the 'Purgatorio.'

The forum of Trajan was partly uncovered by Pope Paul III. in the sixteenth century, but excavated in its present form by the French in 1812. Behind the houses on the Quirinal side of the forum, remains of early-curved buildings, three storeys high, may be seen, opening on an ancient road paved with polygonal blocks of lava: they belong to one of the two hemicycles raised by Apollodorus on either side the forum. There is much still buried under the streets and neighbouring houses.

'All over the surface of what once was Rome it seems to be the effort of Time to bury up the ancient city, as if it were a corpse, and he the sexton; so that, in eighteen centuries, the soil over its grave has grown very deep, by this slow scattering of dust, and the accumulation of more modern decay upon her older ruin.

'This was the fate, also, of Trajan's forum, until some papal antiquary, a few hundred years ago, began to hollow it out again, and disclosed the whole height of the gigantic column, wreathed round with bas-reliefs of the old emperor's warlike deeds (rich sculpture, which, twining from the base to the capital, must be an ugly spectacle for his ghostly eyes, if he considers that this huge, storied shaft must be laid before the judgment-seat, as a piece of the evidence of what he did in the flesh). In the area before the column stands a grove of stone, consisting of the broken and unequal shafts of a vanished temple, still keeping a majestic order, and apparently incapable of further demolition. The modern edifices of the piazza (wholly built, no doubt, out of the spoil of its old magnificence) look down into the hollow space whence these pillars rise.

'One of the immense grey granite shafts lies in the piazza, on the verge of the area. It is a great, solid fact of the Past, making old Rome actually visible to the touch and eye; and no study of history, nor force of thought, nor magic of song, can so vitally assure us that Rome once existed, as this sturdy specimen of what its rulers and people wrought. There is still a polish remaining on the hard substance of the pillar, the polish of eighteen centuries ago, as yet but half rubbed off.'—*Hawthorne.*

On the north of this forum are two churches: that nearest to the Corso is **S. Maria di Loreto** (founded by the corporation of bakers in 1500), with a dome surmounted by a picturesque lantern by Giuliano di Sangallo, *c.* 1506. It contains a statue of S. Susanna (*not* the Susanna of the Elders) by *Fiammingo* (François de Quesnoy), which is justly considered the *chef-d'œuvre* of the Bernini school. The companion church is called **S. Maria di Vienna** or **Nome di Maria**, and (like S. Maria della Vittoria) commemorates the liberation of Vienna from the Turks in 1683 by Sobieski, king of Poland. It was built by Innocent XI.

Leaving the forum at the opposite corner by the Via Alessandrina, and passing under the high wall of the Convent of the Nunziatina, a street, opening on the left, discloses several beautiful pillars,

which, after having borne various names, are now declared to be the remains of the **Temple of Mars Ultor**, built by Augustus in his new forum, which was erected in order to provide accommodation for the crowds which overflowed the Forum Romanum and Forum Julium.

'The title of Ultor marked the war and the victory by which, agreeably to his vow, Augustus had avenged his uncle's death.

'"Mars, ades, et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum;
Stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus.
Templa feres, et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor."[1]

'The porticoes, which extended on each side of the temple with a gentle curve, contained statues of distinguished Roman generals. The banquets of the Salii were transferred to the temple, a circumstance which led to its identification, from the discovery of an inscription here recording the *mansiones* of these priests. Like the priesthood in general, they appear to have been fond of good living, and there is a well-known anecdote of the Emperor Claudius having been lured by the steams of their banquet from his judicial functions in the adjacent forum to come and take part in their feast. The temple was appropriated to meetings of the senate in which matters connected with wars and triumphs were debated. . . . Here, while Tiberius was building a temple to Augustus upon the Palatine, his golden statue reposed upon a couch.'—*Dyer's 'City of Rome.'*

'Up to the time of Augustus, the god Mars, the reputed father of the Roman race, had never, it is said, enjoyed the distinction of a temple within the walls. He was then introduced into the city which he had saved from overthrow and ruin, and the aid he had lent in bringing the murderers of Caesar to justice was signalised by the title of avenger, by which he was now specially addressed. . . . The Temple of Mars Ultor, of gigantic proportions, "Et deus est ingens et opus," was erected in the new forum of Augustus at the foot of the Capitoline and Quirinal hills.'—*Merivale, 'Romans under the Empire.'*

'Ce temple était particulièrement cher à Auguste. Il voulut que les magistrats en partissent pour aller dans leurs provinces; que l'honneur du triomphe y fût décerné, et que les triomphateurs y fissant hommage à Mars Vengeur de leur couronne et de leur sceptre; que les drapeaux pris à l'ennemi y fussent conservés; que les chefs de la cavalerie exécutassent des jeux en avant des marches de ce temple; enfin que les censeurs, en sortant de leur charge, y plantassent le clou sacré, vieil usage étrusque jusque-là attaché au Capitole. Auguste désirait que ce temple fondé par lui prît l'importance du Capitole.

'Il fit dédier le temple par ses petits-fils Caius et Lucius; et son autre petit-fils, Agrippa, à la tête des plus nobles enfants de Rome, y célébra le jeu de Troie, qui rappelait l'origine prétendue troyenne de César; deux cent soixante lions furent égorgés dans le cirque, c'était leur place; deux troupes de gladiateurs combattirent dans le Septa où se faisaient les élections au temps de la république, comme si Auguste eût voulu, par ces combats qui se livraient en l'honneur des morts, célébrer les funérailles de la liberté romaine.'—*Ampère, Emp.* i. 224.

The Temple of Mars stands at the north-eastern corner of the magnificent **Forum of Augustus**, which extended from here as far as the present Via Alessandrina, surpassing in size the Forum of Julius Caesar, to which it was adjoining. It was of sufficient size to be frequently used for fights of animals (*venationes*). Among its ornaments were statues of Augustus triumphant and of the subdued provinces, with inscriptions illustrative of the great deeds he had accomplished there; also a picture by Apelles representing War

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 575.

with her hands bound behind her, seated upon a pile of arms. Part of the boundary wall exists, enclosing on two sides the remains of the temple of Mars Ultor, and is constructed of huge masses of peperino. The arch in the wall close to the temple is known as **Arco dei Pantani**. It has voussoirs of travertine in the wall of peperino. The sudden turn in the wall here is interesting as commemorating a concession made to the wish of some proprietors, who were unwilling to part with their houses for the sake of the forum.

'C'est l'histoire du moulin de Sans-Souci, qui du reste paraît n'être pas vraie. 'Il est piquant d'assister aujourd'hui à ce ménagement d'Auguste pour l'opinion qu'il voulait gagner. En voyant le mur s'infléchir parce qu'il a fallu épargner quelques maisons, on croit voir la toute-puissance d'Auguste gauchir à dessein devant les intérêts particuliers, seule puissance avec laquelle il reste à compter quand tout intérêt général a disparu. L'obliquité de la politique d'Auguste est visible dans l'obliquité de ce mur, qui montre et rend pour ainsi dire palpable le manège adroit de la tyrannie, se déguisant pour se fonder. Le mur biaise, comme biaisa constamment l'empereur.'—*Ampère, Emp.* i. 223.

(The street on the left—passing the Arco dei Pantani—the Via della Salita del Grillo, commemorates the approach to the castle of the great mediaeval family Del Grillo. The street on the right leads through the ancient Suburra.)

At the corner of the next street (Via della Croce Bianca)—on the left of the Via Alessandrina—is the ruin called the 'Colonnacce,' being part of the **Portico of Pallas Minerva**, which decorated the **Forum Transitorium**, begun by Domitian, but dedicated in the short reign of Nerva, and hence generally called the **Forum of Nerva**, on account of the execration with which the memory of Domitian was regarded. Up to the seventeenth century seven magnificent columns of the Temple of Minerva were still standing, but they were destroyed by Paul V., who used part of them in building the Fontana Paolina. Part of the basement of the temple was found in 1882, built up into a house at the corner of the Via Alessandrina and the Tor de' Conti. But the principal existing remains consist of two half-buried Corinthian columns with a figure of Minerva, and a frieze of bas-reliefs.

'Les bas-reliefs du forum de Nerva représentent des femmes occupées de travaux d'aiguille, auxquels présidait Minerva. Quand on se rappelle que Domitien avait placé à Albano, près du temple de cette déesse, un collège de prêtres qui imitaient la parure et les mœurs de femmes, on est tenté de croire qu'il y a dans le choix des sujets figurés ici une allusion aux habitudes efféminées de ces prêtres.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 161.

'The portico of the temple of Minerva is most rich and beautiful in architecture, but woefully gnawed by time and shattered by violence, besides being buried midway in the accumulation of the soil, that rises over dead Rome like a flood-tide.'—*Hawthorne.*

It was in this forum that Nerva caused Vetronius Turinus, who had trafficked with his court-interest, to be suffocated with smoke, a herald proclaiming at the time, 'Fumo punitur qui vendidit fumum.'

Returning a short distance down the Via Alessandrina, and turning

(left) down the Via Bonella, we traverse the site of the **Forum of Julius Caesar**, upon which 100,000 sestertia (£900,000) were expended, and which is described by Dion Cassius as having been more beautiful than the Forum Romanum. It was ornamented with a Temple of Venus Genitrix — from whom Julius Caesar claimed to be descended—which contained a statue of the goddess by Archesilaus, a statue of Caesar himself, and a group of Ajax and Medea by Timomacus. Here, also, Caesar had the effrontery to place the statue of his mistress, Cleopatra, by the side of that of the goddess. In front of the temple stood a bronze figure of a horse — supposed to be the famous Bucephalus — the work of Lysippus.

'Cedat equus, Latiae qui contra templa Diones,
Caesarei stat sede fori;—quem tradere ea ausus
Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci, mox Caesaris ora
Aurata cervice tulit.'

—*Statius, Silv.* i. 1, 84.

The principal remains of this forum are a series of arched openings near the Via di Marforio, with vaulted chambers behind them, now partly subterranean. The head of each opening is a carefully joined flat arch of brown tufa, except the springers and key-stones, which are of travertine. Over each flat arch is a semicircular relieving arch with tufa voussoirs. The vaults of the chambers are concrete. They are supposed to have been offices for lawyers' clerks, and once probably surrounded the whole Forum Julium.

Part of the site of the forum of Julius Caesar is now occupied—on the right near the end of the Via Bonella—by the **Accademia di San Luca**, established by Sixtus IV., when he summoned the great artists of all Italy to Rome for the decoration of the Sistine. Federigo Zucchero was its first director. The collections are open from 10 to 3 daily. A ceiling representing Bacchus and Ariadne is by *Guido*. The best pictures are:—

Poussin. Bacchus and Ariadne.
Paolo Veronese. Vanity.
Titian. Calista and the Nymphs.
Guido Cagnacci. The murder of Lucretia.
Guido. Fortune.
Velasquez. Innocent XI.
Titian. The Saviour and the Pharisee.
**Raffaelle.* A lovely fresco of a child, much retouched.
Attributed to Raffaelle. S. Luke painting the Virgin.

'S. Luke painting the Virgin has been a frequent and favourite subject. The most famous of all is a picture in the Academy of S. Luke, ascribed to Raffaelle. Here S. Luke, kneeling on a footstool before an easel, is busied painting the Virgin with the Child in her arms, who appears to him out of heaven, sustained by clouds; behind S. Luke stands Raffaelle himself, looking on.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

A skull preserved here was long supposed to be that of Raffaelle, but his true skull has since been found in his grave in the Pantheon.

'On a longtemps vénéré ici un crâne que l'on croyait être celui de Raffaelle; crâne étroit sur lequel les phrénologistes auront prononcé de vains oracles, devant lequel on aura bien profondément rêvé, et qui n'était que celui d'un obscur chanoine bien innocent de toutes ces imaginations.'—*A. Du Pays.*

Just beyond S. Luca we enter the Forum Romanum, or Forum Magnum, as it continued to be called after the Forum of Trajan had far surpassed it in size.

The interest of Rome comes to its climax in the **Forum**—Forum Romanum Magnum—in spite of all that is destroyed, and all that is buried, so much still remains to be seen, and every stone has its story. Even without entering into all the vexed archaeological questions which have filled the volumes of Canina, Bunsen, Niebuhr, and many others, the occupation which a traveller interested in history will find here is almost inexhaustible. The study of the Roman Forum is complicated by the *succession* of public edifices by which it has been occupied, each period of Roman history having a different set of buildings, and each in a great measure supplanting that which went before. Another difficulty has naturally arisen from the exceedingly circumscribed space in which all these buildings have to be arranged, and which shows that many of the ancient temples must have been mere chapels, and the so-called 'lakes' little more than fountains. The high platforms on which all the temples stood were rendered necessary because the Forum was constantly flooded by the Tiber. The recent excavations have been chiefly remarkable for the discovery of nothing which was expected and of everything which was not expected. Marion Crawford truly remarks that in every guide-book there is a description of the Forum which changes with each new edition.

'This spot, where the senate had its assemblies, where the rostra were placed, where the destinies of the world were discussed, is the most celebrated and the most classical of ancient Rome. It was adorned with the most magnificent monuments, which were so crowded upon one another that their heaped-up ruins are not sufficient for all the names which are handed down to us by history. The course of centuries has overthrown the Forum, and made it impossible to define; the level of the ancient soil is twenty-four feet below that of to-day, and however great a desire one may feel to reproduce the past, it must be acknowledged that this very difference of level is a terrible obstacle to the powers of imagination; again, the uncertainties of archaeologists are discouraging to curiosity and the desire of illusion. For more than three centuries learning has been at work upon this field of ruins, without being able even to agree upon its bearings: some describing it as extending from north to south, others from east to west. Following the common opinion, its length was from the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and its breadth from the Church of S. Adriano to the steps of the Basilica Julia. Equal uncertainty prevails as to many of the existing ruins. The origin of the Forum goes back to the alliance of the Romans and the Sabines. It was a space surrounded by marshes, which extended between the Palatine and the Capitol, occupied by the two colonies, and serving as a neutral ground where they could meet. The Curtian Lake was situated in the midst. Constantly adorned under the republic and the empire, it appears that it continued to exist until the eleventh century. Its total ruin dates from Robert Guiscard, who, when called to the assistance of Gregory VII., left it a heap of ruins. Abandoned for many centuries, it became a receptacle for rubbish which gradually raised the level of the soil. About 1547, Paul III. began to make excavations in the Forum. Then the place became a cattle-market, and the glorious name of Forum Romanum changed into that of Campo Vaccino.

'The Forum was surrounded by a portico of two storeys, the lower of which was occupied by shops (tabernae). In the beginning of the sixth century of Rome, two fires destroyed part of the edifices with which it had been embellished. This was an opportunity for isolating the Forum, and basilicas and temples were raised in succession along its sides, which in their turn were partly destroyed in the fire of Nero. Domitian rebuilt a part, and added the temple of Vespasian, and Antoninus that of Faustina.'—*A. Du Pays.*

The Forum is open all day; admission 1 fr.

The excavations made in the Forum before 1876 were for the most part due to the generosity of Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire. About extending these the Papal Government always displayed the most extraordinary apathy, but they have been considerably increased since the fall of the Popes. While gaining in historic interest, the Forum has greatly lost in beauty since the recent discoveries. Artists will lament the beautiful trees which mingled with the temples, the groups of *bovi* and *contadini* reposing in their shadow, and above all the lovely vegetation which imparted light and colour to the top of the ruins. As almost every vestige of verdure is carefully cleared away when it springs up, the appearance is that of a number of ruined sheds in a ploughed field, with some fine columns interspersed. As Forsyth truly observes, 'deep learning is generally the grave of taste.'

If we stand in front of the Arch of Septimius Severus, and turn towards the Capitol, we look upon the Clivus Capitolinus. The Via Sacra, which ascended in zigzags, is now concealed by the modern causeway, but the hillside is perfectly crowded with historical sites and fragments, viz.:—

1. The modern Capitol, resting on the *Tabularium.* This is one of the earliest architectural relics in Rome, and is probably due to Q. Lutatius Catulus, to whom the rebuilding of the Capitol after the fire of 85 B.C. was intrusted. It is built in the Etruscan style, of huge blocks of tufa or peperino placed long and cross ways alternately. It was formerly composed of two stages called Camellaria. Only the lower now remains. It contained the tables of the laws. The corridor which remains in the interior is used as a museum of architectural fragments. The Tabularium was the lower storey of the palace of public accounts, the Somerset House of Rome. Recent explorations have discovered chambers in which the clerks cast up the accounts in Roman figures. The Tabularium communicated by a staircase with the *Aerarium* in the Temple of Saturn, where the Government kept its ready money, in which payment for both army and civil service was always made.

'The Tabularium is a grand edifice, one of the most considerable of the brightest epoch of the republic . . . which deserves our fullest admiration.'—*Emil Braun.*

2. On the right of the excavated space, and nearest the Tabularium, is the supposed site of the **Tribune**, in front of which were the earlier **Rostra**, removed by Julius Caesar to another site in 44 B.C.

3. Below, a little more to the right, is a site, sometimes supposed to be that of the **Senaculum**, where the senate met before

entering the Curia, sometimes of the first **Comitium**, where the survivor of the Horatii was condemned to death, and saved by the voice of the people. Here would have been the trophied pillar which bore the arms of the Curiatii.

4. A little more to the left is the site of the **Vulcanal**, so called from an altar dedicated to Vulcan, a platform (still defined) where, in the earliest times, Romulus and Tatius used to meet on intermediate ground and transact affairs common to both; and where Brutus was seated when, without any change of countenance, he saw his two sons beaten and beheaded. Adjoining the Vulcanal was the **Graecostasis**, where foreign ambassadors waited before they were admitted to an audience of the senate.

5. Below the Vulcanal, and just behind the Arch of Severus, is the site of the **Temple of Concord**, founded by Camillus, B.C. 367, and rebuilt and dedicated with blasphemous inappropriateness, B.C. 121, by the consul Opimius, immediately after the murder of Caius Gracchus. The temple was again rebuilt under Augustus. Here Cicero pronounced his orations against Catiline before the senate. The *cella* contained eleven niches, in which masterpieces of Greek art were placed. The *podium*, with a pavement of coloured marbles, remains; a beautiful fragment of the cornice is preserved in the upper arcade of the Tabularium. The portico of the Temple of Concord was seen entire by Poggio Bracciolini in c. 1405, but was destroyed in his lifetime. At the base of the temple are still to be seen some small remains of the **Colonna Maenia**, which was surmounted by the statue of C. Maenius, who decorated the rostra with the iron beaks of vessels taken in war.

'Designed and executed by the cleverest masters of the golden age, built entirely of white marble, profusely enriched with the masterpieces of the Greek school, the Temple of Concord was one of the finest monuments in the valley of the Forum, and one of the richest museums of Rome. The *cella* contained one central and ten side niches, in which were placed the Apollo and Hera by Baton; Latona nursing Apollo and Diana by Euphranor; Asklepios and Hygeia by Nikeratos; Ares and Hermes by Piston; and Zeus, Athena, and Demeter by Sthenios. Pliny speaks also of a picture by Theodoros representing Cassandra; of another by Zeuxis which portrayed Marsyas bound to a tree; of a third, Bacchus, by Nikias; of four elephants cut in obsidian, a miracle of skill and labour; and of a collection of precious stones. Among these was the sardonyx set in the legendary ring of Polykrates of Samos. I may mention in the last place the statue of Hestia, which Tiberius had taken away almost by force from the inhabitants of Paros.'—*Lanciani*, '*The Ruins of Ancient Rome.*'

6. The three beautiful columns which are still standing were attributed to a temple of Jupiter Tonans, but are now decided to belong to the **Temple of Vespasian**, erected by Domitian to his deified father and brother. The engravings of Piranesi represent them as buried almost to their capitals, and they remained in this state until they were disinterred during the first French occupation. The space was so limited in this part of Rome, that in order to prevent encroaching upon the street Clivus Capitolinus, which descends the hill between this temple and that of Saturn, the

Temple of Vespasian was raised on a kind of terrace, and the staircase which led to it was thrust in between the columns. This temple was restored by Septimius Severus, and to this the letters on the entablature refer, being part of the word *Restituere.* Instruments of sacrifice are sculptured on the frieze. Close to these columns the curious little church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus existed from early in the eighth century till the time of Paul III., who destroyed it; but the apse was visible till 1812.

7. On the left of the excavated space, close beneath the Tabularium, a low range of columns recently re-erected represents the **Porticus Deorum Consentium**, in front of a row of seven small rooms, called the **School of Xanthus**, chambers for the use of the scribes and persons in the service of the curule aediles, which derived their name from Xanthus, a freedman, by whom they were rebuilt. The pedestal of a statue of Stilicho has been found here.

8. The eight Ionic columns (of *lapis psaronius*) still standing, are part of the **Temple of Saturn**—Aedes Saturni—the ancient god of the Capitol. It was consecrated in B.C. 497 by the consuls Sempronius and Minucius, and restored in B.C. 44 by Munatius Plancus. Before this temple Pompey sate surrounded by soldiers, listening to the orations which Cicero was delivering from the rostra, when he received the personal address, 'Te enim jam appello, et ea voce ut me exaudire possis.' Here the tribune Metellus flung himself before the door and vainly attempted to defend the treasure of the **Aerarium** in this temple against Julius Caesar. The present remains are those of an indifferent and late renovation by Diocletian of an earlier temple of the time of Augustus, being composed of columns which differ in diameter, and a frieze put together from fragments which do not belong to one another. The original temple was built by Tarquinius Superbus, and was supposed to mark the site of the ancient Sabine altar of the god and the limit of the wood of refuge mentioned by Virgil. The Temple of Saturn was the only temple in Rome where heads were uncovered: it was the first to inaugurate the use of burning wax tapers; and its anniversary feast, or Saturnalia, was the origin of the Carnival.[1] The Aerarium Saturni, in which the brass coinage was kept, with the archives of the quaestors, gave a name to the Church of S. Salvatore in Aerario.

9. Just below the Temple of Saturn is the site of the **Arch** of **Tiberius**, erected, according to Tacitus, upon the recovery by Germanicus of the standards which Varus had lost.

10. The remains of the **Milliarium Aureum**, which formed the upper extremity of a wall faced with marbles, ending near the arch of Severus in a small gilt conical pyramid. The distances to the chief towns upon the roads radiating from the gates of Rome are supposed to have been inscribed upon the Milliarium Aureum, as

[1] See Lanciani, '*Ancient Rome.*'

distances within the walls were upon the pyramid (from which in this case they were also measured) which bore the name of **Umbilicus Romae**. Others think that the Umbilicus was only a sort of copy of the famous Omphalos of Delphi, which was believed to mark the centre of the world. The Via Sacra, which is still visible with its ancient basalt pavement of republican date, descended from the Capitol between the temples of Saturn and Vespasian—being known here as the Clivus Capitolinus, and passed to the left of—

11. The **Arch of Septimius Severus**, which was erected by the senate A.D. 205, in honour of that emperor and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. It is adorned with bas-reliefs relating his victories in the East—his entry into Babylon, and the tower of the temple of Belus, are represented. A curious memorial of imperial history may be observed in the inscription, where we may still discern the erasure made by Caracalla after he had put his brother Geta to death in A.D. 213, for the sake of obliterating his memory. The added words are OPTIMIS FORTISSIMISQVE PRINCIPIBUS—but the ancient inscription P. SEPT. LVC. FIL. GETAE. NOBLISS. CAESARI, has been made out by painstaking decipherers. In one of the piers is a staircase leading to the top of the arch, which was formerly (as seen from coins of Severus and Caracalla) adorned by a car drawn by six horses abreast, and containing figures of Severus and his sons. In the Middle Ages the arch was surmounted by two towers, of which one was used as a belfry for the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, whence the name of Turris de Braccio, as applied to the building. It stood on the edge of the platform—Area Concordiae—which was six or seven feet above the level of the Forum, whence it was reached by steps. In front of the side arch on the right is the marble base of a statue of the Emperor Constantine. The street under the arch is only mediaeval, and dates from the fall of the empire. In the middle of the eighteenth century the side arches were walled in and let as shops.

'Les proportions de l'arc de Septime-Sévère sont encore belles. L'aspect en est imposant; il est solide sans être lourd. La grande inscription où se lisent les épithètes victorieuses qui rappellent les succès militaires de l'empereur, Parthique, Dacique, Adiabénique, se déploie sur une vaste surface et donne à l'entablement un air de majesté qu'admirent les artistes. Cette inscription est doublement historique; elle rappelle les campagnes de Sévère et la tragédie domestique qui après lui ensanglanta sa famille, le meurtre d'un de ses fils immolé par l'autre, et l'acharnement de celui-ci à poursuivre la mémoire du frère qu'il avait fait assassiner. Le nom de Géta a été visiblement effacé par Caracalla. La même chose se remarque dans une inscription sur bronze qu'on voit au Capitole et sur le petit arc du Marché aux bœufs, où l'image de Géta a été effacée comme son nom. Caracalla ne permit pas même à ce nom proscrit de se cacher parmi les hiéroglyphes. En Egypte, ceux qui composaient le nom de Géta ont été grattés sur les monuments.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 278.

Rather in front of the Arch of Severus, on the south side, in front of the curved platform which connects the Umbilicus Romae with the Milliarium Aureum, a rectangular platform seventy-eight feet long and eleven feet high has been unearthed, which has been

identified with the **Rostra** of Julius Caesar, which was in itself a restoration of rostra dating from c. 450 B.C. Nothing remains of the marble facing, but the brick facing is of interest, as the earliest example in Rome of known date—44 B.C. Along the top of the cornice runs a groove, with holes where the marble balustrades were fixed to prevent people being pushed from the platform. In one part the groove is discontinued, as there was no screen there, in order that the whole figure of the orator might be seen by the people below, as is seen in a relief on the Arch of Constantine, in which he is shown here addressing the people; the different buildings of the forum being represented in the background, so as to show the exact position of the rostra. Holes and metal pins still exist, showing where the bronze beaks of ships (*rostra*) were affixed to the front of the platform, nineteen in the lower, twenty in the upper tier. Where the lower tiers are fixed are upright grooves, supposed to have been intended to hold bronze pilasters; these grooves appear also on the end walls. The *rostra* affixed to the platform are said to have been the original beaks of the ships from Antium, transferred by Caesar from the earlier rostra. It was on this second rostra that the body of Julius Caesar was exhibited to the crowd by Antony, and here, on the scene of his former triumphs, that the head and hand of Cicero were hung up after his murder by Antony in 44 B.C., and Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, spat in his dead face. In front of the rostra were the statues of the three Sibyls called Tria Fata,[1] and near the rostra were thrones for foreign ambassadors, who often had to sit there to hear the fate of their own countries decided.

To the right of the Forum, from the foot of the Capitol, runs the Via della Consolazione, occupying part of the site of the ancient **Vicus Juguarius**, where Augustus erected an altar to Ceres, and another to Ops Augusta, the goddess of wealth, in which the seven hundred sesterces left by Julius Caesar at his death were stored. (In this street, on the left, is a good cinque-cento doorway.) Where the street leaves the Forum was the so-called **Lacus Servilius**, a basin which probably derived its name from Servilius Ahala (who slew the philanthropist Sp. Maelius with a dagger near this very spot), and which was encircled with a ghastly row of heads in the massacres under Sulla. This fountain was adorned by M. Agrippa with the figure of a hydra. The right side of the Forum is now occupied for a considerable distance by the disinterred remains of the **Basilica Julia**, begun by Julius Caesar, and finished by Augustus, who dedicated it in honour of the sons of his daughter Julia. It was restored by Severus in 199 B.C., and again by Diocletian after a fire in 282 A.D., and was finally restored by the Praefect Gabinus Vetticus Probianus, as is recorded on a pedestal recently unearthed in the Vicus Juguarius. The basilica was a double *porticus*, with two storeys of columns. It was open on three sides, but on the side away from the Forum opened into ranges of rooms, of which there are

[1] See Middleton, '*Ancient Rome in* 1855.'

considerable remains. A basilica of this description was intended partly as a Law Court and partly as an Exchange. In this basilica the judges called Centumviri held their courts, which were four in number:

> 'Jam clamor, centumque viri, densumque coronae
> Vulgus, et infanti Julia tecta placent.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* vi. 38.

Here Suetonius narrates that the mad Caligula used to stand upon the roof and throw money into the Forum for the people to scramble for. The Arch of Tiberius is supposed to have stood near the corner of this basilica. The south boundary of the republican forum is marked by the Basilica Julia. The northern vestibule of the basilica was converted into the Church of S. Maria de Foro, which was almost intact in 1880, with its double row of columns, apse, presbytery, transennae, and frescoes; only one column of the presbytery has been allowed to remain. The rest of the basilica was almost entirely demolished by the marble plunderers of the XI. c. Most of the steps, pavement, and brick arches which we now see are modern. All the travertine used in building the beautiful Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia was taken from the Basilica Julia.

Opposite the Basilica Julia the Via Sacra was fringed with a line of **Columnae Honorariae**, probably of the III. and IV. c. Seven large pedestals of travertine faced with brick bore columns of marble or granite, of which the fragments found were re-erected in 1899–1900, including a lofty Corinthian column of white marble. On one of the shafts are a number of square holes to which bronze ornaments were probably attached.

Beyond the Basilica Julia are three beautiful columns which belong to a restoration of the **Aedes Castorum** or **Temple of Castor and Pollux**, dedicated by Postumius, B.C. 482. Here costly sacrifices were always offered in the ides of July at the anniversary of the battle of the Lake Regillus, after which the Roman knights, richly clothed, crowned with olive and bearing their trophies, rode past it in military procession, starting from the Temple of Mars outside the Porta Capena.

'Although named officially from both the Dioscuri, the temple went usually by that of Castor alone, as shown, among other documents, by a fragment of the marble plan discovered in 1822. Bibulus, whose name was never pronounced with that of Caesar, his more favoured colleague in the aedileship, used to say that he shared the same fate as Pollux.'—*Lanciani*, '*Ruins of Ancient Rome.*'

The existing columns are part of the temple as rebuilt by Tiberius and Drusus in 7 B.C., with the spoils taken in Germany.[1] The pedestal of the statue of Marcus Aurelius and the statue of Jonah in S. Maria del Popolo were formed from other columns. The entablature which the three columns support is of great richness, and the whole fragment is considered to be one of the finest existing

[1] Suet. *Tib.* 20; Dion. Cass. iv. 8, 27.

specimens of the Corinthian order. None of the Roman ruins have given rise to more discussion than this. It has perpetually changed its name. Bunsen and many other authorities considered it to belong to the Temple of Minerva Chalcidica; but as it is known that the position of the now discovered Basilica Julia was exactly between the Temple of Saturn and that of Castor, and a passage of Ovid describes the latter as being close to the site of the Temple of Vesta, which is also ascertained, it seems certain now that it belonged to the Temple of the Dioscuri. Dion Cassius mentions that Caligula made this temple a vestibule to his house on the Palatine. He used to appear himself for worship between the great twin brothers.[1] The temple was also frequently used for meetings of the senate. Baldassare Peruzzi called these columns 'La piu belia e meglio lavorata opera di Roma.' The last spoliation of the temple was in 1773. In the Verrine orations Cicero accused Verres of having, in his greed of plunder, brought an action against those who were bound to keep the Temple of Castor and Pollux in order, asserting that its columns were not perpendicular, and that having forced them to be pulled down, he rebuilt them coarsely, and demanded 300,000 sesterces for the work. In his oration Cicero pointed at the restored temple, but the existing pillars belong to a later reconstruction by Tiberius. Treaties were hung up in this temple.

Between the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Basilica Julia, the **Vicus Tuscus** or Etruscan quarter (see Chapter V.) ran from the Via Sacra towards the Circus Maximus. At its entrance was the bronze statue of Vertumnus, the god of Etruria, and patron of the quarter. The long trough-shaped fountain near the modern Via dei Fienili, at which such picturesque groups of oxen and buffaloes are constantly standing, is a memorial of the **Lake of Juturnâ**, the sister of Turnus, or, as she was sometimes described, the wife of Janus the Sabine war-god. This fountain (for such it must have been) was dried up by Paul V.:

> 'At quae venturas praecedit sexta kalendas,
> Hac sunt Ledaeis templa dicata deis.
> Fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum
> Circa Juturnae composuere lacus.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* i. 705.

Close under the Palatine, near the line of the earliest Via Sacra, remains have been discovered of the famous **Temple** or **Aedes Sacra of Vesta**, in which the sacred fire was preserved (symbolising the centre of domestic life), with the palladium saved from Troy. On the altar of this temple blood was sprinkled annually from the tail of the horse which was sacrificed to Mars in the Campus Martius. The worship of Hestia, imported into Rome from Alba Longa—'Alba oriundum sacerdotium'—had its origin in the common fire—'*focus publicus*'—which was preserved in a hut in the centre of every village, at a time when fire was not easily procured. Numa Pom-

[1] Suet. *Cal.* 22.

pilius established one of these on the border of the Velabrum, between the Palatine and the Capitol. It was burnt by the Gauls in 390, when the vestals escaped to Caere; and it was again burnt in 241 B.C., when the Pontifex Maximus Metellus lost his eyesight in saving the precious relics it contained. In the great fire under Nero it was again burnt, was rebuilt and again burnt down under Commodus, and restored for the last time by Julia Domna. The temple, thus rebuilt, was perfect in 1489, but entirely demolished in 1549. The broken columns and fragments of architecture found around the temple have been as far as possible replaced, 1899–1900. In the centre of the base of the temple a little cella has been found, apparently under the altar on which the sacred fire burned. It is supposed by some authorities to be the Penus Vestae, the mysterious spot in which the most sacred treasures of Vesta, such as the Palladium, were preserved, into which man could never enter, and matrons, barefooted, only between the 5th and 15th of June. It was here, during the consulate of the young Marius, that the high priest Scaevola was murdered, splashing the image of Vesta with his blood; and here (A.D. 68) Piso, the adopted son of Galba, was murdered in the sanctuary whither he had fled for refuge, and his head, being cut off, was affixed to the rostra. Behind the temple, along the lower ridge of the Palatine, stretched the sacred grove of Vesta. Here Numa Pompilius fixed his residence, hoping to conciliate both the Latins of the Palatine and the Sabines of the Capitoline by occupying a neutral ground between them.

'Quaeris iter? dicam: vicinum Castora canae
Transibis Vestae, virgineamque domum;
Inde sacro veneranda petes palatia clivo.'
—*Martial, Ep.* i. 71.

'Hic focus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem.
Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.'
—*Ovid, Trist.* iii. *El.* 1.

'Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestae,
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.
Forma tamen templi, quae nunc manet, ante fuisse
Dicitur; et formae causa probanda subest.
Vesta eadem est et Terra; subest vigil ignis utrique,
Significant sedem terra focusque suam.
Terra, pilae similis, nullo fulcimine nixa,
Aëre subjecto tam grave pendet onus.
Arce Syracosia suspensus in aëre clauso
Stat globus, immensi parva figura poli:
Et quantum a summis, tantum secessit ab imis
Terra. Quod ut fiat, forma rotunda facit.
Par facies templi: nullus procurrit ab illo
Angulus. A pluvio vindicat imbre tholus.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 263.

'Servat et Alba, Lares, et quorum lucet in aris
Ignis adhuc Phrygius, nullique adspecta virorum
Pallas, in abstruso pignus memorabile templo.'
—*Lucan*, ix. 992.

Behind the Temple, on the right of the entrance to the cloisters, is a *shrine*—or sacellum—probably of Mercury. It had two Ionic

columns on the front, supporting an architrave inscribed, 'Senatus Populusque Romanus pecunia pubblica faciendam curavit,' and it was probably restored under Trajan. There were 274 of these little chapels under Constantine.

Just beyond the site of the Temple of Vesta, below the Via Nova, which ran between it and the Palatine, are the remains of the **Atrium Vestae**, the conventual abode of the Vestal Virgins, the 'virginea domus' of Martial, and the prototype of all the nunneries in the world.[1] The original building on this site was the Regia, said to have been built by Numa, which became the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, who dwelt 'in radicibus Palatii finibusque Romani Fori.'[2] This building was destroyed by the Gauls in 390 B.C., and again much injured by fire in 191 B.C. It was the residence of Julius Caesar from the time of his election to the office of Pontifex Maximus, and was the place where his second wife Pompeia admitted her lover Clodius in the disguise of a woman to the mysteries of the Bona Dea. Hence also Caesar went forth to his death, and hence his last wife, Calpurnia, rushed forth with loud outcries to receive his dead body. The smallness of the space occupied by the Regia is described by Ovid.

Augustus, who preferred a residence upon the Palatine, presented the Regia to the Vestals, who soon pulled down the original building, and erected another of a more important character for their own residence. When Horace says, 'Ventum erat ad Vestae,' he means the atrium, not the Temple of Vesta. Under the Alban system, the care of the sacred fire had been entrusted to four virgins; Servius Tullius raised the number to six, which number remained unchanged till the fourth century of the Christian era, when it was increased to seven. The Vestals had their origin in the village girls, who obtained fire by rubbing the wood of laurel and oak together. The sisterhood was managed by the oldest virgin—*Virgo Vestalis Maxima*—but as vestals were admitted at between six and ten years old, they often became *maxima* whilst still very young. The vestals must always have had both parents living at the time of their election, and both of irreproachable character. They had also to be absolutely free from any physical imperfection. The term of legal service was thirty years; after that the vestal might return home or marry. The abbess enjoyed one of the positions of highest consideration under the empire. Secrets of state and wills of emperors were entrusted to her, and in outbursts of revolution or civil war she was resorted to as a last hope of peace.[3]

The Vestals had seats of honour in the amphitheatre, theatres, or circus, and the empress had to sit amongst them when she appeared in public. They had also the right of interment within the

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1 Lanciani.

2 Servius, *Ad Aen.* viii. 363.

3 See Rudolfo Lanciani, in the *Athenæum*, Feb. 2, 1884. Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 32; *Hist.* iii. 81. Suet. *Vitel.* 16.

city, though their burial-place is unknown. The requests of the Vestals were scarcely ever refused, and if one of them accidentally met a criminal on his way to the scaffold, he was reprieved at once. When they entered the convent their hair was cut off, arranged in plaits bearing the names of their owners, and fastened to a lotus tree (*Lotus capillata*), which is supposed to have spread where a turfy space is now left: Pliny says that the tree lived five hundred years. The lower floor of the house was lined with *cipollino*, the upper with *breccia-corallina*. The rooms were warmed under the blue tiles of their floors, and the remains of the hypocaust which served the house may still be seen in a caverned room under the Palatine; in the next room is a mill which was worked by slaves for making the unleavened bread of the Vestals. The Vestals had their own stables and horses.

The remains of the house of the Vestals were discovered in the autumn of 1883. They are those of the house as it was rebuilt after the fire of A.D. 191 by Septimius Severus, though some of the pavements are of the republican period, and belonged to the ancient Regia. The principal entrance was near the Temple of Vesta; and beside it, on the right, are remains of a small aedicula or shrine, which probably contained a statue of the goddess. It was built of brick, with a marble roof and entablature supported on marble columns. The frieze of the shrine is inscribed in letters of the time of Hadrian—Senatus populusque Romanus pecunia publica faciendam curavit. The peristyle, which was so large [1] as to give a name to the edifice, was surrounded by porticoes, paved either with mosaic or oriental marbles, and separated from the open space by forty-eight columns of *cipollino*, resting on low parapet walls, upon the ground floor, and, on the upper floor, by forty-eight columns of *breccia-corallina*, of which two have been found perfect. In the centre of the open space, which was paved with black mosaic, was a brick structure, a circle within an octagon, apparently surrounded by flower-beds, perhaps a miniature of the *Lucus Vestae* on the Palatine, adjoining the Via Nova,[2] which was destroyed when Caligula extended his palace over the northern angle of the hill. Between the pillars of the peristyle stood the statues of *Virgines Vestales Maximae*, resting upon pedestals. There are supposed to have been more than a hundred honorary pedestals, as many statues represented and many pedestals named the same lady. More than four-fifths of this series were destroyed in the Middle Ages: only thirty-six inscriptions bearing names of Vestales Maximae have been found in Rome, twenty-eight in the atrium itself, two on the Palatine, six in other parts of the town. The Vestals to whom commemorative inscriptions have been found are—Occia, 38 B.C.–19 A.D.; Junia Torquata, daughter of Silanus, A.D. 19–48; Vibidia, the intercessor for Messalina; Cornelia Maxima, murdered by Domitian; Praetextata; Numisia Maximilla, A.D.

1 Sixty-seven metres long and twenty-four wide.

2 'Qui a Palatii radice in Novam Viam devexus est.'—*Cicero, De Divin.* I. 45.

200; Terentia Flavola, A.D. 215; Campia Severina, A.D. 240; Flavia Mamilia, A.D. 242; Flavia Publicia, A.D. 247 (of whom there is a beautiful statue); Cloelia Claudiana, A.D. 286; Terentia Rufilla, A.D. 300; and Cloelia Concordia, the last but one of the Vestales Maximae. Besides these, an inscription from which the name has been erased, perhaps because she embraced Christianity,[1] commemorates a lady of A.D. 364 in the words—'Ob meritum castitatis, pudicitiae, atque in sacris religionibusque doctrinae mirabilis . . . [name erased] virgini vestali maximae, pontifices viri clarissimi, pro magistro Macrinio Sossiano viro clarissimo, pro meritis; dedicata quinto idus Junias, divo Joviano et Varroniano consulibus.' The statues in the atrium, which are of life size, range from complete figures to mere fragments. They are mostly of the third century, but one or two date from the second. The finest as a work of art, apparently of the time of Hadrian, is the upper half of a figure, important as giving the only known representation of the sacred *suffibulum*, worn by vestals whilst sacrificing—a hood of white woollen cloth with a purple border, fastened on the breast by a fibula. The other statues only show the *stola*, a long gown bound by a girdle or *zona*, usually without sleeves. Over this is worn the *pallium*, and round the head the sacred *vittae*—rope-like folds of linen. Though in some cases the hair is hidden by the pallium and vittae, yet in several statues enough hair is visible to show that it was allowed to grow long, though on entering the novitiate the hair of the child vestal was cut off. All the pedestals are inscribed to the Virgo Vestalis Maxima, a rank attained by seniority, but the inscriptions on two of the six pedestals in honour of Flavia Publicia (*c.* A.D. 247) show that several grades were passed through before they reached the highest dignity. On one of the later statues a row of bronze pins on the breast shows where a metal *monile* or necklace was fastened; to a statue (now lost) which was found on the Esquiline in 1591, the necklace was still attached.[2] Only one male statue was found in the Atrium Vestae, that of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, one of the last public defenders of the Vestals in the fourth century.

The atrium was surrounded on the ground floor by state apartments (in some of which the state archives were probably kept), and on the upper floor by the private rooms of the vestals, all once lined with marble, and thoroughly warmed by *hypocausts*—hollow floors, through which the hot air from furnaces could circulate, and escape to the roof by flue-tiles covering the walls. The small pillars (*pilae*) which support the floors (*suspensura*) rests on the vaults of the lower rooms, which are made level by concrete. A bath-room, lined with precious marbles, was approached from the upper floor by a wooden bridge.

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1 The conversion of a vestal to the new faith is mentioned by Prudentius, *Peristeph.* Hymn 2.

2 See the *Saturday Review*, No. 1554, August 8, 1885; also the *Times*, Nov. 19, 1879, May 8 and May 20, 1882.

At the south-east end of the peristyle (towards the Arch of Titus) was the *Tablinum*, approached by four steps between columns, on either side of which were marble *cancelli*. The walls were panelled with coloured marbles. On either side are three small vaulted rooms, those on the right (which suffered from damp by their position under the Palatine[1]) warmed by hot air. In the central room, the floor rested upon large amphorae cut in half, between which the hot air circulated. The room behind these contained a marble bath, and six niches for statuettes above it. It has also an arched furnace, the top of which is paved with herring-bone work.

The Atrium Vestae appears to have been left undisturbed till late in the fourth century, when the last of the vestals were dying out or abandoning the ancient faith. Zosimus[2] speaks of the last surviving vestal as an old woman living in the almost deserted house as late as A.D. 394, and cursing the Princess Serena, who took a necklace from the statue of the goddess and put it round her own neck; before that time more than one vestal had become a Christian. After the worship of Vesta was extinguished, the atrium appears to have been inhabited for some centuries, and later additions can be traced. At the northern angle of the peristyle, several rooms of the seventh and eighth centuries were found in 1883, and soon afterwards destroyed. In one of these was discovered a large *ripostiglia* or hoard of English pennies—probably Peter's pence—of Alfred, Edward I., Athelstan, Edmund, and a few of Sitric and Anlaf, kings of Northumbria. In the same pot with these was a bronze fibula, inlaid with silver, bearing the name of Marinus II., who was Pope from 942 to 946.

The **Via Nova**, in the fourth century B.C., ran along the west slope of the Palatine, turning the north corner of the hill, and continuing along the east slope of the Palatine till it reached 'Summa Velia.' In the reign of Augustus its course was changed, that it might pass the corner of the Temple of Castor, to join the Via Sacra near the Temple of Romulus. Thus Ovid saw it—

> 'Qua nova Romano *nunc* Via juncta Foro est.'
> —*Fast.* vi. 396.

This famous lane, of which the name is connected with so many stirring events of the kingly period, has been traced for 120 feet at the foot of the palace of Caligula, midway between the Via Sacra and the Clivus Victoriae.

On this side of the Forum, where the Cloaca Maxima is now laid

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[1] Its position made the Atrium Vestae very unhealthy; but, till the fourth century, no physician was allowed to enter it; as soon as sickness made its appearance, the patient was removed to the house of her parents, or to that of some distinguished matron. But in their own homes, the Vestals were not allowed to speak to any one but their mothers.

[2] v. 38.

bare, was the famous **Curtian Lake**, so called from Mettus Curtius, a Sabine warrior, who with difficulty escaped from its quagmires to the Capitol after a battle between Romulus and Tatius.[1] Tradition declares that the quagmire afterwards became a gulf, which an oracle declared would never close until that which was most important to the Roman people was sacrificed to it. Then the young Marcus Curtius, equipped in full armour, leapt his horse into the abyss, exclaiming that nothing was more important to the Roman people than arms and courage: and the gulf was closed for ever;[2] it is now believed to have been the crater of one of the hot springs mentioned by Varro.[3] Two altars were afterwards erected on the site to the two heroes, and a vine and an olive tree grew there.[4]

> 'Hic, ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes:
> Amne redundatis fossa madebat aquis.
> Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,
> Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 401.

Some fountain, like those of Servilius and Juturna, bearing the name of Lacus Curtius, must have existed on this site to imperial times, for the Emperor Galba was murdered there.

> 'A single cohort still surrounded Galba, when the standard-bearer tore the emperor's image from his spear-head and dashed it on the ground. The soldiers were at once decided for Otho; swords were drawn and every symptom of favour for Galba amongst the bystanders was repressed by menaces, till they dispersed and fled in horror from the Forum. At last the bearers of the emperor's litter overturned it at the Curtian pool beneath the Capitol. In a few moments enemies swarmed around his body. A few words he muttered, which have been diversely reported: some said that they were abject and unbecoming; others affirm that he presented his neck to the assassin's sword, and bade him strike "if it were for the good of the republic;" but none listened, none perhaps heeded the words actually spoken; Galba's throat was pierced, but even the author of his mortal wound was not ascertained, while, his breast being protected by the cuirass, his legs and arms were hacked with repeated gashes.'—*Merivale*, vii. 73.

Opposite the Basilica Julia is the **Column of Phocas**, a monument probably of the end of the fourth century, from the base of which the original inscription was evidently erased by the exarch Smaragdus in 608, and replaced by the inscription to Phocas discovered in 1813, which has given a name to the pillar. This is—

> 'The nameless column with a buried base,'

of Byron, but is now neither nameless nor buried, its pedestal having been laid bare by the Duchess of Devonshire in 1813, and bearing an inscription which shows an intention that no one ever anticipated.

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[1] Statius, i. 6; Livy, vii. 6.
[2] Livy, vii. 6; Varr. iv. 32.
[3] v. 32.
[4] Pliny, xv. 18.

'In the age of Phocas (602–10), the art of erecting a column like that of Trajan or M. Aurelius had been lost. A large and handsome Corinthian pillar, taken from some temple or basilica, was therefore placed in the Forum, on a huge pyramidal basis quite out of proportion to it, and was surmounted with a statue of Phocas in gilt bronze. It has so little the appearance of a monumental column, that for a long while it was thought to belong to some ruined building, till, in 1813, the inscription was discovered. The name of Phocas had, indeed, been erased; but that it must have been dedicated to him is shown by the date. . . . The base of this column, discovered by the excavations of 1816 to have rested on the ancient pavement of the Forum, proves that this former centre of Roman life was still, at the beginning of the seventh century, unencumbered with ruins.'—*Dyer's 'History of the City of Rome.*'

'Ce monument et l'inscription qui l'accompagne sont précieux pour l'histoire, car ils montrent le dernier terme de l'avilissement où Rome devait tomber. Smaragdus est le premier magistrat de Rome—mais ce magistrat est un préfet, l'élu du pouvoir impérial et non de ses concitoyens;—il commande, non, il est vrai, à la capitale du monde, mais au chef-lieu du duché de Rome. Ce préfet, qui n'est connu de l'histoire que par ses lâches ménagements envers les Barbares, imagine de voler une colonne à un beau temple, au temple d'un empereur de quelque mérite, pour la dédier à un exécrable tyran monté sur le trône par des assassinats, au meurtrier de l'empereur Maurice, à l'ignoble Phocas, que tout le monde connaît, grâce à Corneille, qui l'a encore trop ménagé. Et le plat drôle ose appeler très clément celui qui fit égorger sous les yeux de Maurice ses quatre fils avant de l'égorger lui-même. Il décerne le titre de triomphateur à Phocas, qui laissa conquérir par Chosroès une bonne part de l'empire. Il ose écrire: " Pour les innombrables bienfaits de sa piété, pour le repos procuré à l'Italie et à la liberté." Ainsi l'histoire monumentale de la Rome de l'empire finit honteusement par un hommage ridicule de la bassesse à la violence.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 389.

The pillar of Phocas was surmounted by a statue of gilt bronze, which belonged to an earlier date. The column may be regarded as the centre of the Forum Romanum. Near the east corner of its base, two low walls, or *plutei*, of white marble, evidently of the time of Trajan, were discovered in September 1873. Their inner surface is adorned with reliefs of the three sacrificial animals, the pig, ram, and bull,[1] which in their united names gave the title of *Suovetaurilia* to the great lustral ceremony. On the outer side of the wall nearest the Capitol is a representation of the provision made by Trajan for the children of poor citizens—'alimenta ingenuorum puerorum et puellarum Italiae.' On the outside of the farther wall is represented the burning of bonds on his remission of debts due to the public treasury. On the background of these reliefs the buildings existing on the north and west side of the Roman Forum in the time of Trajan are depicted. The Temple of Concord and Arch of Tiberius on the first, and the lower storey of the Basilica Julia on the second. Some imagine, from the sacrificial animals, that these walls were the approach to a statue and altar of the deified emperor; others think that they marked the place where

1 Pigs, the earliest source of wealth to the first colonists of Rome, when the valleys between the hills were filled with quercus ilex and quercus robur, were regarded as an especially acceptable sacrifice. They are represented here with the woollen vittae or sacrificial belts. The sheep also has vittae and had gilded horns. The sacrifice of a sheep is the origin of the word *ovation*. The bull is seen crowned with laurel. It was always sacrificed to Jupiter Capitolinus, and was brought down the Via Sacra with gilded horns.

citizens going to vote at elections had to show their tesserae of admission as they passed. A richly sculptured pedestal near this probably supported the statue of an emperor.

On the left of the Forum, looking towards the Coliseum, stood the **Tabernae Argentariae**, the silversmiths' shops, and beyond them—probably in front of S. Adriano—were the Tabernae Novae, where Virginia was stabbed by her father with a butcher's knife, which he had seized from one of the stalls, saying, 'This, my child, is the only way to keep thee free,' as he plunged it into her heart.[1] Near this also was the statue of Venus Cloacina.[2]

The front of the church of S. Adriano is the actual front of the **Comitium** or Senate House, as it was reconstructed in the reign of Domitian. Its bronze doors were taken to the Lateran. It is on the site of the cave and spring, where Tarpeia was drawing water when she first saw Tatius. Tullus Hostilius was the first to build the Curia Hostilia, a hall of stone for the meetings of the Patres Conscripti, and it was approached by the flight of steps down which the body of Servius Tullius was thrown by Tarquinius.

'Là se réunit, pour la première fois sous un toit, le conseil des anciens rois que le savant Properce, avec un sentiment vrai des antiquités romaines, nous montre tel qu'il était dans l'origine, se rassemblant au son de la trompe pastorale dans un pré, comme le peuple dans certains petits cantons de la Suisse.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 310.

The Curia was capable of containing six hundred senators, their number in the time of the Gracchi. It had no tribune—each speaker rose in turn and spoke in his place. Here was 'the hall of assembly in which the fate of the world was decided.' The Curia, in which Cicero addressed the Senate, was destroyed by fire, which it caught from the funeral pyre of Clodius. It was rebuilt by Faustus, son of Sulla, and again on the same site by Julius and Augustus Caesar as Curia Julia, which was rebuilt after a fire by Diocletian. It was in the Comitium that the Praetor Urbanus had his little platform whence he had to witness slaves being beaten to death. Around the Curia stood many statues of Romans who had rendered especial service to the state. Close by the old Curia was the Basilica Porcia, built by Cato the Censor, which was likewise burnt down at the funeral of Clodius. Near this the base of the rostral column, **Colonna Duilia**, raised in honour of the admiral who defeated the Carthaginian fleet, has been found.[3] On the right of the Curia was the Argiletum, which contained the Temple of Janus; on the left a little square in which the Marforio of the Capitol adorned a fountain. Before it was the **Comitium**, a platform where, in the early days of the city, its civil and political affairs were transacted. In front

1 Livy, iii. 48.
2 Pliny, xv. 29.
3 Two reproductions of a similar column may be seen on the ascent to the Pincio.

of the Comitium were three pieces of marble, placed edgeways like a fence. Outside them a travertine basis and canal were discovered in 1899, and, inside, an irregular square of Pyrenean marble—black veined with white. Festus speaks of it, saying: 'Niger lapis in comitia locum funestum significat;' Horace alludes to the bones of Romulus as shielded from sun and wind: 'Quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini;' and Varro describes the grave of Romulus as 'post rostra.' The black stone which has been discovered has thus been often regarded as the tomb of Romulus, though some think it only commemorated his foster-father, Faustulus.

There are those who think that the black stone marks a spot connected with the story of Tarquinius Priscus. Having had a dispute with Attus Navius, head of the College of Augurs, and questioning his power, the king bade the augur tell him what he was thinking of. 'You are questioning if I can cut through a wet stone with a razor;' and he did it. Then Tarquinius was humbled, and the wet stone and the razor were buried by him in the Comitium, and a fig-tree was planted near the spot, which existed—then gigantic—in the time of Tacitus. Close to the fig-tree was a statue of Marsyas,[1] and this had a stone screen round its base. The fig-tree was called Ficus Navia. It had withered by the time of Pliny, who says that the priests had kept its memory alive on the spot by slips taken before it died.

There are others who recall that all places stricken by lightning were regarded as holy—nothing could be built on them—and such a place was called 'fulgoritum.' It is possible that a black stone regarded as a thunderbolt may have been found here, and looked upon as a gift of the gods to be commemorated by a black marble pavement. This is a commonplace view.

The stone itself is inscribed with letters belonging to the Chalcidean alphabet, and ascribed to the sixth c. B.C. They are large, clear, and deeply cut. They read vertically up and down as oxen plough, and as the stone is broken to half its original size (probably in the sack by the Gauls), the beginning and the end of every alternate line are lost. As deciphered, it seems to be one of the sacred laws—a rex legia (royal law) 2500 years old. Partly beneath the Lapis Niger the base of an altar twelve feet long has been discovered.

A number of vases and votive statuettes have been found near the stone with a quantity of bones, probably from the expiatory sacrifices after the profanation of the sacred places of Rome by the Gauls. It is thought that the Plutei already described were used

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[1] Placed in the Comitium as a warning to political intriguers. Pallas Athene had wished to play on the flute, but was so disgusted at the contortions it caused her to make, that she threw it away. It was picked up by Marsyas, who became so conceited about his playing that he challenged Apollo to a contest. The god accepted, on the condition that the vanquished competitor should be flayed, and that was Marsyas, who forthwith became the type of presumption.

in the time of Trajan to replace earlier screens for the black stone.

Between the Comitium and the Basilica Aemilia stood the **Temple of Janus Quirinus.** Procopius, in the sixth century, saw the little Temple of Janus still standing. This was one of the many temples of the great Sabine god.

'Quum tot sint Jani; cur stas sacratus in uno,
Hic ubi templa foris juncta duobus habes?'
—*Ovid, Fast.* i. 257.

This was the temple which was the famous index of peace and war, closed by Augustus, for the third time from its foundation, after the victory of Actium.[1]

'. . . et vacuum duellis
Janum Quirinum clausit, et ordinem
Rectum, evaganti fraena licentiae
Injecit.'
—*Horace, Od.* iv. 15.

The temple was afterwards a Christian church dedicated to S. Dionysius. Besides this temple there were three arches, whose sites are unknown, dedicated to Janus, in different parts of the Forum.

'. . . Haec Janus summus ab imo
Prodocet——'
—*Horace, Ep.* I. i. 54.

The central arch was the resort of brokers and money-lenders.[2]

'. . . Postquam omnis res mea Janum
Ad medium fracta est.'
—*Hor. Sat.* II. iii. 18.

A little east of S. Adriano is the site of the **Basilica of Aemilius Paulus,** whose triumph brought such wealth into Rome that all taxes were remitted.

'In the year 699 M. Aemilius bought private property on the east side of the forum, and built his superb Basilica Aemilia, called by Cicero *magnificentissima.* The reason for this great undertaking is given by the same writer—*ut forum laxaremus*—to enlarge the area and extent of the forum. The Basilica, the finest ever built in Rome, was dedicated twenty years after the beginning of the work in 719 A.U.C., and eighteen years afterwards, when it had been injured by fire, Augustus and other friends of Aemilius Paulus supplied the funds necessary to restore the edifice, and to decorate it with the famous columns of pavonazetto marble, which were transferred five centuries later to the basilica of S. Paul outside the walls (perhaps on account of a similarity of their names), and almost entirely destroyed by the great fire of 1823.'—*Lanciani, 'Ancient Rome.'*

The library of Persius was kept in the Forum of Aemilius Paulus, and it was the beauty of its buildings and ornaments which first made the Romans feel the superiority of Greek art, and thus led to

[1] Suetonius, *Aug.* 22.
[2] Cicero, *De Off.* ii. 25.

the study of the Greek language. It was hence that the great tide of Hellenism flowed in upon Italy.

The excavations recently carried on on the site of the Forum of Aemilius Paulus, through the bountiful assistance which an American, Mr. Lionel Phillips, has given to the Italian Government, have not hitherto produced as great results as were anticipated. There is a careful representation of the Basilica Emilia in the Pianta Capitolina.

Beyond the site of the Basilica, on the left, are the remains of the **Temple of Antoninus and Faustina**, erected A.D. 141 by the flattery of the senate to the memory of the licentious Empress Faustina the Elder, the faithless wife of Antoninus Pius, whom they elevated to the rank of a goddess. Her husband, dying before its completion, was associated in her honours, and the inscription, which still remains on the portico, is 'DIVO ANTONINO ET DIVAE FAUSTINAE EX. S. C.' The façade is adorned with eight columns of cipollino,[1] forty-three feet high, with ill-executed acanthus capitals, supporting a frieze ornamented with griffins and candelabra. In the fifteenth century the Guild of Apothecaries was allowed to build a chapel between the columns, and the grooves cut in the pillars mark its roof. There were twenty-four steps of white marble towards the Via Sacra which were carried off to S. Peter's; in the centre was the base for a statue of Faustina. The marble coating of the walls was also removed as material for the Fabbrica di S. Pietro in 1540. The effect of what is left of the temple is greatly injured by the hideous Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, built by the Roman apothecaries in 1602, which encloses the cella of the ancient building, and whose name, says Ampère, naïvely expresses the admiration in which its builders held these remains.[2] Beyond the temple is a drain of the first century, still in working order. Some huge blocks of travertine recently found opposite this temple are remains of the **Arch** (built B.C. 120 in the severest style of republican times) in honour of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, the conqueror of Savoy. This arch, which was twelve feet wide, **Fornix Fabianus**, marked the eastern limit of the Forum. Near it were the statues of L. Aemilius Paulus and P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

Almost opposite the Temple of Antoninus, near the Temple of Castor, and facing the Capitol,[3] stood, on a lofty base, the small **Temple of Julius Caesar** (Aedes Divi Julii), surrounded with a colonnade of closely placed columns and surmounted by a statue of the deified triumvir. This, built by Augustus 42 B.C., was the first temple in Rome which was dedicated to a mortal. An altar and

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1 Marmor Carystium from Euboea, the 'undosa Carystos' of Statius (*Sylv.* 1. v. 36), called *cipollino* from its layers like an onion—*cipola*. It was the favourite marble of the Antonines.

2 Ampère, *Emp.* ii. 223.

3 Vitruvius, iii.

column of Numidian marble, inscribed with the words, 'Parenti Patriae,' had previously occupied the site.

> 'Fratribus assimilis, quos proxima templa tenentes
> Divus ab excelsa Julius aede videt.'
> —*Ovid, Pont. Ep.* ii. 2.

> 'Hanc animam interea caeso de corpore raptam
> Fac jubar, ut semper Capitolia nostra Forumque
> Divus ab excelsa prospectet Julius aede.
> —*Id., Metam.* xv. 840.

This column was thrown down by Dolabella, but the people violently demanded its restitution, together with an altar on which the magistrates could celebrate their sacrifices. When the temple was to be built, the architect was told that its precinct must include the giallo column already in existence, and the base of this column may still be seen. Dion Cassius[1] narrates that the temple was erected on the spot where the body of Julius was burnt. It was adorned by Augustus with the beaks of the vessels taken in the battle of Actium, and hence obtained the name of Rostra Julia. He also placed here the picture of Venus Anadyomene of Apelles, because Caesar had claimed descent from that goddess, but this was removed by Nero. Here, in A.D. 14, the body of Augustus, being brought from Nola, where he died, was placed upon a bier, while Tiberius pronounced a funeral oration over it from the rostra, before it was carried to the Campus Martius. The marble foundations of this temple and of that of Castor and Pollux were burnt into lime or sold to stonecutters in 1547, together with the stone walls supporting their cella and colonnades. In 1546 the temple was destroyed, together with the Fasti Consulares and Triumphales engraved on the marble casing of its basement. Such poor remains as still exist were rediscovered in 1872, and consist of the under part of the basement of the temple and of the platform which supported the Rostra Julia. This may still be seen, with the base of the semicircular tribune whence Augustus pronounced the funeral oration of his sister Octavia.

Close to the Temple of Julius foundations have been discovered which are identified with the **Arch of Augustus**, known from a scholium to the Aeneid, published by Cardinal Mai, to have been built *juxta aedem divi Juli.* It was an arch with three passages, the outer piers being narrower than the others, as in the arch at Orange.[2] It was destroyed by the workmen for the Fabbrica di S. Pietro between 1540 and 1546.

The line of the **Via Sacra** was made to turn sharply by the erection of the Temple of Caesar and other buildings. The earliest Via Sacra—so called because it was the scene of the treaty between Romulus and the Sabine king Tatius—was straight. The republican Via Sacra bent at the corner of the Vicus Tuscus to the south-east, skirting the temples of Castor and Vesta and the Regia, a line

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1 xlvii. 18.
2 See F. M. Nichols in the *Athenaeum*, April 28, 1888.

which was the shortest, and to which it is evident that the population returned after the fall of the empire. The imperial Via Sacra, between the Temple of Faustina and the Arch of Titus, was a handsome wide street, with side-walks, ornamented by a population of honorary statues, some of them placed in elaborate shrines, of which the shrine in honour of the young Emperor Gordian is an example. Pedestals with inscriptions to Septimius Severus, Claudius, Caracalla, Antoninus Pius, and Fabius Titianus (prefect of Rome A.D. 339) were found in the excavations of 1882.[1]

Now on the right was the **Regia**, the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, the head of the college, which was itself over all other colleges. Here the lances of Mars were kept in a sacred chapel. Pirro Ligorio saw the Regia early in the sixteenth century, when he says that it took thirty days to demolish the ruins. In front of the Regia were two laurels, the sacred trees of Augustus. In the fire of Commodus the Regia was burnt, but the laurels were saved. Julius Caesar had lived in the Regia, but Augustus gave it to increase the house of the Vestals, when he built the Domus Augusta. The Fasti Consulares now in the Capitol were brought from the Regia.

In front of the church of SS. Cosmo and Damian the remains of a **Temple of Romulus, son of Maxentius** (formerly called the Temple of Remus, then of the Penates) have been excavated to the old level. Maxentius, of the famous Giulio Romano fresco in the Vatican, built it to his son in 308—round, with a roof covered with gilt tiles of a fish-scale pattern. The round cella of the temple was appropriated by Felix IV. (A.D. 527) as a vestibule to his church, and remains in perfect preservation. Its façade was ornamented by columns of cipollino, of which two occupy their old pedestals. One was taken away by Urban VIII.; of the fourth only the pedestal remains. The bronze door with its porphyry columns, which had been raised by Urban VIII. to the modern level of the church, was lowered to its old site in 1880. The richly decorated cornice was apparently taken from an earlier building.

Behind, set angle-wise, was a large building, the **Templum Sacrae Urbis**, which Felix IV., to enlarge his church, joined to the other temple. The Temple Sacrae Urbis, which was built by Vespasian, had been destroyed in the fire of Commodus, but restored by Severus and Caracalla. To its outer wall, towards the town, Vespasian had affixed a great map, and this being destroyed in the fire, was renewed by Severus[2]—the famous Forma Urbis, of which the fragments are preserved at the Capitol. Over the portico was an immense inscription. Much of the time of Vespasian may be seen in the remains of the Templum Sacrae Urbis, including a noble travertine doorway, once coated with white marble.

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[1] See the Letters of Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum*, June 10, 1882.

[2] 512 pieces of the Pianta were found in the Via Giulia, having been taken there by Paul III. in 1533, to be employed as marble in his builders' workshops, but left unused.

'The entire edifice of the Vatican can now again be admired, from its ancient pavement to the top of its vaulted ceiling, and recalls, though of smaller proportions, the Pantheon, even to the vaulted ceiling with its round hole, through which light can penetrate to the interior of the temple.'—*Luigi Borsari.*

The back wall of the temple formed part of the enclosure of the **Forum Pacis**, where a pedestal has been found with an inscription showing that it belonged to a replica of the famous statue of Pythokles, by Polykletos, at Olympia. This pedestal is now in the Museo Municipale al Celio.

Here, in the Forum Pacis of Vespasian, was the site of his **Temple of Peace**, burnt down in the time of Commodus. This temple was the great museum of Rome under the empire, and contained the seven-branched candlestick and other treasures brought from Jerusalem,[1] as well as all the works of art which had been collected in the palace of Nero, and which were removed hither by Vespasian. A statue of the Nile, with children playing round it, is mentioned by Pliny as among the sights in the Temple of Peace;[2] a fragment of its precinct wall still exists, built of massive blocks of peperino, with a doorway formed in travertine under a flat arch.

On the other side of the Via Sacra are remains of a **Memorial Shrine** raised by the people of Tarsus to the Emperor Gordian the Younger, but with an inscription which gives less praise to the emperor than to the town—'the most excellent, the largest, the handsomest, the metropolis of these provinces.'

Near this point Valerius Publicola had a house, to which he removed from the Velia, in deference to the wishes of the Roman people.

'Le sentiment d'effroi que la demeure féodale des Valérius causait, était pareil à celui qu'inspiraient aux Romains du moyen âge les tours des barons, que le peuple, dès qu'il était le maître, se hâtait de démolir. Valérius n'attendit pas qu'on se portât à cette extrémité, et il vint habiter au pied de la Velia. C'est le premier triomphe des plébéiens sur l'aristocratie romaine et la première concession de cette aristocratie.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 274.

Close also to this portion of the Via Sacra stood a statue of Valeria, daughter of Publicola, by whom the honours of the virgin Cloelia were disputed. A branch of the Via Sacra turned to the left from hence towards the sacellum of the goddess Strenia in the Carinae.

A little farther on are three gigantic arches, being all that remains of the magnificent **Basilica of Constantine**, which was 320 feet in length and 235 feet in width. It was begun by Maxentius, and finished by Constantine,[3] who appropriated the basilica of his rival. In the basilica of Maxentius, the apse was at the end (opposite the then entrance) towards the Templum Sacrae Urbis. Constantine moved it to be opposite his own entrance, and placed his statue there, the side apses being occupied by statues of

[1] Josephus, vii. 37. [2] Pliny, xxxvi. 7.
[3] Aur. Victor. *Caes.* 40, 26.

members of his family. The panelling in the apses was of marble with gilt roses. The basilica became the great law court and contained many tribunals. The existing ruins are only those of one of the aisles of the basilica. There are traces of an entrance towards the Coliseum. The roof was supported by eight Corinthian columns, of which one, remaining here till the time of Paul V., was removed by him to the piazza of S. Maria Maggiore, where it still stands. The building of Constantine is remarkable as the last which bears the impress of the grandeur of ancient Roman genius. Traces of religious paintings, seen by Nibby in its eastern apse, show that the building was used for Christian purposes. In front of the Basilica are the remains of the **Horrea Peperitae**—the oriental spice-house of Diocletian. A way was cut through it to make a more easy entrance to the little Forum Pacis, and this dark way became famous for murders—'Arco di Ladroni.' On the other side of the Via Sacra are remains of the **Porticus Margaritaria**, containing shops of the Margaritarii (jewellers), Unguentarii (cosmetic sellers), Coronari (jewellers, ointment sellers, fan-makers), taking up the space between the Via Sacra and Via Nova.

On the right, on either side of the entrance to the Palatine, were placed two ancient pedestals, found in 1547 near the Arch of Septimius Severus. That on the right belonged to an equestrian statue of Constantius, erected by Neraetius Cerealis, prefect of the city, A.D. 353, in honour of the victory over Maxentius. On the left-hand pedestal the Suovetaurilia is sculptured, with a congratulatory inscription to Constantius and Galerius.

Besides those which we have noticed, there is mention in classical authors of many other buildings and statues which were once crowded into the narrow space which has been described.

The modern name of **Campo Vaccino**, by which the Forum was recently known, is supposed by some antiquaries to be derived from Vitruvius Vacca, who once had a house there.

'La guerre aux habitants de Privernum (Piperno) rattache à une localité du Palatin. . . . Les habitants de Fondi avaient fait cause commune avec les habitants de Privernum. Leur chef, Vitruvius Vacca, possédait une maison sur le Palatin; c'était un homme considérable dans son pays et même à Rome. Ils demandèrent et obtinrent grâce. Privernum fut pris, et Vitruvius Vacca, qui s'y était réfugié, conduit à Rome, enfermé dans la prison Mamertine pour y être gardé jusqu'au retour du consul, et alors battu de verges et mis à mort; sa maison du Palatin fut rasée, et le lieu où elle avait été garda le nom de *Près de Vacca*.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 17.

But the name will seem singularly appropriate to those who were familiar with the groups of meek-faced oxen of the Campagna, which used always to be seen lying in the shade under the trees of the picturesque Forum of the last generation, or drinking at its water-troughs.

'"Romanoque Foro et lautis mugire Carinis."

'Ce vers m'a toujours profondément frappé, lorsque je traversais le Forum, aujourd'hui *Campo Vaccino* (le champ du bétail); je voyais en effet presque toujours à son extrémité des bœufs couchés au pied du Palatin. Virgile, se reportant de la Rome de son temps à la Rome ancienne d'Evandre, ne trouvait

pas d'image plus frappante du changement produit par les siècles, que la présence d'un troupeau de bœufs dans le lieu destiné à être le Forum. Eh bien, le jour devait venir où ce qui était pour Virgile un passé lointain et presque incroyable se reproduirait dans la suite des âges; le Forum devait être de nouveau un lieu agreste, ses magnificences s'en aller et les bœufs y revenir.

'J'aimais à les contempler à travers quelques colonnes moins vieilles que les souvenirs qu'ils me retraçaient, reprenant possession de ce sol d'où les avait chassés la liberté, la gloire, Ciceron, César, et où devait les ramener la plus grande vicissitude de l'histoire, la destruction de l'empire romain par les barbares. Ce que Virgile trouvait si étrange dans le passé n'étonne plus dans le présent; les bœufs mugissent au Forum; ils s'y couchent et y ruminent aujourd'hui, de même qu'au temps d'Evandre et comme s'il n'était rien arrivé.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* i. 211.

'In many a heap the ground
Heaves, as if Ruin in a frantic mood
Had done its utmost. Here and there appears,
As left to show his handiwork, not ours,
An idle column, a half-buried arch,
A wall of some great temple. It was once,
And long, the centre of their Universe,
The Forum—whence a mandate, eagle-winged,
Went to the ends of the earth. Let us descend
Slowly. At every step much may be lost,
The very dust we tread stirs as with life,
And not a breath but from the ground sends up
Something of human grandeur.

. . . . . .

Now all is changed; and here, as in the wild,
The day is silent, dreary as the night;
None stirring, save the herdsman and his herd,
Savage alike; or they that would explore,
Discuss and learnedly; or they that come
(And there are many who have crossed the earth)
That they may give the hours to meditation,
And wander, often saying to themselves,
"This was the Roman Forum!"'

—*Rogers' 'Italy.'*

'We descended into the Forum, the light fast fading away and throwing a kindred soberness over the scene of ruin. The soil has risen from rubbish at least fifteen feet, so that no wonder the hills look lower than they used to do, having been never very considerable at the first. There it was one scene of desolation, from the massy foundation-stones of the Capitoline Temple, which were laid by Tarquinius the Proud, to a single pillar erected in honour of Phocas, the Eastern emperor, in the fifth century. What the fragments of pillars belonged to, perhaps we can never know; but that I think matters little. I care not whether it was a temple of Jupiter Stator or the Basilica Julia, but one knows that one is on the ground of the Forum, under the Capitol, the place where the tribes assembled and the orators spoke; the scene, in short, of all the internal struggles of the Roman people.'—*Arnold's Journal.*

'They passed the solitary column of Phocas, and looked down into the excavated space, where a confusion of pillars, arches, pavements, and shattered blocks and shafts—the crumbs of various ruins dropped from the devouring maw of Time—stand, or lie, at the base of the Capitoline Hill. That renowned hillock (for it is little more) now rose abruptly above them. The ponderous masonry, with which the hillside is built up, is as old as Rome itself, and looks likely to endure while the world retains any substance or permanence. It once sustained the Capitol, and now bears up the great pile which the mediæval builders raised on the antique foundation, and that still loftier tower, which looks abroad upon a larger page of deeper historic interest than any other scene can show. On the same pedestal of Roman masonry other structures will doubtless arise, and vanish like ephemeral things.

'To a spectator on the spot, it is remarkable that the events of Roman history,

and of Roman life itself, appear not so distant as the Gothic ages which succeeded them. We stand in the Forum, or on the height of the Capitol, and seem to see the Roman epoch close at hand. We forget that a chasm extends between it and ourselves, in which lie all those dark, rude, unlettered centuries, around the birthtime of Christianity, as well as the age of chivalry and romance, the feudal system, and the infancy of a better civilisation than that of Rome. Or, if we remember these mediaeval times, they look farther off than the Augustan age. The reason may be, that the old Roman literature survives, and creates for us an intimacy with the classic ages which we have no means of forming with the subsequent ones.

'The Italian climate, moreover, robs age of its reverence, and makes it look nearer than it is. Not the Coliseum, nor the tombs of the Appian Way, nor the oldest pillar in the Forum, nor any other Roman ruin, be it as dilapidated as it may, ever give the impression of venerable antiquity which we gather, along with the ivy, from the grey walls of an English abbey or castle. And yet every brick and stone, which we pick up among the former, had fallen ages before the foundation of the latter was begun.'—*Hawthorne.*

'A Rome, vous marchez sur les pierres qui ont été les dieux de César et de Pompée: vous considérez la ruine de ces grands ouvrages, dont la vieillesse est encore belle, et vous vous promènerez tous les jours parmi les histoires et les fables. . . . Il n'y a que Rome où la vie soit agréable, où le corps trouve ses plaisirs et l'esprit les siens, où l'on est à la source des belles choses. Rome est cause que vous n'êtes plus barbares: elle vous a appris la civilité et la religion. . . . Il est certain que je ne monte jamais au Palatin ni au Capitole que je n'y change d'esprit, et qu'il ne me vienne d'autres pensées que les miennes ordinaires. Cet air m'inspire quelque chose de grand et de généreux que je n'avais point auparavant: si je rêve deux heures au bord du Tibre, je suis aussi savant que si j'avais étudié huit jours.'—*Balzac.*

Before leaving the Forum we must turn from its classical to its mediaeval remains, and examine the very interesting group of churches which have sprung up amid its ruins.

Almost opposite the Mamertine Prisons, surmounted by a handsome dome, is the **Church of S. Martina**, which contains the original model, bequeathed by the sculptor Thorwaldsen, of his Copenhagen statue of Christ in the act of benediction. The opposite transept contains a very inferior statue of Religion by *Canova.* The figure of the saint by *Guerini* reposes beneath the high altar, as at S. Cecilia. The subterranean church beneath this building is well worth visiting. An ante-chapel adorned with statues of four virgin martyrs leads to a beautiful chapel erected at the cost and from the designs of Pietro da Cortona, whose tomb stands near its entrance with a fine bust by *Bernini.* In the centre of the inner chapel, lamps are always burning round the magnificent bronze altar which covers the shrine of S. Martina, and beneath it you can discover the martyr's tomb by the light of a torch which a monk lets down through a hole. In the tribune is an ancient throne. A side-chapel contains the grave in which the body of the virgin saint, with three other martyrs, her companions, were found in 1634; it is adorned with a fine bas-relief by *Algardi.* An inscription, found in the Catacombs of S. Agnese, commemorates the Christian Gaudentius, the supposed architect of the Coliseum, afterwards martyred in his own building.

'At the foot of the Capitoline hill, on the left hand as we descend from the Ara-Coeli into the Forum, there stood in very ancient times a small chapel dedicated to S. Martina, a Roman virgin. The veneration paid to her was of very early date, and the Roman people were accustomed to assemble there on the first day of the year. This observance was, however, confined to the people, and not very general till 1634; an era which connects her in rather an interesting manner with the history of art. In this year, as they were about to repair her chapel, they discovered, walled into the foundations, a sarcophagus of terra-cotta, in which was the body of a young female, whose severed head reposed in a separate casket. These remains were very naturally supposed to be those of the saint who had been so long venerated on that spot. The discovery was hailed with the utmost exultation, not by the people only, but by those who led the minds and consciences of the people. The Pope himself, Urban VIII., composed hymns in her praise; and Cardinal Francesco Barberini undertook to rebuild her church. Amongst those who shared the general enthusiasm was the painter Pietro da Cortona, who was at Rome at the time, who very earnestly dedicated himself and his powers to the glorification of S. Martina. Her church had already been given to the Academy of Painters, and consecrated to S. Luke, their patron saint. It is now "San Luca and Santa Martina." Pietro da Cortona erected at his own cost the chapel of S. Martina, and, when he died, endowed it with his whole fortune. He painted for the altar-piece his best picture, in which the saint is represented as triumphing over the idols, while the temple in which she has been led to sacrifice is struck by lightning from heaven, and falls in ruins around her. In a votive picture of S. Martina kneeling at the feet of the Virgin and Child, she is represented as very young and lovely: near her, a horrid instrument of torture, a two-pronged fork with barbed extremities, and the lictor's axe, signifying the matter of her death.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred and Legendary Art.'*

The feast of the saint is observed here on 30th January, with much solemnity. Then, in all the Roman churches, is sung the Hymn of S. Martina:—

'Martinae celebri plaudite nomini,
Cives Romulei, plaudite gloriae;
Insignem meritis dicite virginem,
Christi dicite martyrem.

Haec dum conspicuis orta parentibus
Inter delicias, inter amabiles
Luxus illecebras, ditibus affluit
Faustae muneribus domus.

Vitae despiciens commoda, dedicat
Se rerum Domino, et munifica manu
Christi pauperibus distribuens opes,
Quaerit praemia coelitum.

A nobis abigas lubrica gaudia
Tu, qui martyribus dexter ades, Deus
Une et trine: tuis da famulis jubar,
Quo clemens animos beas. Amen.'

There is nothing especial to notice in **S. Adriano**, which is built in the ruins of the basilica of Aemilius Paulus, and which Lanciani believes to have itself been the Curia of Diocletian,[1] or in **S. Lorenzo in Miranda**, which occupies the temple of Antoninus and Faustina; but **S. Maria Liberatrice** was more interesting, which was built on part of the site of the Atrium Vestae, and was destroyed in the spring of 1900, in the hope of finding the stairs which led from

[1] Its bronze doors, removed by Alexander VII., are now at the entrance to the nave of the Lateran.

the Temple of Castor to the Palace of Caligula, and up which the vestals fled with their treasures in the great fire under Commodus. It commemorated by its name a curious legend of the fourth century. On this site, it is said, dwelt in a cave a terrible dragon, who had slain three hundred persons with the poison of his breath. Into this cave, instructed thereto by S. Peter, and entrusting himself to the care of the Virgin, descended S. Silvester the Pope, attended by two acolytes bearing torches; and here, having pronounced the name of Christ, he was miraculously enabled to bind the dragon and to shut him up till the Day of Judgment. But when he ascended in safety, he found at the mouth of the cave two magicians, who had followed him in the hope of discovering some imposture, dying from the poison of the dragon's breath—and these also he saved alive. The church was formerly called S. Silvestro in Lacu. It was of little importance internally, but externally added greatly to the picturesqueness of the Forum, and all artists must regret it.

We now reach the circular edifice which has been so long known as the Temple of Remus, but which was dedicated to Romulus, son of Maxentius, and which, owing to recent excavations, must now be entered from the side street. The porphyry pillars at the original entrance, supporting a richly sculptured cornice, were probably set up thus when the temple was turned into a church. The bronze doors were brought from Perugia. If, as was long supposed, the temple on this site was that of the Penates, the protectors against all kinds of illness and misfortunes, the modern dedication to the protecting physicians Cosmo and Damian may have had some reference to that which went before.

The Church of **SS. Cosmo e Damiano**, formed by the union of two temples, which were the earliest example of a pagan temple being applied to Christian use, was founded by Pope Felix IV. in 527, and restored by Adrian I. in 780; Sergius I. built the ambones and ciborium above the confession in 695. In 1633 the whole building was modernised by Urban VIII., under Arirugucci, who, in order to raise it to the later level of the soil, cut the ancient church in half by a partition, recently removed, dividing it into upper and lower churches.

'The entire edifice of the V. can now again be admired, from its ancient pavement to the top of its vaulted ceiling, and recalls, though of smaller proportions, the Pantheon, even to the vaulted ceiling with its round hole, through which light can penetrate to the interior of the temple.'—*Luigi Borsari.*

The tomb of the martyrs Cosmo and Damian is beneath the altar, which is formed of beautiful transparent marble. Under a side altar is the grave of Felix IV. The lowest church (the *original* crypt), which is very small, is said to have been a place of refuge during the early Christian persecutions. Here is shown the altar at which Felix IV. celebrated mass while his converts were hiding here—the grave in which the body of the pope was afterwards discovered—and a miraculous spring, still flowing, which is

said to have burst forth in answer to his prayers that he might have wherewithal to baptize his disciples. A passage said formerly to lead from hence to the Catacombs of S. Sebastian was walled up in the middle of the XIX. c. by the paternal Government, because twenty persons were lost in it. In this crypt was found the greater portion of the famous 'Pianta Capitolina,' formerly preserved in the Farnese Palace, and now in the Capitol. In the upper church, on the right of the entrance from the circular vestibule into the body of the building, is this inscription :—

'L' imagine di Madonna Santissima che esiste all' altar magg. parlò a S. Gregorio Papa dicendogli, "Perchè più non mi saluti mentre passando eri solito salutarmi?" Il santo domandò perdona e concesse a quelli che celebrano in quell' altare la liberazione dell' anima dal purgatorio, cioè per quell' anima per la quale si celebra la messa.'[1]

Another inscription narrates :—

'Gregorius primus concessit omnibus et singulis visitantibus ecclesiam istam sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani mille annos de indulgentia, et in die stationis ejusdem ecclesiae idem Gregorius concessit decem millia annorum de indulgentia.'

Among the many relics preserved in this church are 'Una ampulla lactis Beatae Mariae Virginis ;' 'De Domo Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae ;' 'De Domo Sancti Zachariae prophetae !'

Deserving of the most minute attention is the grand mosaic of Christ coming on the clouds of sunset.

'The mosaics of SS. Cosmo and Damiano (A.D. 526–30) are the finest of ancient Christian Rome. Above the arch appear, on each side of the Lamb, four angels, of excellent but somewhat severe style; then follow various apocalyptic emblems ; a modern walling-up having left but few traces of the twenty-four elders. A gold surface, dimmed by age, with little purple clouds, forms the background : though in Rome, at least, at both an earlier and later date, a blue ground prevailed. In the apsis itself, upon a dark-blue ground, with golden-edged clouds, is seen the colossal figure of Christ; the right hand raised, either in benediction or teaching, the left holding a written scroll; above is the hand, which is the emblem of the First Person of the Trinity. Below, on each side, the apostles Peter and Paul are leading SS. Cosmo and Damiano, each with crowns in their hands, towards the Saviour, followed by S. Theodore on the right, and by Pope Felix IV., the founder of the church, on the left. This latter, unfortunately, is an entirely restored figure. Two palm-trees, sparkling with gold, above one of which appears the emblem of eternity, the phoenix, with a star-shaped nimbus, close the composition on each side. Farther below, indicated by water-plants, sparkling also with gold, is the river Jordan. The figure of Christ may be regarded as one of the most marvellous specimens of the art of the Middle Ages. Countenance, attitude, and drapery combine to give Him an expression of quiet majesty, which, for many centuries after, is not found again in equal beauty and freedom. The drapery, especially, is disposed in noble folds, and only in its somewhat too ornate details is a further departure from the antique observable. The saints are not as yet arranged in stiff parallel forms, but are advancing forward, so that their figures appear somewhat distorted, while we already remark something constrained and inanimate in their step. The apostles Peter and Paul wear the usual ideal costume. SS. Cosmo and Damiano are attired in the late Roman dress : violet mantles, in gold stuff, with red embroideries of oriental barbaric effect. Otherwise the chief motives of the drapery are of great beauty, though somewhat too abundant in folds. The high lights are brought out by gold and other sparkling materials, producing a gorgeous play of colour which relieves the figures vigorously from

[1] See Percy's '*Romanism.*'

the dark-blue background. Altogether a feeling for colour is here displayed, of which no later mosaics with gold grounds give any idea. The heads, with the exception of the principal figure, are animated and individual, though without any particular depth of expression; somewhat elderly, also, in physiognomy, but still far removed from any Byzantine stiffness; S. Peter has already the bald head, and S. Paul the short brown hair and dark beard, by which they were afterwards recognisable.[1] Under this chief composition, on a gold ground, is seen the Lamb upon a hill, with the four rivers of Paradise, and the twelve sheep on either hand. The great care of execution is seen in the five or six gradations of tints which the artist has adopted.'—*Kugler.*

SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom this church is dedicated, the Aesculapii of Christianity, were two Arabian physicians who exercised their art from charity. They suffered under Diocletian. 'First they were thrown into the sea, but an angel saved them; and then into the fire, but the fire refused to burn them; then they were bound to crosses and stoned, but the stones either fell harmless or rebounded on their executioners and killed them; so then the proconsul Lycias, believing them to be sorcerers, commanded that they should be beheaded, and thus they died.' SS. Cosmo and Damian were the patron saints of the Medici, and their gilt statues were carried in state at the coronation of Leo X. (Giovanni de' Medici). Their fame is general in many parts of France, where their fête is celebrated by a village fair—children who ask for their fairing of a toy or ginger-bread calling it their 'S. Côme.'

'It is related that a certain man, who was afflicted with a cancer in his leg, went to perform his devotions in the church of SS. Cosmo and Damian at Rome, and he prayed most earnestly that these beneficent saints would be pleased to aid him. When he had prayed, a deep sleep fell upon him. Then he beheld S. Cosmo and S. Damian, who stood beside him; and one carried a box of ointments, and the other a sharp knife. And one said, "What shall we do to replace this diseased leg when we have cut it off?" And the other replied, "There is a Moor who has been buried just now at S. Pietro in Vincoli; let us take his leg for the purpose." So they brought the leg of the dead man, and with it they replaced the leg of the sick man; anointing it with celestial ointment, so that he remained whole. When he awoke he almost doubted whether it could be himself; but his neighbours, seeing that he was healed, looked into the tomb of the Moor, and found that there had been an exchange of legs: and thus the truth of this great miracle was proved to all beholders.'—*Mrs. Jameson, from the 'Legenda Aurea.'*

Just beyond the basilica of Constantine stands the **Church of S. Francesca Romana**, which is full of interest. Its beautiful thirteenth-century tower is ornamented with the discs of enamelled pottery called *ciotole*, which were the forerunners of majolica. The church was first built by S. Sylvester on the site of the Temple of Venus and dedicated to the Virgin under the title of S. Maria Nuova. It was rebuilt in A.D. 872 by John VIII., who resided in the adjoining monastery during his pontificate. An ancient picture attributed to S. Luke, brought from Troy in 1100, was the only

[1] There is no aureole round the heads of the saints. This emblem of glory, which belonged to Apollo and the deified emperors, was not bestowed upon the martyrs of the Catacombs till the time of Constantine, and had not yet become universal.

object in this church which was preserved when the building was totally destroyed by fire in 1216, after which the church was restored by Honorius III. During the restoration the picture was kept at S. Adriano, and its being brought back led to a contest among the people, which was ended by a child exclaiming, 'What are you doing? the Madonna is already in her own church.' She had betaken herself thither none knew how.

In the twelfth century the church was given to the Lateran Canons, in the fourteenth to the Olivetan monks; under Eugenius IV. the latter extended their boundaries so far that they included the Coliseum, but their walls were forced down in the succeeding pontificate. Gregory XI., Paul II., and Caesar Borgia were cardinals of S. Maria Novella. In 1440 the name was changed to that of S. Francesca Romana, when that saint, Francesca de' Ponziani, foundress of the Order of Oblates, was buried here. Her tomb was erected in 1640 by Donna Agata Pamfili, sister of Innocent X., herself an Oblate. It is from the designs of Bernini, and is rich in marbles. The figure was not added till 1868.

'After the death of Francesca, her body remained during a night and a day at the Ponziani Palace, the Oblates watching by turns over the beloved remains. . . . Francesca's face, which had recently borne traces of age and suffering, became as beautiful again as in the days of youth and prosperity; and the astonished bystanders gazed with wonder and awe at her unearthly loveliness. Many of them carried away particles from her clothes, and employed them for the cure of several persons who had been considered beyond the possibility of recovery. In the course of the day the crowd augmented to a degree which alarmed the inhabitants of the palace. Battista Ponziani took measures to have the body removed at once to the church, and a procession of the regular and secular clergy escorted the venerated remains to Santa Maria Nuova, where they were to be interred.

'The popular feeling burst forth on the occasion; it was no longer to be restrained. Francesca was invoked by the crowd, and her beloved name was heard in every street, in every piazza, in every corner of the Eternal City. It flew from mouth to mouth, it seemed to float in the air, to be borne aloft by the grateful enthusiasm of a whole people, who had seen her walk to that church by her mother's side in her holy childhood; who had seen her kneel at that altar in the grave beauty of womanhood, in the hour of bereavement, and now in death carried thither in state, she the gentle, the humble saint of Rome, the poor woman of the Trastevere, as she was sometimes called at her own desire.'—*Lady G. Fullerton's 'Life of S. Francesca Romana.'*

A chapel on the right of the church contains the monument of Cardinal Vulcani, 1322, supporting his figure, with Faith, Hope, and Charity sculptured in high relief below. Near the door is the tomb of Cardinal Adimari, 1432, who died here after an ineffectual mission to the anti-pope Pedro da Luna. In the left transept was a fine Perugino (removed 1867); in the right transept is the tomb of Pope Gregory XI., the last Frenchman who occupied the papal throne, by Pietro Paolo Olivieri, erected by the Senate in 1584 in gratitude for his having restored the papal court to Rome from Avignon. A bas-relief represents his triumphal entry, with S. Catherine of Siena, by whose entreaties he was induced to return, walking before his mule. A breach in the walls indicates the ruinous state into which Rome had fallen; the chair of S. Peter is

represented as floating back through the air, while an angel carries the papal tiara and keys; a metaphorical figure of Rome is coming forth to welcome the Pope.

'The greatest part of the praise due to Gregory's return to Rome belongs to S. Catherine of Siena, who, with infinite courage, travelled to Avignon, and persuaded the Pope to return, and by his presence to dispel the evils which disgraced Italy, in consequence of the absence of the Popes. Thus it is not to be wondered at that those writers who rightly understand the matter should have said that Catherine, the virgin of Siena, brought back to God the abandoned apostolical chair upon her shoulders.'—*Ughelli, Ital. Sacra*, vi. col. 45.

Near Pope Gregory's tomb some blackened marks in the wall are shown as holes made by the (gigantic) knees of S. Peter, when he knelt to pray that Simon Magus might be dropped by the demons he had invoked to support him in the air, which he is said to have done to show his power on this spot. Removed also to the church is a paving-stone of which the same story is told. The water which collected in the two holes was looked upon as an important remedy, and when it lay in the road, groups of infirm persons gathered around it on the approach of a shower.

'When the error of Simon was spreading farther and farther, the illustrious pair of men, Peter and Paul, the rulers of the Church, arrested it by going thither, who suddenly exhibited as dead, Simon, the putative God, on his appearance. For when Simon declared that he would ascend aloft into heaven, the servants of God cast him headlong to the earth, and though this occurrence was wonderful in itself, it was not wonderful under the circumstances, for it was Peter who did it, he who bears with him the keys of heaven . . . it was Paul who did it, he who was caught up into the third heaven.'—*S. Cyril of Jerusalem.*

'Simon promised to fly, and thus ascend to the heavenly abodes. On the day agreed upon, he went to the Capitoline hill, and throwing himself from the rock, began his ascent. Then Peter, standing in the midst, said, "O Lord Jesus, show him that his arts are in vain." Hardly had the words been uttered, when the wings which Simon had made use of became entangled, and he fell. His thigh was fractured, never to be healed; and some time afterwards the unhappy man died at Aretia, whither he had retired after his discomfiture.'—*S. Ambrose.*[1]

'There can be no doubt that there existed in the first century a Simon, a Samaritan, a pretender to divine authority and supernatural powers; who, for a time, had many followers; who stood in a certain relation to Christianity; and who may have held some opinions more or less similar to those entertained by the most famous heretics of the early ages, the Gnostics. Irenaeus calls this Simon the father of all heretics. "All those," he says, "who in any way corrupt the truth or mar the preaching of the Church, are disciples and successors of Simon, the Samaritan magician." Simon gave himself forth as a God, and carried about with him a beautiful woman named Helena, whom he represented as the first conception of his—that is, of the divine—mind, the symbol and manifestation of that portion of spirituality which had become entangled in matter.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 204.

The vault of the tribune is covered with mosaics.

'The restored tribune mosaics (A.D. 858–87, during the pontificate of Nicholas I.) close the list of Roman Byzantine works. By their time it had become apparent that such figures as the art of the day was alone able to achieve could have no possible relation to each other, and therefore no longer constitute a

[1] See the whole question of Simon Magus discussed in Waterworth's '*England and Rome.*

composition ; the artists accordingly separated the Madonna on the throne, and the four saints with uplifted hands, by graceful arcades. The ground is gold, the nimbuses blue. The faces consist only of feeble lines—the cheeks are only red blotches ; the folds merely dark strokes ; nevertheless a certain flow and fulness in the forms, and the character of a few accessories (for instance, the exchange of a crown upon the Virgin's head for the invariable Byzantine veil), seem to indicate that we have not so much to do here with the decline of Byzantine art, as with a Northern and probably Frankish influence.'—*Kugler.*

In the 1st chapel (left) is a Madonna with saints by Sinibaldo Ibi, 1524.

The convent attached to this church was the abode of Tasso during his first visit to Rome.

S. Francesca Romana stands on some of the substructions of the Golden House of Nero, which he did not hesitate to build across the Via Sacra, and of which the Coliseum only occupies the site of the fishponds. Hadrian, with the idea of giving back to the people what Nero had taken away, built a beautiful temple on the substructions of the palace, the **Temple of Venus and Rome** (Venus Felix and Roma Aeterna), (now sometimes called by objectors the 'Portico of Livia'), which, if this name is the correct one, was originally planned by the Emperor Hadrian to rival the Forum of Trajan, erected by the architect Apollodorus, and finished by Antoninus Pius. It was built upon a site previously occupied by the atrium of Nero's Golden House. Little remains standing of this, the largest of all the temples in Rome, except a cella facing the Coliseum, and another in the cloisters of the adjoining convent (these, perhaps, being restorations by Maxentius, *c.* 307, after a fire had destroyed most of the building of Hadrian), but the surrounding grassy height is positively littered with fragments of the grey granite columns which once formed the grand portico (400 by 200 feet), or *peribolus*, of the building : some marble steps near S. Francesca Romana mark its façade towards the Forum. The pedestals partly exist which supported colossal statues of Venus and Rome in the apses. A large mass of Corinthian cornice remains near the cella facing the Coliseum. This was the last pagan temple which remained in use in Rome. It was only closed by Theodosius in 391, and remained entire till 625, when Pope Honorius carried off the bronze tiles of its roof to S. Peter's.

> 'Ac sacram resonare viam mugitibus, ante
> Delubrum Romae ; colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
> More dese, nomenque loci, ceu numen, habetur.
> Atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt
> Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.'
> —*Prudentius contr. Symm.* v. 214.

'When about to construct his magnificent Temple of Venus and Rome, Hadrian produced a design of his own and showed it with proud satisfaction to the architect Apollodorus. The creator of the Trajan column remarked with a sneer, that the deities, if they rose from their seats, must thrust their heads through the ceiling. The Emperor, we are assured, could not forgive this banter ; but we can hardly take to the letter the statement that he put his critic to death for it.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxvi.

In front of this temple stood the bronze statue of Cloelia, mentioned by Livy and Seneca, and (till the sixth century) the bronze elephants mentioned by Cassiodorus. Nearer the Coliseum may still be seen the remains of the foundation prepared by Hadrian for the **Colossal Statue of Nero**, executed in bronze by Zenodorus. This statue was twice moved, first by Vespasian, in A.D. 75, that it might face the chief entrance of his amphitheatre,[1] whose plan had been already laid out. At the same time—though it was a striking likeness of Nero—its head was surrounded with rays that it might represent Apollo. In its second position it is described by Martial :

> 'Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
> Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,
> Invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis,
> Unaque jam tota stabat in urbe domus.'
> —*De Spect.* ii.

It was again moved (with the aid of forty-two elephants) a few yards farther north, by Hadrian, when he built his Temple of Venus and Rome. Pliny describes the colossus as 110, Dion Cassius as 100 feet high.

'Hadrian employed an architect named Decrianus to remove the colossus of Nero, the face of which had been altered into a Sol. He does not seem to have accomplished the design of Apollodorus to erect a companion statue of Luna.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxvi.

Near the church of S. Francesca, the Via Sacra passes under the **Arch of Titus**, which, even in its restored condition, is the most beautiful monument of the kind remaining in Rome. Its Christian interest is unrivalled, from its having been erected by the senate to commemorate the taking of Jerusalem, and from its bas-reliefs of the seven-branched candlestick and other treasures of the Jewish Temple. In mediaeval times it was called the Arch of the Seven Candlesticks (Septem lucernarum) from the bas-relief of the candlestick, concerning which Gregorovius remarks that the fantastic figures carved upon it prove that it was *not* an exact likeness of that which came from Jerusalem. The bas-reliefs are now greatly mutilated, but they are shown in their perfect state in a drawing of Giuliano di Sangallo. On the frieze is the sacred river Jordan, as an aged man, borne on a bier. The arch was engrafted into the fortress of the Frangipani, and so it remained, in a very ruinous condition, till the present century. Close by, on the side towards the Palatine, was the Turris Chartularia, to which, for the sake of security, the remains of the library and archives of Pope Damasus and other precious MSS. were removed from the Lateran in the X. c.[2] The tower originally formed the entrance to the vast for-

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[1] Dion Cassius, lxvi. 15.

[2] Not a trace of these collections now remains; it is supposed that they were destroyed by the imperial faction in 1244, out of spite and revenge towards the Pope and his faithful supporters, the Frangipani.

tress of the powerful Frangipani family, which included the Coliseum and a great part of the Palatine and Coelian hills; and here, above the gate, Pope Urban II. dwelt in 1093, under the protection of Giovanni Frangipani. The arch was repaired by Pius VII., who replaced in travertine the lost marble portions at the top and sides. The composite capitals here are the earliest examples known.

'Standing beneath the Arch of Titus, and amid so much ancient dust, it is difficult to forbear the commonplaces of enthusiasm, on which hundreds of tourists have already insisted. Over the half-worn pavement and beneath this arch, the Roman armies had trodden in their outward march, to fight battles a world's width away. Returning victorious, with royal captives and inestimable spoil, a Roman triumph, that most gorgeous pageant of earthly pride, has streamed and flaunted in hundredfold succession over these same flagstones, and through this yet stalwart archway. It is politic, however, to make few allusions to such a past; nor is it wise to suggest how Cicero's feet may have stepped on yonder stone, or how Horace was wont to stroll near by, making his footsteps chime with the measure of the ode that was ringing in his mind. The very ghosts of that massive and stately epoch have so much density, that the people of to-day seem the thinner of the two, and stand more ghostlike by the arches and columns, letting the rich sculpture be discerned through their ill-compacted substance.'—*Hawthorne.*

'We passed on to the Arch of Titus. Amongst the reliefs there is a figure of a man bearing the golden candlestick from the Temple at Jerusalem, as one of the spoils of the triumph. Yet He who abandoned His visible and local temple to the hands of the heathen for the sins of His nominal worshippers, has taken to Him His great power, and has gotten Him glory by destroying the idols of Rome as He had done the idols of Babylon; and the golden candlestick burns and shall burn with an everlasting light, while the enemies of His holy name, Babylon, Rome, or the carcass of sin in every land, which the eagles of His wrath will surely find out, perish for ever from before Him.'—*Arnold's Journal.*

'The Jewish trophies are sculptured in bas-relief on the inside of the arch beneath the vaulting. Opposite to these is another bas-relief representing Titus in the quadriga, the reins borne by the goddess Roma. In the centre of the arch Titus is borne to heaven by an eagle. It may be conjectured that these ornaments to his glory were designed after the death of Vespasian, and completed after his own. . . . These witnesses to the truth of history are scanned at this day by Christians passing to and fro between the Coliseum and the Forum; and at this day the Jew refuses to walk beneath them, and creeps stealthily by the side, with downcast eyes or countenance averted.'—*Merivale,* '*Romans under the Empire,*' vii. 250.

'On the inner compartment of the Arch of Titus is sculptured, in deep relief, the desolation of a city. On one side, the walls of the Temple, split by the fury of conflagrations, hang tottering in the act of ruin. The accompaniments of a town taken by assault, matrons and virgins and children and old men gathered into groups, and the rapine and licence of a barbarous and enraged soldiery are imaged in the distance. The foreground is occupied by a procession of the victors, bearing in their profane hands the holy candlestick and the table of shewbread, and the sacred instruments of the eternal worship of the Jews. On the opposite side, the reverse of this sad picture, Titus is represented standing in a chariot drawn by four horses, crowned with laurel and surrounded by the tumultuous numbers of his triumphant army, and the magistrates, and priests, and generals, and philosophers, dragged in chains beside his wheels. Behind him stands a Victory eagle-winged.

'The arch is now mouldering into ruins, and the imagery almost erased by the lapse of fifty generations. . . . The Flavian amphitheatre has become a habitation for owls. The power of whose possession it was once the type, and of whose departure it is now the emblem, is become a dream and a memory. Rome is no more than Jerusalem.'—*Shelley.*

'The restoration of the Arch of Titus reflects the greatest credit on the commission appointed by Pius VII. for the restoration of ancient edifices. This not only beautiful, but precious monument, had been made the nucleus of a hideous, castellated fort by the Frangipani family. Its masonry, however, embraced and held together, as well as crushed, the marble arch; so that on freeing it from its rude buttresses there was fear of its collapsing, and it had first to be well bound together by props and bracing beams, a process in which the Roman architects are unrivalled. The simple expedient was then adopted by the architect Stern of completing the arch in stone; for its sides had been removed. Thus increased in solid structure, which continued all the architectural lines and renewed its proportions to the mutilated centre, the arch was both completely secured and almost restored to its pristine elegance.'—*Wiseman's 'Life of Pius VII.'*

The procession of the Popes going to the Lateran for their solemn installation used to halt beside the Arch of Titus while a Jew presented a copy of the Pentateuch, with a humble oath of fealty. This humiliating ceremony was omitted for the first time at the installation of Pius IX.

The foundations used for the Turris Chartularia to the right, just beyond the arch—blocks of peperino—were probably first those of the **Temple of Jupiter Stator**, vowed by Romulus after his encounter with the Sabines, but only built in 296 by M. Atilius Regulus. Its position here is seen in the bas-relief of the Haterii, now in the Lateran Museum.

'Inde petens dextram, Porta est, ait, ista Palati;
Hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.'
—*Ovid, Trist.* iii. *El.* 1. 31.

'Tempus idem Stator aedis habet, quam Romulus olim
Ante Palatini condidit ora jugi.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 793.

The temple of Jupiter Stator, which was burnt in the great fire under Nero, has an especial interest from its connection with the story of Cicero and Cataline.

'Cicéron rassembla le sénat dans le temple de Jupiter Stator. Le choix de lieu s'explique facilement; ce temple était près de la principale entrée du Palatin, sur le Vélia, dominant, en cas d'émeute, le Forum, que Cicéron et les principaux sénateurs, habitants du Palatin, n'avaient pas à traverser comme s'il eût fallu se rendre à la Curie. D'ailleurs, Jupiter Stator, qui avait arrêté les Sabines à la porte de Romulus, arrêterait ces nouveaux ennemis qui voulaient sa ruine. Là Cicéron prononça la première Catilinaire. Ce discours eût à être en grande partie improvisé, car les événements aussi improvisaient. Cicéron ne savait si Catilina oserait se présenter devant le sénat; en le voyant entrer, il conçut son fameux exorde: "Jusqu'à quand, Catilina, abuseras-tu de notre patience!"

'Malgré la garde volontaire de chevaliers qui avait accompagné Cicéron et qui se tenait à la porte du temple, Catilina y entra et salua tranquillement l'assemblée; nul ne lui rendit son salut, à son approche on s'écarta et les places restèrent vides autour de lui. Il écouta les foudroyantes apostrophes de Cicéron, qui, après l'avoir accablé des preuves de son crime, se bornait à lui dire: "Sors de Rome. Va-t'en!"

'Catilina se leva et d'un air modeste pria le sénat de ne pas croire le consul avant qu'une enquête eût été faite. "Il n'est pas vraisemblable," ajouta-t-il, avec une hauteur toute aristocratique, "qu'un patricien, lequel, aussi bien que ses ancêtres, a rendu quelques services à la république, ne puisse exister que par

sa ruine, et qu'on ait besoin d'un étranger d'Arpinum pour la sauver." Tant d'orgueil et d'impudence révoltèrent l'assemblée ; on cria à Catilina : "Tu es un ennemi de la patrie, un meurtrier." Il sortit, réunit encore ses amis, leur recommanda de se débarrasser de Cicéron, prit avec lui une aigle d'argent qui avait appartenu à une légion de Marius, et à minuit quitta Rome et partit par la voie Aurélia pour aller rejoindre son armée.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iv. 445.

At this point it may not be inappropriate to notice two other buildings, which, though situated on the Palatine, are totally disconnected with the other objects occupying that hill.

A lane runs up to the right from the Arch of Titus. On the left is a gateway, surmounted by a faded fresco of S. Sebastian. Here is the entrance to a wild and beautiful garden, possessing most lovely views of the various ruins, occupying the probable site of the **Gardens of Adonis**, and at one time included in the Golden House of Nero. This garden is the place where S. Sebastian underwent his (so-called) martyrdom, and will call to mind the many fine pictures scattered over Europe of the youthful and beautiful saint, bound to a tree and pierced with arrows.[1] The finest of these are the Domenichino in S. Maria degli Angeli, and the Sodoma at Florence. He is sometimes represented as bound to an orange tree, and sometimes, as in the Guido at Bologna, to a cypress, like those we still see on this spot. Here was an important fortified Benedictine convent, where Pope Boniface IV. was a monk before his election to the papacy, and where the famous abbots of Monte Cassino had their Roman residence. Here, in 1118, fifty-one cardinals took refuge, and elected Gelasius II. as Pope. The only building remaining is the **Church of S. Maria Pallara** or **S. Sebastiano**, mentioned as early as the eleventh century, but restored in 1636. It contains some curious inscriptions relating to events which have occurred here, and, in the tribune, frescoes of the Saviour in benediction with four saints, and below, two other groups representing the Virgin with saints and angels, placed, as we learn by the inscription beneath, by one Benedict—probably an abbot. The name Pallara is probably derived from an ancient 'palladium palatinum' mentioned in an inscription of the time of Constantine.[2]

Farther up the lane, passing (left) what many believe to have been the site of the Temple of Apollo, built by Augustus (ch. vi.), a 'Via Crucis' leads to the **Church of S. Buonaventura**, 'the seraphic doctor' (Cardinal and Bishop of Albano, ob. July 14, 1274), who in childhood was raised from the point of death (1221) by the prayers of S. Francis, who was so surprised when he came to life, that he involuntarily exclaimed 'O buona ventura'—('what a

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[1] The Acts of Sebastian, of the fifth century, say that the saint suffered *in hippodromo palatii*, and this was the name given to the existing garden from the fall of the Empire to the tenth century, after which it was applied to the Stadium.

[2] See De Rossi, '*Bull. de Arch. Christ.*,' 1867.

happy chance')—whence the name by which the saint was afterwards known.[1]

The little church contains several good modern monuments. Beneath the altar is shown the body of the Blessed Leonardo of Porto-Maurizio (d. 1751), who arranged the recently destroyed Via Crucis in the Coliseum, and who is much revered by the ultra-Romanists for having prophesied the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The crucifix and the picture of the Madonna which he carried with him in his missions are preserved in niches on either side of the tribune, and many other relics of him are shown in his cell in the adjoining convent of Minor Franciscans. Entered through the convent is a lovely little garden, whence there is a grand view of the Coliseum, and where a little fountain is shaded by two tall palm trees. The monks made their refectory in the reservoir for storing the water of the Aqua Claudia, which Severus brought by an aqueduct to the Palatine.

'Oswald se rendit au couvent de Bonaventure, bâti sur les ruines du palais de Néron : là, où tant de crimes se sont commis sans remords, de pauvres moines, tourmentés par des scrupules de conscience, s'imposent des supplices cruels pour les plus légères fautes. "*Nous espérons seulement*," disait un de ces religieux, "*qu'à l'instant de la mort nos péchés n'auront pas excédé nos pénitences.*" Lord Nelvil, en entrant dans ce couvent, heurta contre une trappe, et il en demanda l'usage. "*C'est par là qu'on nous enterre*," dit l'un des plus jeunes religieux, que la maladie du mauvais air avait déjà frappé. Les habitants du Midi craignant beaucoup la mort, l'on s'étonne d'y trouver des institutions qui la rappellent à ce point ; mais il est dans la nature d'aimer à se livrer à l'idée même que l'on redoute. Il y a comme un enivrement de tristesse, qui fait à l'âme le bien de la remplir tout entière. Un antique sarcophage d'un jeune enfant sert de fontaine à ce couvent. Le beau palmier dont Rome se vante est le seul arbre du jardin de ces moines.'—*Madame de Staël*, '*Corinne*.'

The Arch of Titus is spoken of as being 'in summa **Via Sacra**,' as the street was called which led from the southern gate of Rome to the Capitol, and by which the victorious generals passed in their triumphant processions to the Temple of Jupiter. Between the Arch of Titus and the Coliseum, the ancient pavement of this famous road, composed of huge polygonal blocks of lava, was allowed to remain till 1879. Here we may imagine Horace taking his favourite walk :

'Ibam forte Via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
Nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.'
—*Sat.* i. 9.

It appears to have been the favourite resort of the *flâneurs* of the day :

'Videsne, Sacram metiente te Viam
Cum bis trium ulnarum toga,
Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
Liberrima indignatio ?' —*Horace, Epod.* 4.

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[1] S. Buonaventura is perhaps best known to the existing Christian world as the author of the beautiful hymn, 'Recordare sanctae crucis.'

The Via Sacra was originally bordered with shops. Ovid alludes frequently to the purchases which might be made there in his time. In this especial part of the Via was the market for fruit and honey:[1]

> 'Dum bene dives ager, dum rami pondere nutant;
> Adferat in calatho rustica dona puer.
> Rure suburbano poteris tibi dicere missa,
> Illa vel in Sacra sint licet empta Via.'
> —*Ovid, Art. Aman.* ii. 263.

It is supposed that the first chapel of the Christian emperors stood amongst the buildings sometimes called the Baths of Heliogabalus, on the right of the descent of the Via Sacra, from the Arch of Titus to the Coliseum. It was called Ecclesia S. Cesarii in Palatio, and is first mentioned in 603. From an association with the name Caesar, it was dedicated to Caesarius, an African saint, martyred at Terracina. The images of the Byzantine emperors were preserved here under the care of Greek monks. The ruined chambers under the cliffs of the Palatine belong to the palace of Nero.[2]

At the foot of the hill are the remains of the basin and the brick cone of a fountain called **Meta Sudans**, erected or restored by Domitian for those who came to the spectacles of the Coliseum, to drink at.[3] The round basin only dates from the time of Constantine. Seneca, who lived in this neighbourhood, complains[4] of the noise which was made by a showman who blew his trumpet close to this fountain.

On the right, the Via Triumphalis leads to the Via Appia, passing under the **Arch of Constantine**. The lower bas-reliefs upon the arch, which are crude and ill-designed, refer to the deeds of Constantine; but the upper, of fine workmanship, illustrate the life of Trajan, which has led some to imagine that the arch was originally erected in honour of Trajan, and afterwards appropriated by Constantine. They were, however, removed from an arch of Trajan—'arcus divi Trajani'—on the Via Nova (whose ruins existed in 1430[5]), and were appropriated by Constantine for his own arch.

'Constantin a enlevé à un arc de triomphe de Trajan les statues de prisonniers daces que l'on voit au sommet du sien. Ce vol a été puni au seizième siècle, car, dans ce qui semble un accès de folie, Lorenzino, le bizarre assassin d'Alexandre de Médicis, a décapité toutes les statues qui surmontaient l'arche Constantin, moins une, la seule dont la tête soit antique. Heureusement on a dans les musées, à Rome et ailleurs, bon nombre de ces statues de captifs barbares avec le même costume, c'est-à-dire le pantalon et le bonnet, souvent les mains liées, dans une attitude de soumission morne, quelquefois avec une expression de sombre fierté; car l'art romain avait la noblesse de ne pas humilier les vaincus; il ne les représentait point à genoux, foulés aux pieds par leurs vainqueurs; on ne donnait

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1 Varro, *De R. Rust.* i. 2, and iii. 16.
2 The Palace of Nero is described in Tac. *Ann.* xv. 42, and Suet. *Ner.* 31.
3 Lucio Fauno, *Compendio di Roma Antica*, 1552.
4 Epist. lvi.
5 See Poggio, *De Vanitate Fortunae.*

pas à leurs traits étranges un aspect qu'on eût pu rendre hideux ; on les plaçait sur le sommet des arcs de triomphe, debout, la tête baissée, l'air triste.

'"Summus tristis captivus in arcu."'

—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 169.

The arch was plundered by Clement VIII., who carried off one of its eight Corinthian columns to finish a chapel at the Lateran. They were formerly *all* of giallo-antico (marmor Numidicum). Clement XII. restored the arch with blocks taken from the Temple of Neptune. But this is still the most striking and beautiful of the Roman arches, and there is something touching in its inscription—'fundatori quietis.'

'L'inscription gravée sur l'arc de Constantin est curieuse par le vague de l'expression en ce qui touche aux idées religieuses, par l'indécision calculée des termes dont se servait un sénat qui voulait éviter de se compromettre dans un sens comme dans l'autre. L'inscription porte que cet arc a été dédié à l'empereur parce qu'il a délivré la république d'un tyran (on dit encore la république !) par la grandeur de son âme et une inspiration de la Divinité (*instinctu divinitatis*). . . . Ce monument, qui célèbre le triomphe de Constantin, ne proclame donc pas encore nettement le triomphe du christianisme. Comment s'en étonner, quand sur les monnaies de cet empereur on voit d'un côté le monogramme du Christ et de l'autre l'effigie de Rome, qui était une divinité pour les païens ?'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 355.

'The importance of this arch rests not on its sculptured panels or medallions—spoils taken at random from older structures, from which the arch has received the nickname of Aesop's crow (*la cornacchia di Esopo*),—but on the inscription engraved on each side of the attic. The S.P.Q.R. have dedicated this triumphal arch to Constantine, because *instinctu divinitatis* (by the will of God) and by his own virtue, he has liberated the country from the tyrant (Maxentius) and his faction—containing two memorable words, the first proclaiming officially the name of the true God in the face of imperial Rome.'—*Lanciani.*

The heads of the statues on the arch, restored by Clement XII., were said to have been decapitated by Lorenzino de' Medici. The arch appears in several famous pictures, including the 'Dispute of S. Catherine,' by Pinturicchio, in the Apartamento Borgia, and the 'Castigo del fuoco celeste,' by Botticelli, in the Sistine Chapel.

We now turn to the **Coliseum**, originally called the Flavian Amphitheatre. This vast building was begun in A.D. 72, upon the site of the reservoir of Nero :

'Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.'

—*Martial, De Spect. Ep.* ii. 5.

The Emperor Vespasian built as far as the third row of arches. His work was completed by Titus after his return from the conquest of Jerusalem. It is said that 12,000 captive Jews were employed in this work, as the Hebrews in building the Pyramids of Egypt, and that the external walls alone cost a sum equal to 17,000,000 francs. The material is travertine—*lapis Tiburtinus.* It consists of four storeys—the first Doric, the second Ionic, the third and fourth Corinthian. The existing upper storey belongs to a rebuilding under Alexander Severus and Gordian III. after a fire caused by

lightning, and is composed in great measure of fragments taken from other buildings clumsily fitted together. The circumference of the ellipse externally is 1790 feet, its length is 620, its width 525, its height 157. The entrance for the emperor was between two arches facing the Esquiline, where there is no cornice. On the opposite side was a similar entrance from the Palatine. Towards S. Gregorio has been discovered the subterranean passage in which the Emperor Commodus was near being assassinated. The numerous holes visible all over the exterior of the building were made in the Middle Ages, to extract the iron cramps, at that time of great value. The arena was surrounded by a wall sufficiently high to protect the spectators from the wild beasts, who were introduced by subterranean passages closed by huge gates, from the side towards the Coelian. The *podium* contained the places of honour reserved for the Emperor and his family, the Senate, and the Vestal virgins. The places for the other spectators, who entered by openings called *vomitoria*, were arranged in three stages (*caveae*), separated by a gallery (*praecinctio*). The first stage, for knights and tribunes, had 24 steps; the second, for the common people, 16; the third, for the soldiery, 10. The women, by order of the emperor, sat apart from the men, and married and unmarried men were also divided. The epigrams of Martial show how jealously any particular order guarded the seats to which they were privileged. The whole building was said, probably with exaggeration, to be capable of containing 87,000 persons. At the top, on the exterior, may be seen the remains of the consoles which sustained the *velarium* which was drawn over the arena to shelter the spectators from the sun or rain. The arena could on occasions be filled with water for the sake of naval combats; the *podium* was protected from it by a metal screen, over which the wild beasts were unable to climb. By the entrance towards the Esquiline are remains of stucco decorations of great beauty.

The external charm of the Coliseum has recently been spoilt by the cutting down of all the trees and destruction of the beautiful pomegranate gardens on the lower slope of the Esquiline, and the erection in their place of the most hideous and gigantic houses, destroying all the effect of the grand building below them.

Nothing is known with certainty as to the architect of the Coliseum, though a tradition of the church (founded on an inscription now preserved in the crypt of S. Martina) ascribes it to Gaudentius, a Christian martyr, who afterwards suffered on the spot.[1]

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[1] This inscription, found in the catacomb of S. Agnese, runs:—

Sic praemia servas Vespasiane dive — Premiatus es more Gaudenti letare
Civitas ubi gloriae tue autori — Promisit ista dat Kristus omnia tibi
Qui alium paravit theatrū in celo.

This apparently addresses alternately Vespasian, Gaudentius, and Rome. It is not clear in what order the lines should be read.

'The name of the architect to whom the great work of the Coliseum was entrusted has not come down to us. The ancients seem themselves to have regarded this name as a matter of little interest; nor, in fact, do they generally care to specify the authorship of their most illustrious buildings. The reason is obvious. The forms of ancient art in this department were almost wholly conventional, and the limits of design within which they were executed gave little room for the display of original taste and special character. . . . It is only in periods of eclecticism and renaissance, when the taste of the architect has wider scope, and may lead the eye instead of following it, that interest attaches to his personal merit. Thus it is that the Coliseum, the most conspicuous type of Roman civilisation, the monument which divides the admiration of strangers in modern Rome with S. Peter's itself, is nameless and parentless, while every stage in the construction of the great Christian temple, the creation of a modern revival, is appropriated with jealous care to its special claimants.

'The dedication of the Coliseum afforded to Titus an opportunity for a display of magnificence hitherto unrivalled. A battle of cranes with dwarfs representing the pigmies was a fanciful novelty, and might afford diversion for a moment; there were combats of gladiators, among whom women were included, though no noble matron was allowed to mingle in the fray; and the capacity of the vast edifice was tested by the slaughter of five thousand animals in its circuit. The show was crowned with the immission of water into the arena, and with a sea-fight representing the contests of the Corinthians and Corcyreans, related by Thucydides. . . . When all was over, Titus himself was seen to weep, perhaps from fatigue, possibly from vexation and disgust; but his tears were interpreted as a presentiment of his death, which was now impending, and it is now probable that he was already suffering from a decline of bodily strength. . . . He lamented effeminately the premature decease he too surely anticipated, and, looking wistfully at the heavens, exclaimed that he did not deserve to die. He expired on the 13th September 81, not having quite completed his fortieth year.'—*Merivale*, ch. lx.

'Hadrian gave a series of entertainments in honour of his birthday, with the slaughter of a thousand beasts, including a hundred lions and as many lionesses. One magical scene was the representation of forests, when the whole arena became planted with living trees, shrubs, and flowers; to complete which illusion the ground was made to open, and sent forth wild animals from yawning clefts, instantly re-covered with bushes.

'One may imagine the frantic excess to which the taste for gladiatorial combats was carried in Rome, from the preventive law of Augustus that gladiators should no more combat without permission of the senate; that praetors should not give these spectacles more than once a year; that more than sixty couples should not engage at the same time; and that neither knights nor senators should ever contend in the arena. The gladiators were classified according to the national manner of fighting which they imitated. Thus were distinguished the Gothic, Dacian, Thracian, and Samnite combatants; the *Retiarii*, who entangled their opponents in nets thrown with the left hand, defending themselves with tridents in the right; the *Secutores*, whose special skill was in pursuit; the *Laqueatores*, who threw slings against their adversaries; the *Dimachae*, armed with a short sword in each hand; the *Hoplomachi*, armed at all points; the *Myrmillones*, so called from the figure of a fish at the crest of the Gallic helmet they wore; the *Bustuarii*, who fought at funeral games; the *Bestiarii*, who only assailed animals; other classes who fought on horseback, called *Andabates;* and those combating in chariots drawn by two horses, *Essedarii*. Gladiators were originally slaves or prisoners of war; but the armies who contended on the Roman arena in later epochs were divided into compulsory and voluntary combatants, the former alone composed of slaves or condemned criminals. The latter went through a laborious education in their art, supported at the public cost, and instructed by masters called *Lanistae*, resident in colleges called *Ludi*. To the eternal disgrace of the morals of Imperial Rome, it is recorded that women sometimes fought in the arena, without more modesty than hired gladiators. The exhibition of himself in this character by Commodus was a degradation of the imperial dignity, perhaps more infamous, according to ancient Roman notions, than the theatrical performances of Nero.'—*Hemans*' '*Story of Monuments in Rome.*'

The Emperor Commodus (A.D. 180–82) frequently fought in the Coliseum himself, and killed both gladiators and wild beasts, calling himself Hercules, dressed in a lion's skin, with his hair sprinkled with gold-dust.

The gladiatorial combats came to an end when, in 403 A.D., an oriental monk named Telemachus was so horrified at them, that he rushed into the midst of the arena and besought the spectators to renounce them; but instead of listening to him, they stoned him to death. The first martyrdom here was that of S. Ignatius—said to have been the child especially blessed by our Saviour—the disciple of John and the companion of Polycarp—who was sent here from Antioch, where he was bishop. When brought into the arena he knelt down and exclaimed, 'Romans who are present, know that I have not been brought into this place for any crime, but in order that by this means I may merit the fruition of the glory of God, for love of whom I have been made prisoner. I am as the grain of the field, and must be ground by the teeth of the lions, that I may become bread fit for His table.' The lions were then let loose, and devoured him, except the larger bones, which the Christians collected during the night.[1]

'It is related of Ignatius that he grew up in such innocence of heart and purity of life, that to him it was granted to hear the angels sing; hence, when he became Bishop of Antioch, he introduced into the service of his church the practice of singing the praises of God in responses, as he had heard the choirs of angels answering each other. . . . His story and fate are so well attested, and so sublimely affecting, that it has always been to me a cause of surprise as well as regret to find so few representations of him.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* 693.

Soon after the death of Ignatius, 115 Christians were shot down here with arrows. Under Hadrian, 218 A.D., a patrician named Placidus, his wife Theophista, and his two sons, were first exposed here to the wild beasts, but when these refused to touch them, were shut up in a brazen bull and roasted by a fire lighted beneath. In 253, Abdon and Sennen, two rich citizens of Babylon, were exposed here to two lions and four bears, but as the beasts refused to attack them, they were killed by the swords of gladiators. In 259 A.D., Sempronius, Olympius, Theodulus, and Exuperia were burnt at the entrance of the Coliseum, before the statue of the Sun. In 272 A.D., S. Prisca was vainly exposed here to a lion, then starved for three days, then stretched on a rack to have her flesh torn by iron hooks, then put into a furnace, and—having survived all these torments—was finally beheaded. In 277 A.D., S. Martina, another noble Roman lady, was exposed in vain to the beasts, and afterwards beheaded in the Coliseum. S. Alexander under Antoninus; S. Potitus, 168; S. Eleutherius, bishop of Illyria, under Hadrian; S. Maximus, son of a senator, 284; and SS. Vitus, Crescentia, and Modesta, under Domitian, were also martyred here.[2]

[1] Under the Papal rule, his relics, preserved at S. Clemente, were carried round the Coliseum, with every circumstance of sacerdotal pomp, on his festival, February 1.

[2] See Hemans' '*Catholic Italy.*'

'It is no fiction, but plain, sober, honest truth, to say: so suggestive and distinct is it at this hour: that, for a moment—actually in passing in—they who will, may have the whole great pile before them, as it used to be, with thousands of eager faces staring down into the arena, and such a whirl of strife, and blood, and dust going on there, as no language can describe. Its solitude, its awful beauty, and its utter desolation, strike upon the stranger, the next moment, like a softened sorrow; and never in his life, perhaps, will he be so moved and overcome by any sight, not immediately connected with his own affections and afflictions.

'To see it crumbling there, an inch a year; its walls and arches overgrown with green, its corridors open to the day; the long grass growing in its porches; young trees of yesterday springing up on its rugged parapets, and bearing fruit: chance produce of the seeds dropped there by the birds who built their nests within its chinks and crannies; to see its pit of fight filled up with earth, and the peaceful cross planted in the centre; to climb into its upper halls, and look down on ruin, ruin, ruin, all about it; the triumphal arches of Constantine, Septimius Severus, and Titus, the Roman Forum, the Palace of the Caesars, the temples of the old religion, fallen down and gone; is to see the ghost of old Rome, wicked, wonderful old city, haunting the very ground on which its people trod. It is the most impressive, the most stately, the most solemn, grand, majestic, mournful sight conceivable. Never, in its bloodiest prime, can the sight of the gigantic Coliseum, full and running over with the lustiest life, have moved one heart as it must move all who look upon it now, a ruin. God be thanked: a ruin.'—*Dickens.*

The spot where the Christian martyrs suffered was marked till 1872 by a tall cross, devoutly kissed by the faithful,—and all around the arena of the Coliseum were the small chapels or 'stations,' used in the Via Crucis, which was observed here at 4 P.M. every Friday, when a confraternity clothed in grey, with only the eyes visible, was followed by a crowd of worshippers who chaunted and prayed at each station in turn—a most picturesque and striking scene—after which a Capuchin monk preached from a pulpit on the left of the arena. These sermons were often very striking, being delivered in a familiar style, and upon popular subjects of the day, but they also often bordered on the burlesque.

'Oswald voulut aller au Colisée pour entendre le Capucin qui devait y prêcher en plein air au pied de l'un des autels qui désignent, dans l'intérieur de l'enceinte, ce qu'on appelle *la route de la Croix*. Quel plus beau sujet pour l'éloquence que l'aspect de ce monument, que cette arène où les martyrs ont succédé aux gladiateurs! Mais il ne faut rien espérer à cet égard du pauvre Capucin, qui ne connaît de l'histoire des hommes que sa propre vie. Néanmoins, si l'on parvient à ne pas écouter son mauvais sermon, on se sent ému par les divers objets dont il est entouré. La plupart de ses auditeurs sont de la confrérie des Camaldules; ils se revêtent, pendant les exercices religieux, d'une espèce de robe grise qui couvre entièrement la tête et tout le corps, et ne laisse que deux petites ouvertures pour les yeux; c'est ainsi que les ombres pourraient être représentées. Ces hommes, ainsi cachés sous leurs vêtements, se prosternent la face contre terre, et se frappent la poitrine. Quand le prédicateur se jette à genoux en criant *miséricorde et pitié!* le peuple qui l'environne se jette aussi à genoux, et répète ce même cri, qui va se perdre sous les vieux portiques du Colisée. Il est impossible de ne pas éprouver alors une émotion profondément religieuse; cet appel de la douleur à la bonté, de la terre au ciel, remue l'âme jusque dans son sanctuaire le plus intime.'—*Madame de Staël.*

The pulpit of the Coliseum was used for the stormy sermons of Gavazzi, who called the people to arms from thence in the revolution of March 1848.

In 1872, Signor Rosa obtained leave to remove the cross and all

the shrines in the Coliseum, which was done, to the great indignation of the Roman people. The excavations made by Gregory XVI., and closed again on account of their unhealthiness, after careful plans had been made, which still exist in the Barberini Library, were then reopened. It has since been affirmed that the ancient level of the Coliseum was originally only a movable boarded floor, through which the hundred lions which were slain by Commodus sprang up by trap-doors. The excavations are of little interest, though they display the anatomy of the labyrinthine passages which underlie the whole of the arena, and the arrangements by which water could be supplied for the naval combats. These passages are frequently flooded, and cannot be inspected for long together without great danger of fever; and the excavations which have laid them bare have annihilated the beauty of the Coliseum. Nothing remains of the exquisite scene of which Ampère wrote—

'Le Colosseum est un monde de ruines; tous les accidents que peuvent y produire la lumière, le végétation, le temps, se trouvent là. Rien n'est plus impossible à décrire que ces arceaux brisés, ces escaliers écroulés, ce lierre, ces plantes, ces débris suspendus; la couleur superbe de ce monument, les grandes lignes de la partie encore debout, tout cela varie de mille manières, selon le jour et l'ombre; et pour achever le tableau, au milieu de l'arène où les martyrs ont versé leur sang se dresse une immense croix de bois que viennent baiser tous ceux qui passent. Non, rien ne pourra jamais donner une faible idée d'un pareil spectacle.'—*Jean-Jacques Ampère.*

It is well worth while to ascend to the upper galleries (a guardian will open a locked door for the purpose near the entrance from the Forum), as then only is it possible to realise the vast size and grandeur of the building.

'*May* 1827.—Lastly, we ascended to the top of the Coliseum, Bunsen leaving us at the door, to go home; and I seated myself just above the main entrance, towards the Forum, and there took my farewell look over Rome. It was a delicious evening, and everything was looking to advantage:—the huge Coliseum just under me, the tufts of ilex and aliternus and other shrubs that fringe the walls everywhere in the lower part, while the outside wall, with its top of gigantic stones, lifts itself high above, and seems like a mountain barrier of bare rock, enclosing a green and varied valley. I sat and gazed upon the scene with an intense and mingled feeling. The world could show nothing grander; it was one which for years I had longed to see, and I was now looking at it for the last time. When I last see the dome of S. Peter's I shall seem to be parting from more than a mere town full of curiosities, where the eye has been amused and the intellect gratified. I never thought to have felt thus tenderly towards Rome; but the inexplicable solemnity and beauty of her ruined condition has quite bewitched me, and to the latest hour of my life I shall remember the Forum, the surrounding hills, and the magnificent Coliseum.'—*Arnold's Letters.*

The upper arches frame a series of views of the Aventine, the Capitoline, the Coelian, and the Campagna, like a succession of beautiful pictures.

Those who visit the Coliseum by moonlight will realise the truthfulness of the following description:—

'I do remember me, that in my youth,
When I was wandering,—upon such a night
I stood within the Coliseum's wall,
'Midst the chief relics of almighty Rome;

The trees which grew along the broken arches
Waved dark in the blue midnight, and the stars
Shone through the rents of ruin; from afar
The watch-dog bayed beyond the Tiber; and
More near from out the Caesars' palace came
The owl's long cry, and, interruptedly,
Of distant sentinels the fitful song
Began and died upon the gentle wind:—
Some cypresses beyond the time-worn breach
Appeared to skirt the horizon, yet they stood
Within a bowshot where the Caesars dwelt,
And dwell the tuneless birds of night, amidst
A grove which springs through levell'd battlements,
And twines its roots with the imperial hearths;
Ivy usurps the laurel's place of growth;—
But the gladiators' bloody circus stands,
A noble wreck in ruinous perfection!
While Caesar's chambers and the Augustan halls,
Grovel on earth in indistinct decay.
And thou didst shine, thou rolling moon, upon
All this, and cast a wide and tender light,
Which softened down the hoar austerity
Of rugged desolation, and fill'd up,
As 't were anew, the gaps of centuries;
Leaving that beautiful which still was so,
And making that which was not, till the place
Became religion, and the heart ran o'er
With silent worship of the great of old:—
The dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.'—*Manfred.*

'Arches on arches! as it were that Rome,
Collecting the chief trophies of her line,
Would build up all her triumphs in one dome,
Her Coliseum stands; the moonbeams shine
As 't were its natural torches, for divine
Should be the light which streams here, to illume
The long-explored but still exhaustless mine
Of contemplation; and the azure gloom
Of an Italian night, where the deep skies assume

'Hues which have words, and speak to ye of heaven,
Floats o'er this vast and wondrous monument,
And shadows forth its glory. There is given
Unto the things of earth, which Time hath bent,
A spirit's feeling, and where he hath leant
His hand, but broke his scythe, there is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower.'
—*Childe Harold.*

'No one can form any idea of full moonlight in Rome who has not seen it. Every individual object is swallowed in the huge masses of light and shadow, and only the marked and principal outlines remain visible. Three days ago (Feb. 2, 1787) we made good use of a light and most beautiful night. The Coliseum presents a vision of beauty. It is closed at night; a hermit lives inside in a little church, and beggars roost amid the ruined vaults. They had lighted a fire on the bare ground, and a gentle breeze drove the smoke across the arena. The lower portion of the ruin was lost, while the enormous walls above stood forth into the darkness. We stood at the gates and gazed upon this phenomenon. The moon shone high and bright. Gradually the smoke moved through the chinks and apertures in the walls, and the moon illuminated it like a mist. It was an exquisite moment!'—*Goethe.*

It is believed that the building of the Coliseum remained entire until the eighth century, and that its ruin dates from the invasion of Robert Guiscard, who destroyed it to prevent its being used as a stronghold by the Romans. During the Middle Ages it served as a fortress, and became the castle of the great family of Frangipani, who here gave refuge to Pope Innocent II. (Papareschi) and his family against the anti-pope Anacletus II., and afterwards in the same way protected Innocent III. (Conti) and his brothers against the anti-pope Paschal II. Constantly at war with the Frangipani were the Annibaldi, who possessed a neighbouring fortress, and obtained from Gregory IX. a grant of half the Coliseum, which was rescinded by Innocent IV. During the absence of the popes at Avignon the Annibaldi got possession of the whole of the Coliseum, but it was taken away again in 1312, and placed in the hands of the municipality, after which it was used for bull-fights, in which (as described by Monaldeschi) nobles of high rank took part and lost their lives. In 1381 the senate made over part of the ruins to the Canons of the Lateran, to be used as a hospital, and their occupation is still commemorated by the arms of the Chapter (our Saviour's head between two candelabra) sculptured in various parts of the building. Necromancers used to practise their arts in the enclosure, and Benvenuto Cellini, in his *Memoirs*, describes how he caused a magician to people the arena with devils. From the fourteenth century the Coliseum began to be looked upon as a stone quarry, and the palaces Farnese, Barberini, Venezia, with the Cancelleria, were built of materials plundered from its walls. It is said that the first of its destroyers, Cardinal Farnese, only extorted permission from his reluctant uncle, Paul III., to quarry as much stone as he could remove in twelve hours, and that he availed himself of this permission to let loose four thousand workmen upon the building. An official document testifies that in 1452 Giovanni Foglia of Como was permitted to carry off 2522 cart-loads of travertine. Sixtus V. endeavoured to utilise the building by turning the arcades into shops, and establishing a woollen manufactory, and Clement XI. (1700–21) by a manufactory of saltpetre, but both happily failed. In the last century the tide of restoration began to set in. A Carmelite monk, Angelo Paoli, represented the iniquity of allowing a spot consecrated by such holy memories to be desecrated, and Clement XI. consecrated the arena to the memory of the martyrs who had suffered there, and erected in one of the archways the chapel of S. Maria della Pietà. The hermit appointed to take care of this chapel was stabbed in 1742, which caused Benedict XIV. to shut in the Coliseum with bars and gates. Under the six last popes destruction was made sacrilege, and they all contributed to strengthen and preserve the walls which remain; but since the fall of the Papacy, the ruins have been cruelly injured by the tearing out, under Rosa, of all the shrubs and plants which adorned them, in the eradication of which more of the stones have given way than would have fallen in five hundred years of time. As late as fifty years ago, the interior of the Coliseum was (like that of an

English abbey) an uneven grassy space littered with masses of ruin, amid which large trees grew and flourished.[1]

In the gaunt, bare, ugly interior of the Coliseum as it now is, it is difficult even to conjure up a recollection of the ruin so gloriously beautiful under the popes, where every turn was a picture.

Among the ecclesiastical legends connected with the Coliseum, it is said that Gregory the Great presented some foreign ambassadors with a handful of earth from the arena as a relic for their sovereigns, and upon their receiving the gift with disrespect, he pressed it, when blood flowed from the soil. Pius V. urged those who wished for relics to gather up the dust of the Coliseum, wet with the blood of the martyrs.

In 1744, 'the Blessed Leonardo di Porto Maurizio,' who is buried in S. Buonaventura, drew immense crowds to the Coliseum by his preaching, and obtained permission from Benedict XIV. to found the confraternity of 'Amanti di Gesù e Maria,' for whom the Via Crucis was established here, which was only destroyed in 1872. In later times the ruins have been associated with the holy beggar, Benoît Joseph Labré (beatified by Pius IX. in 1860 and since canonised), who died at Rome in 1783, after a life spent in devotion. He was accustomed to beg in the Coliseum, to sleep at night under its arcades, and to pray for hours at its various shrines. Nothing remains of the seven churches of the Coliseum—S. Salvatore in Tellure, de Trasi, de Insula, de rota Colisei, S. James, S. Agatha, and that of SS. Abdon and Sennen, at the foot of the Colossus of the Sun, where the bodies of those saints were exposed after martyrdom.

The name Coliseum is first found in the writings of the venerable Bede, who quotes a prophecy of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims—

> 'While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
> When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall;
> And when Rome falls, the world.'[2]

The name was probably derived from its size; the amphitheatre of Capua was also called Colossus.

Once or twice in the course of every Roman winter the Coliseum is illuminated with Bengal lights.

'Les étrangers se donnent parfois l'amusement d'éclairer le Colisée avec des feux de Bengale. Cela ressemble un peu trop à un final de mélodrame, et on peut préférer comme illumination un radieux soleil ou les douces lueurs de la lune. Cependant j'avoue que la première fois que le Colisée m'apparut ainsi, embrasé de feux rougeâtres, son histoire me revint vivement à la pensée. Je trouvais qu'il avait en ce moment sa vraie couleur, la couleur du sang.'—*Ampère, Émp.* ii. 156.

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[1] A work on the extraordinary Flora of the Coliseum, 420 species, now, alas! extinct, has been published by S. Deakin.

[2] 'Quamdiu stat Colysaeus, stat et Roma; quando cadet Colysaeus, cadet et Roma, cadet et mundus.'

CHAPTER V

THE VELABRUM AND THE GHETTO

S. Teodoro—S. Anastasia—Circus Maximus—S. Giorgio in Velabro—Arch of Septimius Severus—Arch of Janus—Cloaca Maxima—S. Maria in Cosmedin—Temple of Vesta—Temple of Fortuna Virilis—House of Rienzi—Ponte Rotto—Ponte Sublicio—S. Nicolo in Carcere—Theatre of Marcellus—Portico of Octavia—Pescheria—Jewish Synagogue—Palazzo Cenci—Fontana Tartarughe—Palazzo Mattei—Palazzo Caëtani—S. Caterina dei Funari—S. Maria Campitelli—Palazzo Margana—Convent of the Tor de' Specchi.

THE second turn on the right of the Roman Forum is the Via dei Fienili, formerly the **Vicus Tuscus**, so called from the Etruscan colony established there after the drying up of the marsh which occupied that site in the earliest periods of Roman history. During the empire, this street, leading from the Forum to the Circus Maximus, was one of the most important. Martial speaks of its silk mercers: from an inscription on a tomb we know that the fashionable tailors were to be found there; and the perfumers' shops were of such abundance as to give to part of the street the name of Vicus Thurarius. At its entrance was the statue of the Etruscan god Vertumnus, the patron of the quarter.[1] This was the street by which the processions of the Circensian games passed from the Forum to the Circus Maximus. In one of the Verrine Orations, an accusation brought by Cicero against the patrician Verres was that from avaricious motives he had paved even this street—used for the processions of the Circus—in such a manner that he would not venture to use it himself.[2]

All this valley was once a stagnant marsh, left by inundations of the Tiber, for in early times the river often overflowed the whole valley between the Palatine and the Capitoline hills, and even reached as far as the foot of the Quirinal, where the Goat's Pool, at which Romulus disappeared, is supposed to have formed part of the same swamp. Ovid, in describing the processions of the games, speaks of the willows and rushes which once covered this ground, and the marshy places which one could not pass over except with bare feet:—

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1 See Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* ii. 289–92.

2 'Quis a signo Vertumni in Circum Maximum venit, quin is unoquoque gradu de avaritia tua commoneretur? quam tu viam tensarum atque pompae ejusmodi exegisti, ut tu ipse illa ire non audeas.'—*In Verrem*, i. 59.

'Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,
Nil praeter salices cassaque canna fuit.
Saepe suburbanas rediens conviva per undas
Cantat, et ad nautas ebria verba jacit.
Nondum conveniens diversis iste figuris
Nomen ab averso ceperat amne deus.
Hic quoque lucus erat, juncis et arundine densus,
Et pede velato non adeunda palus.
Stagna recesserunt, et aquas sua ripa coërcet;
Siccaque nunc tellus. Mos tamen ille manet.'
—*Fast.* vi. 405.

We even know the price which was paid for being ferried across the Velabrum: 'it was a *quadrans*, three times as much as one pays now for the boat at the Ripetta.'[1] The creation of the Cloaca Maxima had probably done much towards draining, but some fragments of the marsh remained to a late period.

According to Varro, the name of the Velabrum was derived from *vehere*, because of the boats which were employed to convey passengers from one hill to another.[2] Others derive the name from *vela*, also in reference to the mode of transit, or, according to another idea, in reference to the awnings which were stretched across the street to shelter the processions—though the name was in existence long before any processions were thought of.

It was the water of the Velabrum which bore the cradle of Romulus and Remus from the Tiber, and deposited it under the famous fig-tree of the Palatine.

On the left of the Via dei Fienili (shut in by a railing, generally closed, but which will be opened on appealing to the sacristan next door) is the round **Church of S. Teodoro.** The origin of this building is unknown. This church formerly stood on a much higher level than the street, and it was so even in 1534; its present relation to the street is evidence of the rapid rise of the soil in Rome. The church used to be called the Temple of Romulus, on the very slight foundation that the famous bronze wolf, mentioned by Dionysius as existing in the Temple of Romulus, was found near this spot. Dyer supposes that it may have been the Temple of Cybele; this, however, was upon, and not under, the Palatine. Be they what they may, the remains were dedicated as a Christian church by Adrian I. in the eighth century, and some well-preserved mosaics in the tribune are of that time. The high altar, till 1703, was supported by a Roman ara, on the rim of which was inscribed: 'On this marble of the Gentiles incense was offered to the gods.'

'It is curious to note in Rome how many a modern superstition has its root in an ancient one, and how tenaciously customs still cling to the old localities. On the Palatine hill the bronze she-wolf was once worshipped as the wooden Bambino is now. It stood in the Temple of Romulus, and there the ancient

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[1] Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* v. 44. See Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* ii. 32.
[2] Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* iv. 8.

Romans used to carry children to be cured of their diseases by touching it. On the supposed site of the temple now stands the church dedicated to S. Teodore, or Santo Toto, as he is called in Rome. Though names must have changed and the temple has vanished, and church after church has here decayed and been rebuilt, the old superstition remains, and the common people at certain periods still bring their sick children to Santo Toto, that he may heal them with his touch.'—*Story's* '*Roba di Roma.*'[1]

Farther on the left, still under the shadow of the Palatine Hill, is the large and ancient **Church of S. Anastasia**, completely modernised in 1722 by Carlo Gimach, but containing, beneath the altar, a beautiful statue of the martyred saint reclining on a faggot.

'Notwithstanding her beautiful Greek name, and her fame as one of the great saints of the Greek Calendar, S. Anastasia is represented as a noble Roman lady, who perished during the persecution of Diocletian. She was persecuted by her husband and family for openly professing the Christian faith, but, being sustained by the eloquent exhortations of S. Chrysogonus, she passed triumphantly, receiving in due time the crown of martyrdom, being condemned to the flames. Chrysogonus was put to death with the sword and his body thrown into the sea.

'According to the best authorities, these two saints did not suffer in Rome, but in Illyria; yet in Rome we are assured that Anastasia, after her martyrdom, was buried by her friend Apollina in the garden of her house under the Palatine Hill and close to the Circus Maximus. There stood the church dedicated in the fourth century, and there it now stands. It was one of the principal churches in Rome in the time of S. Jerome, who, according to ancient tradition, celebrated mass at one of the altars, which is still regarded with peculiar veneration.'—*Jameson,* '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

It was the custom for the mediaeval Popes to celebrate their second mass of Christmas night in this church, for which reason S. Anastasia is still especially commemorated in that mass. Plato (father of Pope John VII., 705–8), buried in this church, is described in his epitaph as having restored, at his own expense, the staircase leading into the ancient Palace of the Caesars.

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1 'There is no doubt that many of the amusements, still more many of the religious practices now popular in this capital, may be traced to sources in pagan antiquity. The game of *morra*, played with the fingers (the *micare digitis* of the ancients); the rural feasting before the chapel of the Madonna del Divino Amore on Whit Monday; the revelry and dancing *sub dio* for the whole night on the Vigil of S. John (a scene on the Lateran piazza, riotous, grotesque, but not licentious); the divining by dreams to obtain numbers for the lottery; hanging *ex-voto* pictures in churches to commemorate escapes from danger or recovery from illness; the offering of jewels, watches, weapons, &c., to the Madonna; the adorning and dressing of sacred images, sometimes for particular days; throwing flowers on the Madonna's figure when borne in processions (as used to be honoured the image or stone of Cybele); burning lights before images on the highways; paying special honour to sacred pictures, under the notion of their having moved their eyes; or to others, under the idea of their supernatural origin—made without hands; wearing effigies or symbols as amulets (thus Sulla wore, and used to invoke, a little golden Apollo hung round his neck); suspending flowers to shrines and tombs; besides other uses, in themselves blameless and beautiful, nor, even if objectionable, to be regarded as the genuine reflex of what is dogmatically taught by the Church. This enduring shadow thrown by pagan over Christian Rome is, however, a remarkable feature in the story of that power whose eminence in ruling and influencing was so wonderfully sustained, nor destined to become extinct after empire had departed from the Seven Hills.'—*Hemans,* '*Monuments of Rome.*'

To the left of the high altar is the tomb of the learned Cardinal Mai, by the sculptor Benzoni, who owed everything to the kind interest with which this cardinal regarded him from childhood. The epitaph is remarkable. It is thus translated by Cardinal Wiseman :—

> 'I, who my life in wakeful studies wore,
> Bergamo's son, named Angelo, here lie.
> The empyreal robe and crimson hat I bore,
> Rome gave. Thou giv'st me, Christ, th' empyreal sky.
> Awaiting Thee, long toil I could endure:
> So with Thee be my rest now, sweet, secure.'

Through this church, also, we may enter some subterraneous chambers, which are of considerable interest as belonging to the lower floor of the House of Augustus (see later), in the Palace of the Caesars.

The valley near this, between the Palatine and the Aventine, was originally called Vallis Murcia, from an altar to the Dea Murcia (Venus), named from the myrtle trees which abounded here.[1] It became the site of the **Circus Maximus**, of which the last vestiges were destroyed in the time of Paul V. Its ground-plan can, however, be identified with the assistance of the small Circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia, which still partially exists. It was intended for chariot-races and horse-races, and is said to have been first instituted by Tarquinius Priscus after his conquest of the Latin town of Apiolae. It was a vast oblong, ending in a semicircle, and surrounded by three rows of seats, termed collectively *cavea*. In the centre of the area was the low wall called the *spina*, at each end of which were the *metae* or goals, and in the centre the obelisk now in the Piazza del Popolo.[2] Between the metae were columns supporting the *ova*, egg-shaped balls, and *delphinae*, or dolphins, each seven in number, one of which was put up for each circuit made in the race. At the extremity of the Circus were the stalls for the horses and chariots, called *carceres*. This, the square end of the Circus, was termed *oppidum*, from its external resemblance to a town with walls and towers. In the Circus Maximus, which was used for hunting wild beasts, Julius Caesar made a canal, called *Euripus*,[3] ten feet wide, between the seats and the race-course, to protect the spectators. The charioteers offered sacrifice to Consus, that he might protect them in case of an upset. The *Ludi Circenses* were first established by Romulus, to attract his Sabine neighbours, in order that he might supply his city with wives. The games were generally at the expense of the aediles, and their cost was so great that Caesar was obliged to sell his Tiburtine villa to defray those given during his aedileship. Perhaps the most magnificent games known were those in the reign of Carinus (Imp. A.D. 283), when the Circus was transformed into an

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[1] Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* v. 154; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xv. 29.
[2] Under Constantius the obelisk, now at the Lateran, was also erected there.
[3] Made to flow with wine under Heliogabalus.

artificial forest, in which hundreds of wild beasts and birds were slaughtered. At one time this circus was capable of containing 285,000 persons, all comfortably seated.

At the western extremity of the Circus Maximus stood the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera (said to have been vowed by the Dictator Aulus Postumius at the battle of the Lake Regillus), dedicated by the Consul Sp. Cassius, B.C. 492.

'Quand la père de Cassius l'eut immolé de ses propres mains à l'avidité patricienne, il fit don du pécule de son fils—un fils n'avait que son pécule comme un esclave—à ce même temple de Cérès que Spurius Cassius avait consacré, et par une féroce ironie, mit au bas de la statue fait avec cet argent, et qu'il dédiait à la déesse : "Don de la famille Cassia."

'L'ironie était d'autant plus amère, que l'on vendait auprès du temple de Cérès ceux qui avaient offensé un tribun.

'Ce temple, mis particulièrement sous la surveillance des édiles et où ils avaient leurs archives, était le temple de la démocratie romaine. Le farouche patricien le choisit pour lui faire adresser par son fils mort au service de la démocratie un dérisoire hommage.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 416.

We must now retrace our steps for a short distance, and descend into a hollow on the left, which we have passed between the churches of S. Teodoro and S. Anastasia.

Here an interesting group of buildings still stands to mark the site of the famous ox-market, **Forum Boarium.** In its centre a brazen bull, brought from Egina,[1] once commemorated the story of the oxen of Geryon, which Hercules left to pasture on this marshy site, and which were stolen hence by Cacus, and is said by Ovid to have given a name to the locality :—

'Pontibus et magno juncta est celeberrima Circo
Area, quae posito de bove nomen habet.'
—*Fast.* vi. 478.

The fact of this place being used as a market for oxen is mentioned by Livy.[2]

The Forum Boarium is associated with several deeds of cruelty. After the battle of Cannae, a male and a female Greek and a male and a female Gaul were buried alive here ;[3] and here the first fight of gladiators took place, being introduced by M. and D. Brutus at the funeral of their father in B.C. 264.[4] Here the Vestal virgins buried the sacred utensils of their worship, at the spot called Doliola, when they fled from Rome after the battle of the Allia.[5]

Amongst the buildings which once existed in the Forum Boarium, but of which no trace remains, were the Temple of the Sabine deity Matuta, and the Temple of Fortune, both ascribed to Servius Tullius.

'Hac ibi luce ferunt Matutae sacra parenti
Sceptriferas Servi templa dedisse manus.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 479.

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[1] Pliny, xxxiv. 2. [2] Livy, xxi. 62. [3] Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* i. [4] Dyer, 104. [5] Livy, v. 40.

'Lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est, auctorque locusque.
Sed superinjectis quis latet iste togis?
Servius est: jam constat enim——'
—*Fast.* vi. 569.

The Temple of **Fortune** was rebuilt by Lucullus, and Dion Cassius mentions that the axle of Julius Caesar's car broke down in front of it on occasion of one of his triumphs.[1] Another temple in this neighbourhood was that of Pudicitia Patricia, into which the noble ladies refused to admit Virginia, because she had espoused a plebeian consul.[2] Here, also, was the Temple of Hercules Victor, erected by Pompey.[3] The two earliest triumphal arches were built in this forum, being in honour of L. Stertinius, erected B.C. 196, after his victories in Spain.

The building which first attracts attention, among those now standing, is the **Arch of Janus**, the Sabine god. It has four equal sides and arches, turned to the four points of the compass, and forty-eight niches, probably intended for the reception of small statues. Bas-reliefs on the inverted blocks employed in the lower part of this edifice show that they must have been removed from earlier buildings. The quadripartite vaulting of the arch is interesting from its early construction. This was probably used as a portico for shelter or business for those who trafficked in the forum; there were many similar porticoes in ancient Rome.

On the left of the arch of Janus is a narrow alley, spanned by low brick arches, which leads first to the beautiful clear spring of the Aqua Argentina, which, according to some authorities, is the place where Castor and Pollux watered their horses after the battle of the Lake Regillus.

'Then on rode those strange horsemen,
With slow and lordly pace,
And none who saw their bearing
Durst ask their name or race.
On rode they to the Forum,
While laurel boughs and flowers
From house-tops and from windows
Fell on their crests in showers.

When they drew nigh to Vesta,
They vaulted down amain,
And washed their horses in the well
That springs by Vesta's fane.
And straight again they mounted,
And rode to Vesta's door;
Then, like a blast, away they passed,
And no man saw them more.'
—*Macaulay's 'Lays.'*

The alley is closed by an arch of the celebrated **Cloaca Maxima**, the famous drain formed by Tarquinius Priscus, fifth king of Rome, to dry the marshy land of the Velabrum.

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[1] Dion Cassius, lxiii. 21. [2] Ampère, iii. 48. [3] Vitruvius, iii. 3.

'Infima urbis loca circa Forum, aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis a fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccat.'—*Livy*, lib. i. c. 38.

The Cloaca—'receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis'—extended from the Forum to the Tiber, and is still, after 2400 years, used, during the latter part of its course, for the purpose for which it was originally intended, though Pliny was filled with wonder that in his time it had already withstood the earthquakes, inundations, and accidents of seven hundred years. Strabo tells that the tunnel of the Cloaca was of sufficient height to admit a waggon laden with hay, but this probably supposes the water at its lowest. Agrippa, who cleaned out the Cloaca, navigated its whole length in a boat. Twenty-five centuries old, it still answers its purpose perfectly. The mouth of the Cloaca, composed of three concentric courses of blocks of peperino, without cement, was till recently visible on the river a little to the right of the Temple of Vesta, and, united with the little temple and an adjoining garden, formed a picturesque scene of exquisite beauty. Now only a hole in the hideous masonry which lines the river indicates the mouth of the Cloaca, close to the modern bridge.

'Ces lieux ont encore un air et comme une odeur de marécage. Quand on rôde aux approches de la nuit dans ce coin désert de Rome où fut placée la scène des premiers moments de son premier roi, on y retrouve, à présent mieux qu'au temps de Tite-Live, quelque chose de l'impression que ce lieu devait produire il y a vingt-cinq siècles, à l'époque où, selon la vieille tradition, le berceau de Romulus s'arrêta dans les boues du Vélabre, au pied du Palatin, près de l'antre Lupercal. Il faut s'écarter un peu de cet endroit, qui était au pied du versant occidental du Palatin, et faire quelques pas à droite pour aller chercher les traces du Vélabre, là où les rues et les habitations modernes ne les ont pas entièrement effacées. En s'avançant vers la Cloaca Maxima, on rencontre un enfoncement où une vieille église, elle-même au dedans humide et moisie, rappelle par son nom, San Giorgio in Velabro, que le Vélabre a été là. On voit sourdre encore les eaux qui l'alimentaient sous une voûte sombre et froide, tapissée de mousses, de scolopendres et de grandes herbes frissonnant dans la nuit. Alentour, tout a un aspect triste et abandonné, abandonné comme le furent au bord du marais, suivant l'antique récit, les enfants dont on croit presque ouïr dans le crépuscule les vagissements. L'imagination n'a pas de peine à se représenter les arbres et les plantes aquatiques qui croissaient sur le bord de cet enfoncement que voilà, et à travers lesquelles la louve de la légende se glissait à cette heure pour venir boire à cette eau. Ces lieux sont assez peu fréquentés et assez silencieux pour qu'on se les figure comme ils étaient alors, alors qu'il n'y avait ici, comme dit Tite-Live, vrai cette fois, que des solitudes désertes: *Vastae tunc solitudines erant.*'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* i. 271.

The church with the picturesque campanile near the arch of Janus is **S. Giorgio in Velabro**, founded in the fourth century as the Basilica Sempronia, but repeatedly rebuilt. The architrave above its portico was that where Rienzi affixed his famous inscription, announcing the return to the Good Estate: '*In breve tempo gli Romani torneranno al loro antico buono stato.*' The church is seldom open, except on its festival (Jan. 20), and during its station in Lent. The interior is in the basilica form, the long nave being lined by sixteen columns, of various sizes, and with strangely different capitals, showing that they have been plundered from ancient temples. The

carving on some of the capitals is sharp and delicate. There is rather a handsome ancient baldacchino, with an old Greek picture let into its front, over the high altar. Beneath is preserved a fragment of the banner of S. George. Some injured frescoes in the tribune replace mosaics which once existed here, and which were attributed to Giotto. In the centre is the Saviour, between the Virgin and S. Peter; on one side, S. George, with the martyr's palm and the warrior's banner—on the other, S. Sebastian, with an arrow. Several fragments of carving and inscriptions are built into the side walls. The pictures are poor and ugly which relate to the saint of the church, S. George (the patron of England and Germany), the knight of Cappadocia, who delivered the Princess Cleodolinda from the dragon.

'Among good specimens of thirteenth-century architecture is the portico of S. Giorgio, with Ionic columns and horizontal architrave, on which is a gothic inscription, in quaint Leonine verse, informing us that the Cardinal (or Prior) Stephen, added this detail (probably the campanile also) to the ancient church—about the middle of the thirteenth century, as is supposed, though no date is given here; and in the midst of an age so alien to classic influences, a work in which classic feeling thus predominates is remarkable.'—*Hemans, 'Sacred Art.'*

Partly hidden by the portico of this church is the beautiful miniature **Arch of Septimius Severus**—*Arcus Argentarius*—erected A.D. 204 to the emperor, his wife Julia Pia, and his sons Caracalla and Geta, by the silversmiths (argentarii) who had their shops in the Forum Boarium on this very spot ('cujus loci qui invehent'). The part of the dedication relating to Geta (as in the larger arch of Septimius) was obliterated after his murder, and the words FORTISSIMO FELICISSIMOQUE PRINCIPI engraved in its place. The architecture and sculpture, part of which represents a sacrifice by the imperial family, prove the decadence of art at this period. This arch formed an entrance from the Velabrum into the Forum Boarium.[1]

Proceeding in a direct line from the arch of Janus, we reach the **Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin**, on the site of a temple of Ceres, dedicated by the consul Spurius Cassius, B.C. 493, and afterwards re-dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine, probably by Augustus, who had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries in Greece. The church was built in the basilica form in 782 by Adrian I., when the name Cosmedin, from the Greek *κόσμος*, is supposed to have been given, from the ornaments with which he adorned it. It was intended for the use of the Greek exiles expelled from the East by the iconoclasts under Constantine Copronimus, and derived the epithet of S. Maria in Scuola Greca, from a 'Schola' (or office) attached to it for their benefit. Another relic of the Greek colony which existed here is to be found in the name of the adjoining street, Via della Greca. In the Middle Ages the whole bank of the river near this was called Ripa Greca. The belfry of S. Maria in Cosmedin is the finest of mediaeval Rome, and was built by Adrian I. in the eighth century, but often restored.

[1] Dionys. i. 40.

The interior of this church is of great interest. The nave is divided from the aisles by twelve ancient marble columns, of which two have especially curious antique capitals, and are evidently remains of the temple which once existed here. The choir is raised, as at S. Clemente. The pavement, the joint offering of many parishioners, is of splendid *opus alexandrinum* (1120); the ambones are perfect; there is a curious crypt; the altar covers an ancient basin of red granite, and is shaded by a gothic canopy, supported by four Egyptian granite pillars; behind it is a fine episcopal throne, with lions—said to have been used by S. Augustine—an ancient Greek picture of the Virgin, and a graceful tabernacle of marble inlaid with mosaic by *Deodato Cosmati*, who was also the sculptor of the paschal candlestick. In the sacristy is a very curious mosaic—an Adoration of the Magi—one of the few relics preserved from the old S. Peter's, A.D. 705. (There is another in S. Marco at Florence.) Crescimbeni, the founder and historian of the Arcadian Academy (ob. 1728), is buried in this church, of which he was a canon. On S. Valentine's Day the skull of S. Valentine is exhibited here crowned with roses.

In the portico is the strange and huge mask of stone—the scarecrow of children who show an inclination to lie—a marble disk five feet in diameter, probably once the mouth of a duct for rain-water, carved with the face of the god Oceanus, which gives the name of **Bocca della Verità** to the neighbouring piazza. It was believed that if a witness, whose truthfulness was doubted, were desired to place his hand in the mouth of this mask, it would bite him if he were guilty of perjury. An incredulous Englishman, who once put in his hand, drew it back with a cry: a scorpion had stung him!

'Cette Bouche-de-Vérité est une curieuse relique du moyen âge. Elle servait aux jugements de Dieu. Figurez-vous une meule de moulin qui ressemble, non pas à un visage humain, mais au visage de la lune; on y distingue des yeux, un nez et une bouche ouverte où l'accusé mettait la main pour prêter serment. Cette bouche mordait les menteurs; au moins la tradition l'assure. J'y ai introduit ma dextre en disant que le Ghetto était un lieu de délices, et je n'ai pas été mordu.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine*.'

On the other side of the portico is the tomb of Cardinal Alfanus, ob. 1150.

'The church was rebuilt under Calixtus II., about 1128 A.D., by Alfanus, Roman Chancellor, whose marble sepulchre stands in the atrium, with his epitaph, along a cornice, giving him that most comprehensive title "an honest man," *vir probus*. Some more than half-faded paintings, a Madonna and Child, angels, and two mitred heads, on the wall behind the canopy give importance to this Chancellor's tomb. Though now disfigured exteriorly by a modern façade in the worst style, interiorly by a waggon-vault roof and heavy pilasters, this church is still one of the mediaeval gems of Rome, and retains many olden details: the classic colonnades, probably left in their original place since the time of Adrian I.; and the fine campanile, one of the loftiest in Rome; also the sculptured doorway, the rich intarsio pavement, the high altar, the marble and mosaic-inlaid ambones, the marble episcopal throne, with supporting lions and mosaic decoration above, &c.—all of the twelfth century. But we have to regret the destruction of the ancient choir-screens, and (still more inexcusable) the whitewashing of wall surfaces so as to entirely conceal the mediaeval

paintings which adorned them, conformably to that once almost universal practice of polychrome decoration in churches prescribed even by law under Charlemagne. Ciampini (see his valuable history of this basilica) mentions the iron rods for curtains between the columns of the atrium, and those, still in their place, in the porch, with rings for suspending; also a small chapel with paintings, at one end of the atrium, designed for those penitents who were not allowed to worship within the sacred building—as such, an evidence of disciplinary observance, retained till the twelfth century. Over the portal are some tiny bas-reliefs, so placed along the inner side of the lintel that many might pass underneath without seeing them: in the centre, a hand blessing, with the Greek action, between two sheep, laterally; the four evangelistic emblems, and two doves, each pecking out of a vase, and one perched upon a dragon (more like a lizard), to signify the victory of the purified soul over mundane temptations.'—*Hemans*, '*Christian Art.*'

Restorations instituted since 1893 have not only brought to light more valuable remains of the temple than were expected, but, behind the church, those of a hall of the IV. c. which had an open colonnade on three sides, and belonged to the *Statio Annonae*—'the *Loggia dei Mercanti* of ancient Rome;' also the original *Diaconia*, 'believed to be contemporary with the reigns of Theodoric and Athalaric.'[1]

Between the apse of the church and the Circus Maximus, the remains of the Temple of Hercules and the Ara Maxima Herculis (the oldest altar in Rome) were discovered during the reign of Sixtus IV., but have been totally destroyed.

Close to the church stood the palace of Pope Gelasius II. (1118).

Opposite the church is an exquisitely proportioned fountain, erected by Clement XI. (G. F. Albani), c. 1718, from designs of Carlo Bizzaccheri (now scraped and modernised), and beyond it the graceful round temple which has long been familiarly called the **Temple of Vesta**, supposed by Canina to have been that of Mater Matuta, and by others to have been the Aemilian Temple of Hercules alluded to by Festus and mentioned in the tenth book of Livy. The temple was rebuilt by Camillus after the fall of Veii, but the existing edifice, which is known to have existed in the time of Vespasian, probably dates from Augustus. It is very small, the circumference of the peristyle being only 156 feet, and that of the cella 26 feet—the height of the surrounding Corinthian columns (originally twenty in number) 32 feet. This temple was first dedicated as a church under the name of S. Stefano delle Carrozze; it now bears the name of **S. Maria del Sole**. The overhanging roof replaces an entablature like that on the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli. The Augustan temple rests on the old republican base.

This is not the Temple of Vesta (which was situated in the Forum) of which Horace wrote:—

> 'Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
> Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
> Ire dejectum monumenta regis
> Templaque Vestae.'
>
> —*Carm.* i. 2.

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[1] Lanciani, '*The Ruins of Ancient Rome.*'

'C'est auprès de la Bouche-de-Vérité, devant le petit temple de Vesta, que la justice romaine exécute un meurtrier sur cent. Quand j'arrivai sur la place, on n'y guillotinait personne; mais six cuisinières, dont une aussi belle que Junon, dansaient la tarantelle au son d'un tambour de basque. Malheureusement elles divinèrent ma qualité d'étranger, et elles se mirent à polker contre la mesure.'—*About.*

This spot, perhaps the most beautiful in Rome till the change of Government, has been more ruthlessly and brutally dealt with than any other. A new road lined with the popular false rockwork leads past the temple to a hideous bridge, and beyond the river rise great box-like buildings—utterly abominable. The river views, where every turn was a poem and picture, backed by huge gasworks and lined by modern quays, are now simply revolting.

Close to this—and overhanging what was till recently a little hollow way—is the **Temple of Fortuna**, commonly called **Fortuna Virilis**, built originally by Servius Tullius, but rebuilt during the republic, and if the existing building is really republican, the most ancient temple remaining in Rome. It is surrounded by Doric pilasters in the style of construction which Vitruvius stigmatises under the name of pseudo-peripteral (with engaged columns at the ends and along the sides), 28 feet high, clothed with hard stucco, and supporting an entablature adorned with figures of children, oxen, candelabra, &c. The Roman matrons had a great regard for this goddess, who was supposed to have the power of concealing their personal imperfections from the eyes of men. At the close of the tenth century this temple was consecrated to the Virgin, but has since been bestowed upon **S. Mary of Egypt**. Its intercolumniations were walled up in 872, when it was first converted into a church.

Hard by is a picturesque end of building, laden with rich but incongruous sculpture, at one time called 'The House of Pilate,'[1] but now known as the **House of Rienzi**. Chiefly built from fragments of marble buildings and bas-reliefs, it is a curious example of an early appreciation of antiquities and wish to preserve them. It derives its present name from a long inscription over a doorway, which tallies with the bombastic epithets assumed by 'The Last of the Tribunes' in his pompous letter of August 1, 1347, when, in his semi-madness, he summoned kings and emperors to appear before his judgment-seat. The inscription closes:—

'Primus de primis magnus Nicolaus ab imis
Erexit patrum decus ob renovare suorum.
Stat patris Crescens matrisque Theodora nomen.
Hoc culmen clarum caro de pignore gessit,
Davidi tribuit qui pater exhibuit.'

It is believed, from the inscription, that the house was fortified by Nicola, son of Crescentius and Theodora, who gave it to David, his son; that the Crescentius alluded to was son of the famous

[1] It was thus named and used in the ancient passion-plays enacted in this quarter. The Locanda della Giaffa in the Via della Bocca della Verità recalls the 'House of Caiaphas.'

patrician who headed the populace against Otho III.; and that, three centuries later, the house may have belonged to Cola di Rienzi, a name which is, in fact, only popular language for Niccola Crescenzo.[1] It is, however, known that Rienzi was not born in this house, but in a narrow street behind S. Tommaso, in the Rione alla Regola, where his father, Lorenzo Gabrini, kept an inn, and his mother, Maddalena, gained her daily bread as a washerwoman and watercarrier—so were the Crescenzi fallen! Near the back of this house was the early river-gate called Porta Flumentana.[2]

Here is the approach, by an ugly modern suspension-bridge, to the only remnant of the **Ponte Rotto**. On this site was the Pons Aemilius, begun 180 B.C. by M. Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, and finished by P. Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius, the censors, in 142 B.C. It was sometimes called the Pons Lapideus, as being then the only stone bridge in Rome.[3] Hence the martyr brothers Simplicius and Faustinus were thrown into the Tiber under Diocletian. Hence also the body of the Emperor Heliogabalus was thrown into the river. The bridge has been three times rebuilt by different Popes, but two of its arches were finally carried away in an inundation of 1598. The recent remains (often known as Ponte S. Maria, from the church of S. Maria Egiziaca), which only dated from the time of Julius III., on which the two quarters of the Monte and Trastevere long held their turbulent meetings, were highly picturesque, and were painted formerly by every artist in Rome: they were wantonly destroyed—with the exception of a single arch—in 1887.

'Quand on a établi un pont en fil de fer, on lui a donné pour base les piles du Ponte-Rotto, élevé au moyen âge sur les fondements du Pons Palatinus, qui fut achevé sous la censure de Scipion l'Africain. Scipion l'Africain et un pont en fil de fer, voilà de ces contrastes qu'on ne trouve qu'à Rome.'—*Ampère, Emp.* i. 209.

From this bridge was the exquisite view of the Isola Tiberina and its bridges, and hence, also, the so-called Temple of Vesta was seen to great advantage, with the ancient quay of the Tiber—the καλὴ ἀκτὴ of Plutarch, and the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima. Both these beautiful views have been utterly ruined since the Sardinian occupation.

'Quand du Ponte-Rotto on considère le triple cintre de l'ouverture par laquelle la Cloaca Maxima se déchargeait dans le Tibre, on a devant les yeux un monument qui rappelle beaucoup de grandeur et beaucoup d'oppression. Ce monument extraordinaire est une page importante de l'histoire romaine. Il est à la fois la suprême expression de la puissance des rois étrusques et le signe avant-coureur de leur chute. L'on croit voir l'arc triomphal de la royauté par où devait entrer la république.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 233.

Beyond the Cloaca Maxima the mouth of the **Cloaca of the Circus Maximus** may be seen on the left bank of the Tiber. Its course

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[1] The tomb of Crescenzio is at S. Alessio; that of his brother Landolfo at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.
[2] Cicero, *Ad Att.* vii. 3; Livy, xxxv. 19, 21.
[3] Plut. *Num.* 9.

has been discovered through the valley between the Palatine and Coelian, and it now exceeds the Cloaca Maxima in its length, the size of its blocks, and the perfection of its masonry.

Part of the ancient road, paved with basalt, which led to the Pons Aemilius, may be seen near the house of Crescentius. In the river near this the favourite fish *lupus* used to be caught abundantly in ancient times, *inter duos pontes*.

In the bed of the river a little lower down might, till they were wantonly blown up in 1877, be seen at low water some massive fragments of masonry. Here stood the **Pons Sublicius**, the oldest bridge in Rome,[1] built by Ancus Martius (639 B.C.), on which Horatius Cocles and his two companions 'kept the bridge' against the Etruscan army of Lars Porsenna, till—

'Back darted Spurius Lartius;
Herminius darted back:
And, as they passed, beneath their feet
They felt the timbers crack.
But when they turned their faces,
And on the farther shore
Saw brave Horatius stand alone,
They would have crossed once more.

But with a crash like thunder
Fell every loosened beam,
And, like a dam, the mighty wreck
Lay right athwart the stream:
And a long shout of triumph
Rose from the walls of Rome,
As to the highest turret-tops
Was splashed the yellow foam.'—*Macaulay's 'Lays.*

The name 'Sublicius' came from the wooden beams used in the construction of the bridge, which enabled the Romans to cut it away. It was rebuilt by Tiberius, and again by Antoninus Pius, each time of beams, but upon stone piers, of which the recent remains were fragments, the rest having been destroyed by an inundation in the time of Adrian I.

On the Trastevere bank, between these two bridges, half hidden in shrubs and ivy (but worth examination in a boat), were two gigantic *Heads of Lions*, to which in ancient times chains were fastened, and drawn across the river to prevent hostile vessels from passing. The lions have been replaced in the modern masonry, but are stripped of all their former dignity.

Near the house of Rienzi we enter the **Via S. Giovanni Decollato**, decorated with numerous heads of John the Baptist in the dish, let into the walls over the doors of the houses. The 'Confraternità della Misericordia di S. Giovanni Decollato,' founded in 1488, devote themselves to criminals condemned to death. They visit them in prison, accompany them to execution, receive their bodies,

[1] Recent archaeologists have thought that the remains might only be those of a bridge built by the Emperor Probus *c.* 288 A.D.

and offer masses for their souls in their little chapel. Michelangelo was a member of this Confraternità, and possibly one of those who bore the body of Beatrice Cenci to her grave in S. Pietro in Montorio. Vasari gives the highest praise to two pictures of Francesco Salviati in the church of S. Giovanni Decollato, 'before which all Rome stood still in admiration,'—representing the appearance of the angel to Zacharias, and the meeting of the Virgin and Elizabeth.

On the left is the **Hospital of S. Galla**, commemorating the pious foundation of a Roman matron in the time of John I. (523–526), who attained such celebrity that she is still commemorated in the Roman mass by the prayer—

'Almighty and merciful God, who didst adorn the blessed Galla with the virtue of a wonderful love towards Thy poor; grant us, through her merits and prayers, to practise works of love, and to obtain Thy mercy, through the Lord, &c. Amen.'

On, or very near this site, stood the **Porta Carmentalis**, which, with the temple beside it, commemorated Carmenta, the supposed mother of Evander, a Sabine prophetess, who is made by Ovid to predict the future grandeur of Rome.[1] Carmenta was especially invoked by women in childbirth. The Porta Carmentalis was reached from the Forum by the Vicus Jugarius. It was by this route that the Fabii went forth to meet their doom in the valley of the Cremera. The Porta had two gates—one for those who entered, the other for those who left it, so that in each case the passenger passed through the 'Janus,' as it was called, upon his right. After the massacre of the Fabii, the road by which they left the city was avoided, and the Janus Carmentalis on the right was closed, and called the Porta Scelerata.

'Carmentis portae dextro est via proxima Jano,
Ire per hanc noli, quisquis es; omen habet.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 201.

We now reach (left) the **Church of S. Nicolo in Carcere**. It has a mean front, with an inscription in honour of one of the Aldobrandini family, and is only interesting as occupying the site of the three **Temples of Juno Sospita, Spes**, and another, perhaps of **Apollo Medicus**,[2] which are believed to mark the site of the Forum Olitorium. The vaults beneath the church contain the massive substructions of these temples and fragments of their columns.

The central temple is believed by some to be that of Piety, built by M. Acilius Glabrio, the duumvir, in B.C. 165 (though Pliny says that this temple was on the site afterwards occupied by the theatre of Marcellus), in fulfilment of a vow made by his father, a consul of the same name, on the day of his defeating the forces of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, at Thermopylae. Others endeavour to

[1] *Fasti*, i. 515.
[2] See Livy, xl. 51, where this temple is mentioned as '*post Spei ad Tiberim*.'

identify it with the temple built on the site of the Decemviral prisons, to keep up the recollection of the famous story, called the 'Caritas Romana'—of a woman condemned to die of hunger in prison being nourished by the milk of her own daughter. Pliny and Valerius Maximus tell the story as of a mother; Festus only speaks of a father;[1] yet art and poetry have always followed the latter legend. A cell is shown, by torchlight, as the scene of this touching incident.

'There is a dungeon, in whose dim drear light
What do I gaze on? Nothing. Look again!
Two forms are slowly shadowed on my sight—
Two insulated phantoms of the brain:
It is not so; I see them full and plain—
An old man, and a female young and fair,
Fresh as a nursing mother, in whose vein
The blood is nectar—but what doth she there,
With her unmantled neck and bosom white and bare?

But here youth offers to old age the food,
The milk of his own gift:—it is her sire,
To whom she renders back the debt of blood
Born with her birth. No, he shall not expire
While in those warm and lovely veins the fire
Of health and holy feeling can provide
Great Nature's Nile, whose deep stream rises higher
Than Egypt's river; from that gentle side
Drink, drink, and live, old man! Heaven's realm holds no such tide.

The starry fable of the milky-way
Has not thy story's purity; it is
A constellation of a sweeter ray,
And sacred Nature triumphs more in this
Reverse of her decree than in the abyss
Where sparkle distant worlds:—Oh, holiest nurse!
No drop of that clear stream its way shall miss
To thy sire's heart, replenishing its source
With life, as our freed souls rejoin the universe.'

—*Childe Harold.*

A memorial of this story of a prison is preserved in the name of the church—S. Nicolo in Carcere. It was probably owing to this legend that, in front of the Temple of Piety, was placed the *Columna Lactaria*, where infants were exposed, in the hope that some one would take pity upon and nurse them out of charity. The pedestal of a statue was found in the tiny piazza in front of the church in 1808, and is believed to have been that of the equestrian statue of M. Acilius Glabrio mentioned by Livy.

A wide opening out of the street near this, with a pretty fountain, is called the **Piazza Montanara**, and is one of the places where the country people collect and wait for hire.

'Le dimanche est le jour où les paysans arrivent à Rome. Ceux qui cherchent l'emploi de leurs bras viennent se louer aux marchands de campagne, c'est-à-dire aux fermiers. Ceux qui sont loués et qui travaillent hors des murs viennent

[1] Plin. *H. N.* vii. 36; Val. Max. v. 4-7; Festus, p. 609.

faire leurs affaires et renouveler leurs provisions. Ils entrent en ville au petit jour, après avoir marché une bonne partie de la nuit. Chaque famille amène un âne, qui porte le bagage. Hommes, femmes, et enfants, poussant leur âne devant eux, s'établissent dans un coin de la place Farnèse, ou de la place Montanara. Les boutiques voisines restent ouvertes jusqu'à midi, par un privilège spécial. On va, on vient, on achète, on s'accroupit dans les coins pour compter les pièces de cuivre. Cependant les ânes se reposent sur leurs quatre pieds au bord des fontaines. Les femmes, vêtues d'un corset en cuirasse, d'un tablier rouge, et d'une veste rayée, encadrent leur figure hâlée dans une draperie de linge très blanc. Elles sont toutes à peindre sans exception; quand ce n'est pas pour la beauté de leurs traits, c'est pour l'élégance naïve de leurs attitudes. Les hommes ont le long manteau bleu de ciel et le chapeau pointu; là-dessous leurs habits de travail font merveille, quoique roussis par le temps et couleur de perdrix. Le costume n'est pas uniforme; on voit plus d'un manteau amadou rapiécé de bleu vif ou de rouge garance. Le chapeau de paille abonde en été. La chaussure est très capricieuse; soulier, botte et sandale foulent successivement le pavé. Les déchaussés trouvent ici près de grandes et profondes boutiques où l'on vend des marchandises d'occasion. Il y a des souliers de tout cuir et de tout âge dans ces trésors de la chaussure; on y trouverait des cothurnes de l'an 500 de la république en cherchant bien. Je viens de voir un pauvre diable qui essayait une paire de bottes à revers. Elles vont à ses jambes comme une plume à l'oreille d'un porc, et c'est plaisir de voir la grimace qu'il fait chaque fois qu'il pose le pied à terre. Mais le marchand le fortifie par de bonnes paroles: "Ne crains rien," lui dit-il, "tu souffriras pendant cinq ou six jours, et puis tu n'y penseras plus." Un autre marchand débite des clous à la livre: le chaland les enfonce lui-même dans ses semelles; il y a des bancs *ad hoc*. Le long des murs, cinq ou six chaises de paille servent de boutique à autant de barbiers en plein vent. Il en coûte un sou pour abattre une barbe de huit jours. Le patient, barbouillé de savon, regarde le ciel d'un œil résigné; le barbier lui tire le nez, lui met les doigts dans la bouche, s'interrompt pour aiguiser le rasoir sur un cuir attaché au dossier de la chaise, ou pour écorner une galette noire qui pend au mur. Cependant l'opération est faite en un tour de main; le rasé se lève et sa place est prise. Il pourrait aller se laver à la fontaine, mais il trouve plus simple de s'essuyer du revers de sa manche.

'Les écrivains publics alternent avec les barbiers. On leur apporte les lettres qu'on a reçues; ils les lisent et font la réponse: total, trois sous. Dès qu'un paysan s'approche de la table pour dicter quelque chose, cinq ou six curieux se réunissent officieusement autour de lui pour mieux entendre. Il y a une certaine bonhomie dans cette indiscrétion. Chacun place son mot, chacun donne un conseil: "Tu devrais dire ceci."—"Non; dis plutôt cela."—"Laissez-le parler," crie un troisième, "il sait mieux que vous ce qu'il veut faire écrire."

'Quelques voitures chargées de galettes d'orge et de maïs circulent au milieu de la foule. Un marchand de limonade, armé d'une pince de bois, écrase les citrons dans les verres. L'homme sobre boit à la fontaine en faisant un aqueduc des bords de son chapeau. Le gourmet achète des viandes d'occasion devant un petit étalage, où les rebuts de cuisine se vendent à la poignée. Pour un sou, le débitant remplit de bœuf haché et d'os de côtelettes un morceau de vieux journal; une pincée de sel ajoutée sur le tout pare agréablement la denrée. L'acheteur marchande, non sur le prix, qui est invariable, mais sur la quantité; il prend au tas quelques bribes de viande, et on le laisse faire; car rien ne se conclut à Rome sans marchander.

'Les ermites et les moines passent de groupe en groupe en quêtant pour les âmes du purgatoire. M'est avis que ces pauvres ouvriers font leur purgatoire en ce monde; et qu'il vaudrait mieux leur donner de l'argent que de leur en demander; ils donnent pourtant, et sans se faire tirer l'oreille.

'Quelquefois un beau parleur s'amuse à raconter une histoire; on fait cercle autour de lui, et à mesure que l'auditoire augmente il élève la voix. J'ai vu de ces conteurs qui avaient la physionomie bien fine et bien heureuse; mais je ne sais rien de charmant comme l'attention de leur public. Les peintres du quinzième siècle ont dû prendre à la place Montanara les disciples qu'ils groupaient autour du Christ.'—*About*, '*Rome Contemporaine*.'

Under a little inn—Albergo della Catena—remains of a **Temple of Apollo** have been discovered.

An opening on the left discloses the vast substructions of the **Theatre of Marcellus.** This huge edifice seems to have been projected by Julius Caesar, but he probably made little progress in it. It was actually erected by Augustus (probably on the site of an earlier Theatre of Metellus, B.C. 149), and dedicated (*c.* 13 B.C.) in memory of the young nephew whom he married to his daughter Julia, and intended as his successor, but who was cut off by an early death. The theatre was capable of containing 20,000 spectators, and consisted of three tiers of arches; but the upper range has disappeared, and the lower is very imperfect. Still it is a grand remnant, and rises magnificently above the paltry houses which surround it. The perfect proportions of its Doric and Ionic columns served as models to Palladio.

'Le mur extérieur du portique demi-circulaire qui enveloppait les gradins offre encore à notre admiration deux étages d'arceaux et de colonnes doriques et ioniques d'une beauté presque grecque. L'étage supérieur, qui devait être corinthien, a disparu. Les *fornices*, ou voûtes du rez-de-chaussée, sont habitées encore aujourd'hui comme elles l'étaient dans l'antiquité, mais plus honnêtement, par de pauvres gens qui vendent des ferrailles. Au-dessous des belles colonnes de l'enceinte extérieure, on a construit des maisons modernes dans lesquelles sont pratiquées des fenêtres, et à ces fenêtres du théâtre de Marcellus, on voit des pots à fleurs, ni plus ni moins qu'à une mansarde de la rue Saint-Denis; des chemises sèchent sur l'entablement; des cheminées surmontent la ruine romaine, et un grand tube se dessine à l'extrémité.

'Dans les jeux célébrés à l'occasion de la dédicace du théâtre de Marcellus, on vit pour la première fois un tigre apprivoisé, *tigrim mansuefactum*. Dans ce tigre le peuple romaine pouvait contempler son image.'—*Ampère, Emp.* i. 256.

In the Middle Ages this theatre was the fortress of the great family of Pierleoni, the rivals of the Frangipani, who occupied the Coliseum; their name is commemorated by the neighbouring street, Via Porta Leone. The constant warfare in which they were engaged with their neighbours did much to destroy the building, whose interior became reduced to a mass of ruins, forming a hill, upon which Baldassare Peruzzi (1526) built the **Palazzo Savelli**, of which the entrance, flanked by the two armorial bears of the family, may be seen in the street (Via Savelli) which leads to the Ponte Quattro Capi.

'Au dix-septième siècle, les Savelli exerçaient encore une jurisdiction féodale. Leur tribunal, aussi régulièrement constitué que pas un, s'appelait Corte Savella.[1] Ils avaient le droit d'arracher tous les ans un criminel à la peine de mort: droit de grâce, droit régalien reconnu par la monarchie absolue des papes. Les femmes de cette illustre famille ne sortaient point de leurs palais sinon dans un carrosse bien fermé. Les Orsini et les Colonna se vantaient que, pendant les siècles, aucun traité de paix n'avait été conclu entre les princes chrétiens, dans lequel ils n'eussent été nominativement compris.'—*About.*

The palace has now passed to the family of Orsini Gravina, who descend from a senator of A.D. 1200. The princes of Orsini and Colonna, in their quality as attendants on the throne (*principi assistenti al soglio*), take precedence of all other Roman nobles.

[1] Beatrice and Lucrezia Cenci were imprisoned in the Corte Savella, and led thence to execution.

'Nicolovius will remember the Theatre of Marcellus, in which the Savelli family built a palace. My house is half of it. It has stood empty for a considerable time, because the drive into the courtyard (the interior of the ancient theatre) rises like the slope of a mountain upon the heaps of rubbish; although the road has been cut in a zig-zag, it is still a break-neck affair. There is another entrance from the Piazza Montanara, whence a flight of seventy-three steps leads up to the same storey I have mentioned; the entrance-hall of which is on a level with the top of the carriage-way through the courtyard. The apartments in which we shall live are those over the colonnade of Ionic pillars, forming the third storey of the ancient theatre, and some, on a level with them, which have been built out like wings on the rubbish of the ruins. These enclose a little quadrangular garden, which is indeed very small, only about eighty or ninety feet long, and scarcely so broad, but so delightful! It contains three fountains—an abundance of flowers: there are orange-trees on the wall between the windows, and jessamine under them. We mean to plant a vine besides. From this storey, you ascend forty steps, or more, higher, where I mean to have my own study, and there are most cheerful little rooms, from which you have a prospect over the whole country beyond the Tiber, Monte Mario and S. Peter's, and can see over S. Pietro in Montorio, indeed almost as far as the Aventine. It would, I think, be possible besides to erect a loggia upon the roof (for which I shall save money from other things), that we may have a view over the Capitol, Forum, Palatine, Coliseum, and all the inhabited parts of the city.'—*Niebuhr's Letters.*

Following the wall of the theatre down a filthy street, we arrive at the picturesque group of ruins of the Porticus Liviae et Octaviae, erected by Augustus in honour of his wife and his sister (the unhappy wife of Antony), close to the theatre to which he had given the name of her son.[1] The exact form of the building is known from the Pianta Capitolina—that it was a parallelogram, surrounded by a double arcade of 270 columns, and enclosing the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina, built by the Greek architects, Batrachos and Sauraos.[2]

With regard to these temples, Pliny narrates a fact which reminds one of the story of the Madonna of S. Maria Nuova.[3] The porters having carelessly carried the statues of the gods to the wrong temples, it was imagined that they had done so from divine inspiration, and the people would not venture to remove them, so that the statues always remained in the wrong temples, though their surroundings were utterly unsuitable.

The **Portico of Octavia,** built by Augustus, occupied the site of an earlier portico—the Porticus Metelli—built by A. Caecilius Metellus, after his triumph over Andriscus in Macedonia, in B.C. 146. Temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno existed also in this portico, one of them being the earliest temple built of marble in Rome. Before these temples Metellus placed the famous group of twenty-five bronze statues, which he had brought from Greece, executed by Lysippus for Alexander the Great, and representing that conqueror himself and twenty-four horsemen of his troop who had fallen at the Granicus.[4]

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[1] Suet. *Aug.* 29; Ovid, *Art.* i. 69 and iii. 391.
[2] See the account of the Basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.
[3] See Chap. IV., and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 4.
[4] See Dyer's '*City of Rome.*'

The existing fragment of the portico is the original entrance to the whole. The building had suffered from fire in the reign of Titus, and was restored by Septimius Severus, and of this time is the large brick arch on one side of the ruin.

'It was in this hall of Octavia that Titus and Vespasian celebrated their triumph over Israel with festive pomp and splendour. Among the Jewish spectators stood the historian Flavius Josephus, who was one of the followers and flatterers of Titus . . . and to this base Jewish courtier we owe a description of the triumph.'—*Gregorovius, 'Wanderjahre in Italien.'*

Within the portico is the **Church of S. Angelo in Pescheria.** Here it was that Cola Rienzi summoned at midnight—May 20, 1347—all good citizens to hold a meeting for the re-establishment of 'the Good Estate'; here he kept the vigil of the Holy Ghost; and hence he went forth, bareheaded, in complete armour, accompanied by the papal legate, and attended by a vast multitude, to the Capitol, where he called upon the populace to ratify the Good Estate.

It is said that one of the causes which most incited the indignation of Rienzi against the assumption and pride of the Roman families was the fact of their painting their arms on the ancient Roman buildings, and thus in a manner appropriating them to their own glory. Remains of coats of arms thus painted may be seen on the front wall of the Portico of Octavia. It was also on this very wall that Rienzi painted his famous allegorical picture. In this painting kings and men of the people were seen burning in a furnace, with a woman half-consumed, who personified Rome—and on the right was a church, whence issued a white-robed angel, bearing in one hand a naked sword, while with the other he plucked the woman from the flames. On the church tower were SS. Peter and Paul, crying to the angel, 'Aquilo, aquilo, succurri a l' albergatrice nostra'—and beyond this were represented falcons (typical of the Roman barons) falling from heaven into the flames, and a white dove bearing a wreath of olive, which it gave to a little bird (Rienzi), which was chased by the falcons. Beneath was inscribed 'I see the time of great justice; do thou await that time.'

'Then turn we to her latest tribune's name,
From her ten thousand tyrants turn to thee,
Redeemer of dark centuries of shame—
The friend of Petrarch—hope of Italy—
Rienzi! last of Romans! While the tree
Of Freedom's wither'd trunk puts forth a leaf,
Even for thy tomb a garland let it be—
The Forum's champion and the people's chief—
Her new-born Numa thou—with reign, alas! too brief.'
—*Childe Harold.*

Through the brick arch of the Portico we used (till 1888) to enter upon the ancient **Pescheria,** with the marble fish-slabs of imperial times still remaining in use. It was a most striking scene—the dark, many-storied houses almost meeting overhead and framing a narrow strip of deep blue sky—below, the bright groups of figures and rich colouring of hanging cloths and drapery. That this most

historic and picturesque scene should not have been spared in the recent destruction of Rome is inconceivable.

'C'est une des ruines les plus remarquables de Rome, et une de celles qui offrent ces contrastes piquants entre le passé et le présent, amusement perpétuel de l'imagination dans la ville des contrastes. Le portique d'Octavie est, aujourd'hui, le marché aux poissons. Les colonnes et le fronton s'élèvent au milieu de l'endroit le plus sale de Rome; leur effet n'en est pas moins pittoresque, il l'est peut-être davantage. Le lieu est fait pour une aquarelle, et quand un beau soleil éclaire les débris antiques, les vieux murs sombres de la rue étroite où le poisson se vend sur des tables de marbre blanc, et à travers laquelle des nattes sont tendues, on a, à côté du monument romain, le spectacle d'un marché du moyen âge, et un peu le souvenir d'un bazar d'Orient.'—*Ampère, Emp.* i. 179.

On the demolition of the streets to the north-west of the Portico of Octavia, it was expected that some remains of the Temple of Hercules Musarum and of the Porticus Philippi would be discovered, but nothing more than fragments of walls was found.

'Who that has ever been to Rome does not remember Roman streets of an evening, when the day's work is done? They are all alive in a serene and home-like fashion. The old town tells its story. Low arches cluster with life—a life humble and stately, though rags hang from the citizens and the windows. You realise it as you pass them—their temples are in ruins, their rule is over—their colonies have revolted long centuries ago. Their gates and their columns have fallen like the trees of a forest, cut down by an invading civilisation.'—*Miss Thackeray.*

Here we are in the centre of what was the Jews' quarter—the famous **Ghetto**, which has been swept away under modern 'improvements' of 1885–87.

The history of a nation has perished with 'the Ghetto.' The name is derived from the Hebrew word *chat*, broken, destroyed, shaven, cut down, cast off, abandoned (see the Hebrew in Isaiah xiv. 12, xv. 2; Jer. xlviii. 25, 27; Zech. xi. 10–14, &c.). The first Jewish slaves were brought to Rome by Pompey the Great, after he had taken Jerusalem and forcibly entered the Holy of Holies. But for centuries after this they lived in Rome in wealth and honour, their princes Herod and Agrippa being received with royal distinction, and finding a home in the Palace of the Caesars—in which Berenice (or Veronica), the daughter of Agrippa, presided as the acknowledged mistress of Titus, who would willingly have made her empress of Rome. The chief Jewish settlement in imperial times was nearly on the site of their after abode, but they were not compelled to live here, and also had a large colony in the Trastevere; and when S. Peter was at Rome (if the Church tradition be true), he dwelt, with Aquila and Priscilla, on the slopes of the Aventine. Julius, Augustus, and Tiberius Caesar treated the Jews with kindness, but under Caligula they already met with ill-treatment and contempt—that emperor being especially irritated against them as the only nation which refused to yield him divine honours, and because they had successfully resisted the placing of his statue in the Holy of Holies at Jeru-

salem. On the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, thousands of Jewish slaves were brought to Rome, and were employed on the building of the Coliseum. At the same time Vespasian, while allowing the Hebrews in Rome the free exercise of their religion, obliged them to pay the tax of half a shekel, formerly paid into the Temple treasury, to Jupiter Capitolinus—and this custom is still kept up in the annual tribute paid by the Jews in the Camera Capitolina.

Under Domitian the Jews were banished from the city to the valley of Egeria, where they lived in a state of poverty and outlawry, which is described by Juvenal,[1] and occupied themselves with soothsaying, love-charms, magic potions, and mysterious cures.[2]

During the reigns of the earlier Popes, the Jews at Rome enjoyed a great amount of liberty, and the anti-Pope Anacletus II. (ob. 1138) was even the grandson of a baptized Jew, whose family bore a leading part in Rome as one of the great patrician houses. The clemency with which the Jews were regarded was, however, partly due to their skill as physicians; and long after their persecutions had begun (as late as Martin V., 1417–31), the physician of the Vatican was a Jew. The first really bitter enemy of the Jews was Eugenius IV. (Gabriele Condolmiere, 1431–39), who forbade Christians to trade, to eat, or to dwell with them, and prohibited them from walking in the streets, from building new synagogues, or from occupying any public post. Paul II. (1468) increased their humiliation by compelling them to run races during the Carnival, as the horses ran, till the change of Government, amidst the hoots of the populace. This custom continued for two hundred years. Sprenger's 'Roma Nuova,' of 1667, mentions that 'the asses ran first, then the Jews—naked, with only a band round their loins—then the buffaloes, then the Barbary horses.' It was Clement IX. (Rospigliosi), in 1668, who first permitted the Jews to pay a sum equivalent to 1500 francs annually instead of racing.

'On the first Saturday in Carnival, it was the custom for the heads of the Jews in Rome to appear as a deputation before the Conservators in the Capitol. Throwing themselves upon their knees, they offered a nosegay and twenty scudi, with the request that this might be employed to ornament the balcony in which the Roman Senate sat in the Piazza del Popolo. In like manner they went to the senator, and, after the ancient custom, implored permission to remain in Rome. The senator placed his foot upon their foreheads, ordered them to stand up, and replied in the accustomed formula, that Jews were not adopted in Rome, but allowed from compassion to remain there. This humiliation has now disappeared, but the Jews still go to the Capitol on the first Saturday of Carnival, to offer their homage and tribute for the *pallii* of the horses, which they have to provide, in memory that now the horses amuse the people in their stead.'—*Gregorovius*, '*Wanderjahre*.'

The Jews were first shut up within the walls of the Ghetto by the fanatical Dominican Pope, Paul IV. (Gio. Pietro Caraffa, 1555–59), and commanded never to appear outside it, unless the men were

[1] *Sat.* iii. [2] *Sat.* xvi.

in yellow hats or the women in yellow veils. 'For,' says the Bull 'Cum nimis'—

'It is most absurd and unsuitable that the Jews, whose own crime has plunged them into everlasting slavery, under the plea that Christian magnanimity allows them, should presume to dwell and mix with Christians, not bearing any mark of distinction, and should have Christian servants, yea, even buy houses.'

The Ghetto, or Vicus Judaeorum, as it was at first called, was shut in by walls which reached from the Ponte Quattro Capi to the Piazza del Pianto, or 'Place of Weeping,' whose name bears a witness to the grief of the people on the 25th July 1556, when they were first forced into their prison-house.

'Those Jews who were shut up in the Ghetto were placed in possession of the dwellings of others. The houses in that quarter were the property of Romans, and some of them were inhabited by families of consideration, such as the Boccapaduli. When these removed, they remained the proprietors and the Jews only tenants. But as they were to live for ever in these streets, it was necessary that the Jews should have a perpetual lease to defend them against a twofold danger—negligence on the part of the owner to announce to his Jewish tenant when his possession expired, or bankruptcy if the owner raised his rent. Thus originated a law which established that the Romans should remain in possession of the dwellings let to the Jews, but that the latter should hold the houses in fee-farm; that is, the expiration of the contract cannot be announced to a Jewish tenant, and so long as he pays the lawful rent, the rent can never be raised; the Jew at the same time may alter or enlarge his house as he chooses. This still existing privilege is called the Jus Gazzaga. By virtue of it a Jew is in hereditary possession of the lease, and can sell it to his relations or others, and to the present day it is a costly fortune to be in possession of a Jus Gazzaga, or an hereditary lease. Highly extolled is the Jewish maiden who brings her bridegroom such a dowry. Through this salutary law the Jew became possessed of a home, which to some extent he may call his own.'—*Gregorovius.*

The Jews were kindly treated by Sixtus V., on the plea that they were 'the family from whom Christ came,' and he allowed them to practise many kinds of trades, and to have intercourse with Christians, and to build houses, libraries, and synagogues; but his mild laws were all repealed by Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini, 1592–1605), and under Clement XI. and Innocent XIII. all trade was forbidden them, except that in old clothes, rags, and iron, 'stracci ferracci.' To these Benedict XIV. (Lambertini) added trade in drapery, with which they are still largely occupied. Under Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagni, 1572–85) the Jews were forced to hear a sermon every week in the church, first of S. Benedetto alla Regola, then in S. Angelo in Pescheria; and every Sabbath police-agents were sent into the Ghetto to drive men, women, and children into the church with scourges, and to lash them while there if they appeared to be inattentive.

'Now was come about Holy Cross Day, and now must my lord preach his first sermon to the Jews: as it was of old cared for in the merciful bowels of the Church, that, so to speak, a crumb at least from her conspicuous table here in Rome should be, though but once yearly, cast to the famishing dogs, under-trampled and bespitten upon beneath the feet of the guests; and a moving sight in truth this, of so many of the besotted, blind, restive, and ready-to-perish Hebrews! now maternally brought—nay (for He saith, "Compel them to come in"), haled, as it were, by the head and hair, and against their obstinate hearts, to partake of the heavenly grace. . . .'—*Diary by the Bishop's Secretary*, 1600.

'Though what the Jews really said, on thus being driven to church, was rather to this effect :—

> 'Groan all together now, whee-hee-hee !
> It's a-work, it's a-work, ah, woe is me !
> It began, when a herd of us, picked and placed,
> Were spurred through the Corso, stripped to the waist ;
> Jew-brutes with sweat and blood well spent
> To usher in worthily Christian Lent.
>
> It grew when the hangman entered our bounds,
> Yelled, pricked us out to his church like hounds.
> It got to a pitch when the hand indeed
> Which gutted my purse would throttle my creed.
> And it overflows when, to even the odd,
> Men I helped to their sins help me to their God.'
>
> —*R. B. Browning, 'Holy Cross Day.'*

This custom of compelling Jews to listen to Christian sermons was renewed by Leo XII., and was only abolished in the early years of Pius IX.[1] The walls of the Ghetto also remained, and its gates were closed at night until the reign of the same Pope, who removed the limits of the Ghetto, and revoked all the oppressive laws against the Jews. The humane feeling with which he regarded this hitherto oppressed race is said to have been first evinced when, on the occasion of his placing a liberal alms in the hands of a beggar, one of his attendants interposed, saying, 'It is a Jew !' and the Pope replied, 'What does that matter ? It is a man.'

Opposite the gate of the Ghetto near the Ponte Quattro Capi, a converted Jew erected a still existing church, with a painting of the Crucifixion on its outside wall (upon which every Jew must look as he came out of the Ghetto), and underneath an inscription in large letters of Hebrew and Latin from Isaiah lxv. 2 : 'All day long I have stretched out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people.' The lower streets of the Ghetto, especially the Fiumara, which was nearest the bank of the Tiber, were annually overflowed during the spring rains and melting of the mountain snows, which was productive of great misery and distress. Yet in spite of this, and of the teeming population crowded into narrow alleys, the mortality was less here during the cholera than in any other part of Rome, and malaria has been unknown here—a freedom from disease which may perhaps be attributed to the Jewish custom of whitewashing their dwellings at every festival. There was no Jewish hospital, and if the Jews went to an ordinary hospital, they must submit to a crucifix being hung over their beds. It is remarkable that the very centre of the Jewish settlement should be the Portico of Octavia, in which Vespasian and Titus celebrated their triumph after the fall of Jerusalem. Here and there in the narrow alleys the seven-branched candlestick might be seen carved on the house walls, a yet living symbol of the Jewish religion.

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[1] It was Michelangelo Caëtani, Duke of Sermoneta, who, in 1848, obtained from Pius IX. that the Jews should not be forced to hear sermons.

Everything might be obtained in the Ghetto: precious stones, lace, furniture of all kinds, rich embroidery from Algiers and Constantinople, striped stuffs from Spain—but all was concealed and under cover. 'Cosa cercate?' the Jew shopkeepers hissed at you as you threaded their narrow alleys, and tried to entice you in to bargain with them. The same article was often passed on by a mutual arrangement from shop to shop, and met you wherever you went. On Friday evening all shops were shut, and bread was baked for the Sabbath; all merchandise was removed, and the men went to the synagogue and wished each other 'a good Sabbath' on their return.[1]

In the Piazza della Scuola are five schools under one roof—*gli scoli degli ebrei*[2]—the Scuola del Tempio, Catilana, Castigliana, Siciliana, and the Scuola Nuova, which show that the Roman Ghetto was divided into five districts or parishes, each of which represented a particular race, according to the prevailing nationality of the Jews, whose fathers have been either Roman-Jewish from ancient times, or have been brought hither from Spain and Sicily; the Temple district was said above all others to assert its descent from the Jews of Titus. In the same piazza is the chief synagogue, richly adorned with sculpture and gilding. On the external frieze are represented in stucco the seven-branched candlestick, David's harp, and Miriam's timbrel. The interior is highly picturesque and quaint, and is hung with curious tapestries on festas. The frieze which surrounds it represents the temple of Solomon with all its sacred vessels. A round window in the north wall, divided into twelve panes of coloured glass, is symbolical of the twelve tribes of Israel, and a type of the Urim and Thummim. 'To the west is the round choir, a wooden desk for singers and precentors. Opposite, in the eastern wall, is the Holy of Holies with projecting staves (as if for the carrying of the ark) resting on Corinthian columns. It is covered by a curtain, on which texts and various devices of roses and tasteful arabesques in the style of Solomon's temple are embroidered in gold. The seven-branched candlestick crowns the whole. In this Holy of Holies lies the sealed Pentateuch, a large parchment roll. This is borne in procession through the hall and exhibited from the desk towards all the points of the compass, whereat the Jews raise their arms and utter a cry.'

'On entering the Ghetto, we see Israel before its tents, in full restless labour and activity. The people sit in their doorways, or outside in the streets, which receive hardly more light than the damp and gloomy chambers, and grub amid their old trumpery, or patch and sew diligently. It is inexpressible what a chaos of shreds and patches (called *cenci* in Italian) is here accumulated. The whole world seems to be lying about in countless rags and scraps, as Jewish plunder. The fragments lie in heaps before the doors, they are of every kind and colour—gold fringes, scraps of silk brocade, bits of velvet, red patches, blue

[1] See Dr. Philip's article on '*The Jews in Rome*,' also Ettore Natali, '*Il Ghetto di Roma*,' 1887.

[2] Formerly there were schools in Rome of Lombards, Greeks, Frisians, and Saxons.

patches, orange, yellow, black and white, torn, old, slashed and tattered pieces, large and small. I never saw such varied rubbish. The Jews might mend up all creation with it, and patch the whole world as gaily as harlequin's coat. There they sit and grub in their sea of rags, as though seeking for treasures, at least for a lost gold brocade. For they are as good antiquarians as any of those in Rome who grovel amongst the ruins to bring to light the stump of a column, a fragment of relief, an ancient inscription, a coin, or such matters. Each Hebrew Winckelmann in the Ghetto lays out his rags for sale with a certain pride, as does the dealer in marble fragments. The latter boasts a piece of giallo-antico—the Jew can match it with an excellent fragment of yellow silk; porphyry here is represented by a piece of dark red damask, verde-antico a handsome patch of ancient green velvet. And there is neither jasper, nor alabaster, black marble or white, or parti-coloured, which the Ghetto antiquarian is not able to match. The history of every fashion from Herod the Great to the invention of paletots, and of every mode of the highest as well as of the lower classes may be collected from these fragments, some of which are really historical, and may once have adorned the persons of Romulus, Scipio, Africanus, Hannibal, Cornelia, Augustus, Charlemagne, Pericles, Cleopatra, Barbarossa, Gregory VII., Columbus, and so forth.

'Here sit the daughters of Zion on these heaps, and sew all that is capable of being sewn. Great is their boasted skill in all works of mending, darning, and fine-drawing, and it is said that even the most formidable rent in any old drapery or garment whatsoever becomes invisible under the hands of these Arachnes. It is chiefly in the Fiumara, the street lying lowest and nearest to the river, and in the street corners (one of which is called Argumille, *i.e.*, of unleavened bread), that this business is carried on. I have often seen with a feeling of pain the pale, stooping, starving figures, laboriously plying the needle—men as well as women, girls and children. Misery stares forth from the tangled hair, and complains silently in the yellow-brown faces, and no beauty of feature recalls the countenance of Rachel, Leah, or Miriam—only sometimes a glance from a deep-sunk, piercing black eye, that looks up from its needle and rags, and seems to say—"From the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed—she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary! She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks; among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her: all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies. Judah is gone into captivity, because of affliction, and because of great servitude; she dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest: all her persecutors overtook her between the straits. How hath the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud in His anger!"'—*Gregorovius*, '*Wanderjahre*.'[1]

Opposite what was the northern entrance of the Ghetto is the church of *S. Maria del Pianto*, formerly S. Salvatore in Cacaberis (S. Saviour amongst the kettle-makers), which changed its name when an image of the Virgin on an adjoining wall shed tears on beholding a terrible murder committed at its feet.

The narrow street which was a continuation of the Pescheria emerges upon the small square called **Piazza della Giudecca.** In the houses on the right may be seen some Tuscan columns and part of an architrave, being the only visible remains of the **Theatre of Balbus**, erected by C. Cornelius Balbus, a general who triumphed in the time of Augustus, with the spoils taken from the Garamantes, a people of Africa. It was opened in the same year as the Theatre of Marcellus, and though very much smaller, was capable of containing as many as 11,600 spectators. The statues of Castor and Pollux, at the head of the Capitol steps, were found here in 1556. At the back of the theatre were famous **Crypta**, the remains of

[1] The description of the destroyed Ghetto has been left in this volume, as giving an interest to the still unused site.

which have been recently brought to light. The marble for the fountain in the piazza was plundered from the Temple of the Sun.

To the left, still partly on the site of the ancient theatre, and extending along one side of the Piazza delle Scuole, is the vast **Palazzo Cenci**, the ancient residence of the famous Cenci family (now represented by Count Cenci Bolognetti), and the scene of many of the terrible crimes and tragedies which stain its annals.

'The Cenci Palace is of great extent; and, though in part modernised, there yet remains a vast and gloomy pile of feudal architecture in the same state as during the dreadful scenes which it once witnessed. The palace is situated in an obscure corner of Rome, near the quarter of the Jews, and from the upper windows you see the immense ruins of Mount Palatine, half hidden under the profuse undergrowth of trees. There is a court in one part of the palace supported by columns, and adorned with antique friezes of fine workmanship, and built up, after the Italian fashion, with balcony over balcony of open work. One of the gates of the palace, formed of immense stones, and leading through a passage dark and lofty, and opening into gloomy subterranean chambers, struck me particularly.'—*Shelley's Preface to 'The Cenci.'*

Opposite the further entrance of the Palace is the tiny church of **S. Tommaso dei Cenci**, formerly (when Rienzi lived near it) S. Tommaso in Capite Molarum. It was founded in 1113 by Cencio, Bishop of Sabina; granted by Julius II. to Rocco Cenci;—and rebuilt in 1575 by the wicked Count Cenci, whose story and that of his unhappy family have been the subject of a thousand romances. Only very recent discoveries have stripped the terrible facts of the veil in which fiction and poetry had shrouded them.[1]

In 1556 a certain Monsignor Cristofero Cenci became treasurer-general of the Apostolic Chamber. He was not a priest, but a clerk (*chierico*), that is, he was not able to say mass or bound to celibacy, though he possessed those inferior Orders without which no one could aspire to a lucrative office at the Apostolic Court. He held the benefice of S. Tommaso, near the Cenci palace, where he lived in concubinage with a married woman named Beatrice Arias, by whom, during the lifetime of her husband, he had become the father of a son—Francesco. After the death of Beatrice's husband, Monsignor Cenci legitimatised his son and died in 1562, having married Beatrice on his death-bed, providing her with a handsome income, begging her to live *honestè e castè*, and leaving Francesco heir of his great riches.

Francesco, born illegitimate in 1549, evinced the cruelty of his disposition from childhood. At eleven years old he was tried before a criminal court for having beaten 'usque ad sanguinem' one Quintilio de Vetralla. At fourteen, he was again in trouble about a child of which he had become the father. In 1563, he became the brutal and violent husband of Ersilia, daughter of Valerio Santa Croce, who had a dowry of 5000 crowns from her uncle, Prospero Santa Croce. During her wretched married life, which lasted twenty-one years, she gave birth to twelve children, of whom five died in infancy. Of her five unhappy sons, Giacomo died on a scaffold, Sept. 10, 1599; Cristofero was murdered by one Paolo Buono Corso, his rival in a love affair; Rocco was killed in a duel in 1595 by an illegitimate son of Orsini, Count of Pitigliano; Bernardo, always delicate, died a natural death in 1627; Paolo, also always sickly from childhood, died, probably of consumption, in 1600. Of the two daughters, the elder, Antonina, born in 1573, was married, with a dowry of 20,000 crowns, to Luzio Savelli, of the great Roman family, and died early, without children.

The birth of the younger daughter, Beatrice, is recorded in the register of SS. Lorenzo e Damaso: 'On Feb. 12, 1577, Beatrice, daughter of Francesco Cenci and his wife Ersilia, of the parish of S. Tommaso dei Cenci.'[2] Accounts which still

[1] See '*Francesco Cenci e la sua Famiglia*,' by Bertolotti. Firenze, 1877.

[2] Therefore at the time of her death she was over twenty-one.

exist show that Beatrice kept her father's house till 1593, in which year Francesco Cenci married again with Lucrezia Petroni, widow of a man named Velli, by whom she had three daughters, to each of whom her second husband gave a dowry.

Still existing records prove that soon after his first marriage the crimes of Francesco Cenci were such that he was imprisoned permanently in his own house. From this imprisonment he was relieved in 1572, and was banished from the Papal States, under a penalty of 10,000 crowns if found within them. Yet in February of the following year Cardinal Caraffa obtained his pardon from the Pope, and he was permitted to return. In 1586 he made a will, providing for all his family except his eldest son, whom he disinherited. In 1590 his fortunes were attacked by the representatives of the public offices, whom his father, Monsignor Cenci, was proved to have defrauded; but, on payment of 25,000 crowns (in addition to 30,000 already paid with the same object), he was absolved from all further public debt, and he was legitimatised by the Pope, as if he had been born in lawful wedlock.

The domestic cruelties of Francesco Cenci seemed only to increase after the death of his wife Ersilia in 1584. His mistress, Maria Pelli of Spoleto—'La bella Spoletina'—brought an action against him in 1593 for his extreme cruelty. On April 10, 1593, his man-servant, Angelo Belloni, also appeared against him for his excessive violence in beating him and shutting him up naked for two days. On April 25, 1594, one Attilio Angelini appeared against Count Cenci for the injuries received by his brother-in-law, nearly killed by his violence. On March 9, 1594, also, Cenci was summoned before the criminal magistrate for cruelty and unnatural crimes. The accusations were of the utmost enormity, but in that venal age a pardon was secured for 100,000 crowns—the accusers being put to the torture, but adhering to their story; the accused, being noble, escaping altogether.

Meantime the character of Francesco Cenci's sons did not stand much higher than that of the father. Whilst Count Cenci was in prison in 1594, his eldest son Giacomo married without his consent, and was accused of embezzling money which belonged to his father. Cristofero, the second son, was constantly before the criminal courts. The third son, Rocco, was even worse, and, after being fined 5000 crowns and exiled for his crimes, made his way back to rob his father's house of various valuables, for which he was tried on March 19, 1594. In this robbery Monsignore Mario Guerra (often described as a lover of Beatrice) was the accomplice of Rocco, and the two daughters of Count Cenci were examined as witnesses against him.

In the night of September 9, 1598, Count Francesco was murdered by two hired assassins in his desolate castle of Petrella, where he was in the habit of spending part of the autumn. One of the murderers held a nail over the eye of his victim, whilst the other hammered it into his head. The body was then thrown from a window upon the branches of a withered tree, in the hope that he might be supposed to have fallen and that his brain had been pierced by accident. The whole family immediately left Petrella, Giacomo, Bernardo, and Paolo returning to Rome and going into mourning for their father. Giacomo at this time offered a magnificent altar-cloth (as an expiatory offering?) to the church of S. Maria del Pianto near the Cenci palace. Meantime the Government put a price upon the heads of the assassins. One of these, Olympio Calvetti, was killed (May 17, 1599), at Cantilice, near Petrella, by Marco Tullio and Cesáre Busone, acting, as documents prove, by the order of Monsignore Mario Guerra, already suspected of complicity in the murder, who hoped thus to destroy the evidence against himself. The other assassin, Marzio Catalano, was taken by the exertions of one Gaspare Guizza, and a curious petition (dated 1601) exists, by which Guizza claimed a reward from the Pope for this service, by which 'the other accomplices and their confessions were secured, and *so many thousands of crowns brought into the papal treasury*.' In fact, the confession of Catalano led to the arrest, on December 10, 1598, of Lucrezia, Giacomo, Bernardo, and Beatrice Cenci. The speech still exists by which Prospero Farinaccio, the advocate of Beatrice, allowing her complicity in the crime, set forward as her defence the terrible excuse which was given to her by the conduct of her father, already well known as a monster of lawless cruelty and profligacy. . . . The prisoners were allowed to make wills in prison, and the curious will of Beatrice can still be read, by which she bequeathed 100 crowns for her burial in S. Pietro in Montorio, 3000 crowns

for building the wall which supports the road up to the church, and 1750 to other churches and for the saying of masses for her soul: she also left legacies to the three daughters of her stepmother, Lucrezia. The fearful story usually told of the tortures by which the last confession of Beatrice was extorted has, doubtless, been exaggerated; but sympathy will always follow one who sinned under the most terrible of provocations, and whose cruel death was due to the avarice of Clement VIII. for the riches which the Church acquired by the confiscation of the Cenci property.

'He who cursed his sons and daughters, and laughed for joy when two of them were murdered, rebuilt the little church just opposite, as a burial-place for himself and them, but neither he nor they were laid there.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Retracing our steps to the Piazza della Giudecca, and turning left down a narrow alley, which is always busy with Jewish traffic, we reach the **Piazza delle Tartarughe**, so called from the tortoises which form part of the adornments of its lovely little fountain—designed by Giacomo della Porta, the four figures of boys being by Taddeo Landini.

At this point we leave the site of the Ghetto.

Forming one side of the Piazza delle Tartarughe is the **Palazzo Costaguti**, celebrated for its six splendid ceilings by great artists, viz.:—

1. *Albani.* Hercules wounding the Centaur Nessus.
2. *Domenichino.* Apollo in his car, Time discovering Truth, &c.—much injured.
3. *Guercino.* Rinaldo and Armida in a chariot drawn by dragons.
4. *Cav. d' Arpino.* Juno nursing Hercules, Venus and Cupids.
5. *Lanfranco.* Justice and Peace.
6. *Romanelli.* Arion saved by the Dolphin.

On the other side of the square is the entrance, marked by a shield in a wreath, of a neglected palace which possesses one of the most picturesque mediaeval courtyards in the city, with two tiers of arches.

On the same line, at the end of the street, is the **Palazzo Mattei**, built by Carlo Maderno (1615) for Duke Asdrubal Mattei, on the site of the Circus of Flaminius. The small courtyard of this palace is well worth examining, and is one of the handsomest in Rome, being quite encrusted, as well as the staircase, with ancient bas-reliefs, busts, and other sculptures. It contained a gallery of pictures which have been dispersed. The rooms have frescoes by *Pomerancio, Lanfranco, Pietro da Cortona, Domenichino,* and *Albani.* The decorations of the ball-room are of great beauty. A little terrace, laden with sculptures, where a fountain is overhung by arcades of banksia roses, is one of the loveliest spots in the city.

The posts and rings at the corner of the streets near the Mattei Palace are curious relics of the time when the powerful Mattei family had the right of drawing chains across the streets during the papal conclaves, and of occupying the bridges of San Sisto and Quattro Capi, with the intervening region of the Ghetto.

Behind Palazzo Mattei, facing the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, is

the vast **Palazzo Caëtani**, built by Cardinal Alessandro Mattei, but, being forfeited to the Church after his death (for cardinals have only lately been allowed to make a will, on payment of a fine to the Propaganda), was afterwards sold, and became the property of the learned Don Michelangelo Caëtani (Duke of Sermoneta and Prince of Teano), whose family—one of the most distinguished in the mediaeval history of Rome—gave eight cardinals and three popes to the Church, of whom the most celebrated was Boniface VIII.

'Lo principe de' nuovi farisei.'
—*Dante, Inferno*, xxvii.

The Caëtani claim descent from Anatolius, created Count of Caëta by Pope Gregory II. in 730. Among the historic relics preserved in the palace is the sword of Cesare Borgia.

Close to the Palazzo Mattei is the **Church of S. Caterina de' Funari**, built by Giacomo della Porta in 1563, adjoining a convent of Augustinian nuns. The streets in this quarter are interesting as bearing witness in their names to the existence of the Circus Flaminius, the especial circus of the plebs, which once occupied all the ground near this. The **Via delle Botteghe Oscure** commemorates the dark shops which in mediaeval times occupied the lower part of the circus, as they do now that of the Theatre of Marcellus: the **Via dei Funari**, the ropemakers, who took advantage for their work of the light and open space which the interior of the deserted circus afforded. The remains of the circus existed to the sixteenth century.

Near this, turning right, is the **Piazza di Campitelli**, which contains the **Church of S. Maria in Campitelli**, built by Rinaldi for Alexander VII. in 1659, upon the site of an oratory erected by S. Galla in the time of John I. (523–6), in honour of the Virgin, who one day miraculously appeared imploring her charity, in company with the twelve poor women to whom she was daily in the habit of giving alms. The oratory of S. Galla was called S. Maria in Portico, from the neighbouring portico of Octavia, a name which is sometimes applied to the present church. A likeness of the mendicant Virgin, as she appeared to S. Galla, in gold outline on a sapphire, is now enshrined in gold and lapis-lazuli over the high altar, and is supposed to protect Rome from contagious diseases. Other relics supposed to be preserved here are the bodies of S. Cyriaca, S. Victoria, and S. Vincenza, and half that of S. Barbara! The second chapel on the right has a picture of the Descent of the Holy Ghost by *Luca Giordano;* in the first chapel on the left is the tomb of Prince Altieri, inscribed 'Umbra,' and that of his wife, Donna Laura di Carpegna, inscribed 'Nihil;' they rest on lions of rosso-antico. In the right transept is the tomb by *Pettrich* of Cardinal Pacca, who lived in the Palazzo Pacca, on the opposite side of the square, and was the faithful friend of Pius VII. in his exile. The bas-relief on the tomb, of S. Peter delivered by the Angel, is in allusion to the deliverance from the French captivity. A much-honoured image of the Virgin, made in *opus*

sectile, a mosaic of precious stones, was carried off from this church by Paul II., an indefatigable antiquity collector, to his private museum.

The name Campitelli (sometimes described as a corruption of *Capitolian*) is probably derived from Campus teli, because in this neighbourhood (see Chap. XIV.) was the Columna Bellica, from which, when war was declared, a dart was thrown into a plot of ground, representing the hostile territory—perhaps the very site of this church.

In the street behind this, leading into the Via di Ara-Coeli, are the remains of the ancient **Palazzo Margana**, where Ignatius Loyola stayed when he came to Rome, with a very richly sculptured gateway of *c.* 1350.

Opening from hence upon the left is the **Via Tor di Specchi**, whose name commemorates the legend of Virgil as a necromancer, and of his magic tower lined with mirrors, in which all the secrets of the city were reflected and brought to light.

Here is the famous **Convent of the Tor di Specchi**, founded by S. Francesca Romana, and open to the public during the octave of the anniversary of her death (following the 9th March). At this time the pavements are strewn with box, the halls and galleries are bright with fresh flowers, and guards are posted at the different turnings to facilitate the circulation of visitors. It is a beautiful specimen of a Roman convent. The first hall is painted with ancient frescoes, representing scenes in the life of the saint. Here, on a table, is the large bowl in which S. Francesca prepared ointment for the poor. Other relics are her veil, shoes, &c. Passing a number of open cloisters, cheerful with flowers and orange-trees, we reach the chapel, where sermons, or rather lectures, are delivered at the anniversary upon the story of S. Francesca's life, and where her embalmed body may be seen beneath the altar. A staircase, seldom seen, but used especially by Francesca, is only ascended by the nuns upon their knees. It leads to her cell and a small chapel, black with age, and preserved as when she used them. The picturesque dress of the Oblate Sisters, who are everywhere visible, adds to the interest of the scene.

'It is no gloomy abode, the Convent of the Tor di Specchi, even in the eyes of those who cannot understand the happiness of a nun. It is such a place as one loves to see children in; where religion is combined with everything that pleases the eye and recreates the mind. The beautiful chapel; the garden with its magnificent orange-trees; the open galleries, with their fanciful decorations and scenic recesses, where a holy picture or figure takes you by surprise, and meets you at every turn; the light airy rooms, where religious prints and ornaments, with flowers, birds, and ingenious toys, testify that innocent enjoyments are encouraged and smiled upon; while from every window may be caught a glimpse of the Eternal City, a spire, a ruined wall—something that speaks of Rome and its thousand charms.

'It was on the 21st of March, the festival of S. Benedict, that Francesca herself entered the convent, not as the foundress, but as a humble suppliant for admission. At the foot of the stairs, having taken off her customary black gown, her veil, and her shoes, and placed a cord around her neck, she knelt down, kissed the ground, and, shedding an abundance of tears, made her general confession aloud in the presence of all the Oblates; she described herself as a

miserable sinner, a grievous offender against God, and asked permission to dwell amongst them as the meanest of their servants; and to learn from them to amend her life and enter upon a holier course. The spiritual daughters of Francesca hastened to raise and embrace her; and clothing her with their habit, they led the way to the chapel, where they all returned thanks to God. While she remained there in prayer, Agnese de Lellis, the superioress, assembled the sisters in the chapter-room, and declared to them, that now their true mother and foundress had come amongst them, it would be absurd for her to remain in her present office; that Francesca was their guide, their head, and that into her hands she should instantly resign her authority. They all applauded her decision, and gathering round the Saint, announced to her their wishes. As was to be expected, Francesca strenuously refused to accede to this proposal, and pleaded her inability for the duties of a superioress. The Oblates had recourse to Don Giovanni, the confessor of Francesca, who began by entreating, and finally commanded her acceptance of the charge. His order she never resisted; and accordingly, on the 25th of March, she was duly elected to that office.'—*Lady Georgiana Fullerton's 'Life of S. Francesca Romana.'*

'S. Francesca Romana is represented in the dress of a Benedictine nun, a black robe and a white hood or veil; and her proper attribute is an angel, who holds in his hand the book of the Office of the Virgin, open at the words, "*Tenuisti manum dexteram meam, et in voluntate tua deduxisti me, et cum gloria suscepisti me*" (Ps. lxxiii. 23, 24); which attribute is derived from an incident thus narrated in the acts of her canonisation. Though unwearied in her devotions, yet if, during her prayers, she was called away by her husband on any domestic duty, she would close her book, saying that "a wife and a mother, when called upon, must quit her God at the altar, and find him in her household affairs." Now it happened once that, in reciting the Office of our Lady, she was called away four times just as she was beginning the same verse, and, returning the fifth time, she found that verse written upon the page in letters of golden light by the hand of her guardian angel.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 151.

Almost opposite the convent is the **Via del Monte Tarpeio**, a narrow alley, leading up to the foot of what is believed to be the Tarpeian Rock beneath the Palazzo Caffarelli, and one of the points at which the Rock was best seen. This spot is believed to have been the site of the house of Spurius Maelius, who tried to ingratiate himself with the people by buying up corn and distributing it in a year of scarcity (B.C. 440), but who was in consequence put to death by the patricians. His house was razed to the ground, and its site being always kept vacant, went by the name of Aequimaelium.[1] Part of the primitive fortress wall of the Capitol remains at the edge of the perpendicular rock. The rock as seen here is the best existing remnant of the perpendicular cliffs which were such a characteristic of the hills of ancient Rome, as they still are of Ardea, Veii, and many other ancient sites.

[1] Livy, iv. 16; xxxviii. 28.

CHAPTER VI

THE PALATINE

The Story of the Hill—Orti Farnesiani—The Via Nova—Roma Quadrata—The houses of the early kings—Palace of Domitian and Vespasian—Crypto-Porticus—Temple of Jupiter-Victor—The Lupercal and the hut of Faustulus—Palace of Tiberius—Palace of Caligula—Clivus Victoriae—Ruins of the kingly period—Altar of the Genius Loci—House of Hortensius—Palace of Augustus—Stadium—Septizonium of Severus.

THE Palatine may be visited daily, from 9 A.M. to sunset, admission 1 fr.; on Sundays, after 10 A.M., free.

'The Palatine formed a trapezium of solid rock, two sides of which were about 300 yards in length, the others about 400: the area of its summit, to compare it with a familiar object, was nearly equal to the space between Pall Mall and Piccadilly in London.'[1]

The history of the Palatine is the history of the city of Rome. Here was Roma Quadrata, the 'oppidum' or fortress of the Pelasgi, of which the only remaining trace is the name Roma, signifying force. This is the fortress where the shepherd-king Evander is represented by Virgil as welcoming Aeneas.

The Pelasgic fortress was enclosed by Romulus within the limits of his new city, which, 'after the Etruscan fashion, he traced round the foot of the hill with a plough drawn by a bull and a heifer, the furrow being carefully made to fall inwards, and the heifer yoked to the near side, to signify that strength and courage were required without, obedience and fertility within the city.[2] . . . The locality thus enclosed was reserved for the temples of the gods and the residence of the ruling class, the class of patricians or burghers, as Niebuhr has taught us to entitle them, which predominated over the dependent commons, and only suffered them to crouch for security under the walls of Romulus. The Palatine was never occupied by the plebs. In the last age of the republic, long after the removal of this partition, or of the civil distinction between the great classes of the state, here was still the chosen site of the mansions of the highest nobility.'[3]

In the time of the early kings the city of Rome was represented

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[1] Merivale, '*Hist. of Romans under the Empire*,' chap. xl.

[2] The boundary thus formed was called the *pomoerium*, from *post moerium*, 'beyond the wall.'

[3] Merivale, chap. xl.

by the Palatine only. It was at first divided into two parts, one inhabited, and the other called Velia, and left for the grazing of cattle. It had two gates, the Porta Romana to the north-east, and the Porta Mugonia—so called from the lowing of the cattle—to the south-east, on the side of the Velia.

Augustus was born on the Palatine, and dwelt there in common with other patrician citizens in his youth. After he became emperor he still lived there, but simply, and in the house of Hortensius, till, on its destruction by fire, the people of Rome insisted upon building him a palace more worthy of their ruler. This building was the foundation-stone of 'the Palace of the Caesars,' which in time overran the whole hill, and, under Nero, two of the neighbouring hills besides, and whose ruins are daily being disinterred and recognised, though much confusion still remains regarding their respective sites. In A.D. 663, part of the palace remained sufficiently perfect to be inhabited by the Emperor Constans, and its plan is believed to have been entire for a century after, but it never really recovered its sack by Genseric in A.D. 455, in which it was completely gutted, even of the commonest furniture; and as years passed on it became embedded in the soil which has so marvellously enshrouded all the ancient buildings of Rome, so that till 1861 only a few broken nameless walls were visible above ground.

'Cypress and ivy, weed and wallflower grown,
Matted and mass'd together, hillocks heap'd
On what were chambers, arch crush'd, columns strown
In fragments, choked-up vaults, and frescoes steep'd
In subterranean damps, where the owl peep'd,
Deeming it midnight:—Temples, baths, or halls?
Pronounce who can; for all that Learning reap'd
From her research has been, that these are walls.—
Behold the Imperial Mount! 'Tis thus the mighty falls.'
—*Byron, 'Childe Harold.'*

How different is this description to that of Claudian (*De Sexto Consulat. Honorii*):—

'The Palatine, proud Rome's imperial seat,
(An awful pile) stands venerably great:
Thither the kingdoms and the nations come
In supplicating crowds to learn their doom:
To Delphi less th' inquiring worlds repair,
Nor does a greater god inhabit there:
This sure the pompous mansion was design'd
To please the mighty rulers of mankind;
Inferior temples rise on either hand,
And on the borders of the palace stand,
While o'er the rest her head she proudly rears,
And lodg'd amidst her guardian gods appears.'
—*Addison's Translation.*

After the middle of the sixteenth century a great part of the Palatine became the property of the Farnese family, latterly represented by the Neapolitan Bourbons, who sold the 'Orti Farnesiani,' in 1861, to the Emperor Napoleon III., for £10,000. It is curious

that the possession of 'the Palace of the Caesars' should have been the only relic of his empire remaining to Napoleon during his exile in England, when he sold it to the city of Rome. Up to 1861 this part of the Palatine was a vast kitchen-garden, broken here and there by picturesque groups of ilex trees and fragments of mouldering wall. In one corner was a casino of the Farnese (still standing), designed by Raffaellino da Colle, adorned in fresco by some of the other pupils of Raffaelle. This, and all the later buildings in the 'Orti,' are marked with the Farnese *fleur-de-lis*, and on the principal staircase of the garden is some really grand distemper ornament of their time. The side of the hill, beyond the Villa Mills, has always presented a striking mass of picturesque ruins, and was formerly approached from the Via S. Sebastiano, but is now united to the other ruins. After 1861 extensive excavations were carried on upon the Palatine, for the most part under the superintendence of Signor Rosa, which have resulted in the discovery of the palaces of some of the earliest emperors, and the substructions of several temples.

'The Farnese Gardens were, if not unique, certainly a very rare specimen of a cinquecento Roman villa and of the taste which prevailed at that period in laying out pleasure grounds, in which very little work was left to nature itself, and nearly everything to the mason and plasterer. Still the Farnese gardens were born with a heavy original sin—that of concealing, of disfiguring, and of cutting piecemeal the magnificent ruins of the imperial palace.'—*R. Lanciani*, 1882.

Till the fall of the Papacy, the Palace of the Caesars was probably the most beautiful ruin in the world. It has nothing left but its historic interest: all the exquisite shrubs and flowers which adorned its walls have been torn away, and the grass and flowers with which nature re-covers its vast halls every week are weeded away as fast as they appear, so that the ruins are now little more than featureless walls dispersed over a succession of ploughed fields.

In visiting the Palace of the Caesars, it will naturally be asked how it is known that the different buildings are what they are described to be. In a great measure this has been ascertained from the descriptions of Tacitus and other historians,—but the greatest assistance of all has been obtained from the 'Tristia' of Ovid, who, while in exile, consoles himself by recalling the different buildings of his native city, which he mentions in describing the route taken by his book, which he had persuaded a friend to convey to the imperial library. He supposes the book to enter the Palatine by the Clivus Victoriae, behind the Temple of Vesta, and follows its course, remarking the different objects it passed on the right or the left.

After the state palace of Augustus was built, a street called Vicus Apollinis led to the palace from the Via Sacra. At the entrance an archway was erected bearing a chariot drawn by four horses, driven by Apollo and Diana, a masterpiece of Lysias. Some remains of this archway existed as late as 1575. Entering the palace from this side, opposite SS. Cosmo e Damiano, we had better only ascend

the first division of the staircase and then turn to the left.[1] Passing along the lower ridge of the Palatine, afterwards occupied by many of the great patrician houses, whose sites we shall return to and examine in detail, we reach that corner of the garden which is nearest to the Arch of Titus. Here a paved road of large blocks of lava has lately been laid bare, and is identified beyond a doubt as part of the Via Nova, which led from the Porta Mugonia of the Palatine along the base of the hill to the Velabrum, and which in the reign of Augustus was made to communicate also with the Forum. At this point the road was called **Summa Via Nova.**

Near this spot must have been the site of the house where Octavius lived with his wife Atia, the niece of Julius Caesar (daughter of his eldest sister Julia), and where their son, Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus, was born. This house afterwards passed into the possession of C. Laetorius, a patrician; but, after the death of Augustus, part of it was turned into a chapel, and consecrated to him. It was situated at the top of a staircase—'supra scalas anularias'[2]—which probably led to the Forum, and is spoken of as 'ad capita bubula,' perhaps from bulls' heads, with which it may have been decorated.

Here we find ourselves, owing to the excavations, in a deep hollow between the two divisions of the hill. On the left is the Velia, upon which, near the Porta Mugonia, the Sabine king, Ancus Martius, had his palace. When Ancus died, he was succeeded by an Etruscan stranger, Lucius Tarquinius, who took the name of Tarquinius Priscus. This king also lived upon the Velia,[3] with Tanaquil, his queen, and here he was murdered in a popular rising, caused by the sons of his predecessor. Here his brave wife Tanaquil closed the doors, concealed the death of the king, harangued the people from the windows,[4] and so gained time till Servius Tullius was prepared to take the dead king's place and avenge his murder.[5] The Porta Mugonia was probably the *veterem portam Palatii* of Livy (i. 12) through which the Romans fled when repulsed by the Sabines of the Capitol.

Keeping to the valley, on our right are now some huge blocks of tufa, almost crumbled from exposure into mere heaps of volcanic earth, but of interest as part of the ancient walls usually called the **Walls of Romulus**, now discovered at six different places on the hill. The remains cannot, as at one time thought, be identified with Roma Quadrata, an altar which an account of the *ludi*

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1 This entrance is (1886) now only open on public days; the other entrance is close to S. Teodoro, whence it is a considerable walk to this point. A first visit, therefore, may be best paid on a public day. Here stood, till it was pulled down in 1884, the Farnese gateway, a fine work of Vignola in the sixteenth century. An order to draw in the Palace of the Caesars must be obtained at the Ministero, Piazza della Minerva. It is impossible to follow a chronological order in visiting the remains on the Palatine.

2 Sueton. *Aug.* 72. 3 Livy, i. 41. 4 Ibid.

5 The palace of Numa was close to the Temple of Vesta; that of Tullus Hostilius was on the Coelian; those of Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus on the Esquiline.

saeculares of 204 A.D. mentions as 'on the Palatine, before the Temple of Apollo, within the portico' (of the Danaids). Beyond this, on the right, is a mass of concrete belonging to the foundations of a tower built by the Frangipani to defend their property on the Palatine.[1]

Nearly opposite, on the left, are some remains considered to be those of the Porta Palatii. On the blocks of tufa, in a drain shaft close to the foundations, the names of two Greek stonemasons, Diocles and Philocrates, appear.

The valley is now blocked by a vast mass of building which entirely closes it. This is the Flavian Palace, built in the valley between the Velia and the other eminence of the Palatine, which Rosa, contrary to other opinions, identifies with the Germalus. The division of the Palatine thus named was reckoned as one of 'the seven hills' of ancient Rome. Its name was thought to be derived from Germani, owing to Romulus and Remus being found in its vicinity.[2]

Vespasian and Titus, in A.D. 70, began to fill up the hollow of the Palatine and to build the Flavian Palace upon it, using any existing buildings as a support for their own, filling the chambers of the earlier building entirely up with earth, so that they became a solid massive foundation. The ruins which we visit are thus those of the Flavian Palace, and were its state-rooms—aedes publicae—but from one of its halls we can descend into earlier rooms, perhaps of the time of Augustus. The three projecting rostra which we now see in front of the palace are restorations by Signor Rosa. As the palace of Domitian, the upper buildings are described by the courtier-poet Statius.[3]

The palace on the Palatine was not the place where the emperors generally lived. They resided at their villas, and came into the town to the Palace of the Caesars for the transaction of public business. Thus this palace was, as it were, the St. James's of Rome. Nerva inscribed 'Aedes Publicae' on its external wall, to impress upon the Roman people its public character. The fatigue and annoyance of a public arrival every morning, amid the crowd of clients who always waited upon the imperial footsteps, was naturally very great, and to obviate this the emperors made use of a subterranean passage which ran round the whole building, and by which they were enabled to arrive unobserved, and not to present themselves in public till their appearance upon the rostra in front of the building to receive the morning salutations of their people.

If we turn to the right, beneath the garden which now covers the greater part of the hill of Germalus, we shall find an entrance to this passage, following which, we will ascend with the emperor into his palace.

The passage, called **Crypto-Porticus**, is still quite perfect, and

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[1] Dionysius, ii. 50; Livy, i. 12.
[2] Varr. iv. 8.
[3] *Silv.* iv. 11, 18.

retains a great part of its mosaic pavements and much of its inlaid ceilings, from which the gilt mosaic has been picked out, but the pattern is still traceable. The passage was lighted from above. It was by this route that S. Laurence was led up for trial in the basilica of the palace. Recent authorities also point it out as the scene of the murder of Domitian (see later). After some distance the passage is joined by one of more recent date, with stucco ornament, leading to the palace of Tiberius. But, before this, let us turn to the left, and mounting a staircase, emerge again upon the upper level.

The emperor here reached the palace, but as he did not yet wish to appear in public, he turned to the left by the private passage called **Fauces**, which still remains, running behind the main halls of the building. Here he was received by the different members of the imperial family, much as Napoleon III. was received by Princess Mathilde, Clotilde, and the Murats, in a private apartment at the Tuileries, before entering the ball-room. Hence, passing across the end of the basilica, the emperor reached the portico in front of the palace, looking down upon the hollow space where were the Temple of Jupiter Stator and the other buildings connected with the early history of the Roman state. Here the whole court received him and escorted him to the central rostra where he had his public reception from the people assembled below, and whence perhaps he addressed to them a few words of morning salutation in return. The attendants meanwhile defiled on either side to the lower terraced elevation, which still remains.

This ceremony being gone through, the emperor returned as he came, to the basilica for the transaction of business.

The name Basilica means 'King's House.' It was the ancient Law Court. It usually had a portico, was oblong in form, and ended in an apse for ornament. The Christians adopted it for their places of worship because it was the largest type of building then known. They also adopted the names of the different parts of the pagan basilica, as the chancel, from the *cancellum*, the bar of justice at which the criminal was placed—the tribune, from the *tribunal* of the judge, &c. Our word *chancellor* comes from *cancellarius*, the name given to the chief secretary of the court, who sat within the cancellum. A chapel and sacristy added on either side produced the form of the cross. The **Basilica** here is of great width. A leg of the emperor's chair actually remains, and till lately was *in situ* upon the tribunal, and part of the richly wrought marble bar of the Confession still exists. This was the bar at which S. Laurence and many other Christian martyrs were judged. The basilica in the Palace of the Caesars was also the scene of the trial of Valerius Asiaticus in the time of Claudius (see Chap. II. p. 31), when the Empress Messalina, who was seated near the emperor upon the tribunal, was so overcome by the touching eloquence of the innocent man, that she was obliged to leave the hall to conceal her emotion—but characteristically whispered, as she went out, that the accused must nevertheless on no account be suffered to escape with his

life,[1] that she might take possession of his Pincian Garden, which was as Naboth's vineyard in her eyes. An account is extant which describes how it was necessary to increase the width of the seat upon the tribunal at this period, in consequence of a change in the fashion of dress among the Roman ladies. The colossal statues of Bacchus and Hercules in black basalt, now at Parma, were found here in 1724.

This basilica, though probably not then itself in existence, will always have peculiar interest as showing the form and character of that earlier basilica in the Palace of the Caesars in which S. Paul was tried before Nero; and it is even possible that the palace of Nero, which overran the whole of the hill, may have had its basilica on this site, and that it was here preserved by Vespasian in his later and more contracted palace.

'The appeals from the provinces in civil causes were heard, not by the emperor himself, but by his delegates, who were persons of consular rank; Augustus had appointed one such delegate to hear appeals from each province respectively. But criminal appeals appear generally to have been heard by the emperor in person, assisted by his council of assessors. Tiberius and Claudius had usually sat for this purpose in the Forum; but Nero, after the example of Augustus, heard these causes in the imperial palace, whose ruins still crown the Palatine. Here, at one end of a splendid hall,[2] lined with the precious marbles of Egypt and of Libya, we must imagine Caesar seated in the midst of his assessors. These councillors, twenty in number, were men of the highest rank and greatest influence. Among them were the two consuls and selected representatives of each of the other great magistracies of Rome. The remainder consisted of senators chosen by lot. Over this distinguished bench of judges presided the representative of the most powerful monarchy which has ever existed—the absolute ruler of the whole civilised world.

'Before the tribunal of the blood-stained adulterer Nero, Paul was brought in fetters, under the custody of his military guard. The prosecutors and their witnesses were called forward to support their accusation; for, although the subject-matter for decision was contained in the written depositions forwarded from Judaea by Festus, yet the Roman law required the personal presence of the accusers and the witnesses, whenever it could be obtained. We already know the charges brought against the Apostle. He was accused of disturbing the Jews in the exercise of their worship, which was secured to them by law; of desecrating their Temple; and, above all, of violating the public peace of the empire by perpetual agitation, as the ringleader of a new and factious sect. This charge was the most serious in the view of a Roman statesman; for the crime alleged amounted to *majestas*, or treason against the commonwealth, and was punishable with death.

'These accusations were supported by the emissaries of the Sanhedrim, and probably by the testimony of witnesses from Judaea, Ephesus, Corinth, and the other scenes of Paul's activity. . . . When the parties on both sides had been heard, and the witnesses all examined, the judgment of the court was taken. Each of the assessors gave his opinion in writing to the emperor, who never discussed the judgment with his assessors, as had been the practice of better emperors, but after reading their opinion, gave sentence according to his own pleasure, without reference to the judgment of the majority. On this occasion it might have been expected that he would have pronounced the condemnation

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[1] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 2.

[2] Dion Cassius mentions that the ceilings of Halls of Justice in the Palatine were painted by Severus to represent the starry sky. The old Roman practice was for the magistrate to sit under the open sky, which probably suggested this kind of ceiling.

of the accused, for the influence of Poppaea had now reached its culminating point, and she was a Jewish proselyte. We can scarcely doubt that the emissaries from Palestine would have demanded her aid for the destruction of a traitor to the Jewish faith; nor would any scruples have prevented her listening to their request, backed as it probably was, according to Roman usage, by a bribe. However this may be, the trial resulted in the acquittal of S. Paul. He was pronounced guiltless of the charges brought against him, his fetters were struck off, and he was liberated from his long captivity.'—*Conybeare and Howson.*

Beyond the basilica is the **Tablinum**, the great hall or throne-room of the palace, which served as a kind of commemorative domestic museum, where family statues and pictures were preserved. Huge statues in porphyry and basalt lined the walls, the fashion of these materials having been introduced under Claudius. This vast room was lighted from above, on the plan which may still be seen at S. Maria degli Angeli, which was in fact a great hall of a Roman house. The roof of this hall was one vast arch, unsupported except by the side walls. These immense vaults owe much to the *pozzolana*, of which the hard Roman cement was constructed. We have record, however, of a period when these walls were supposed insufficient for the great weight, and had to be strengthened; in interesting confirmation of which we can still see how the second wall was added and united to the first.

Appropriately opening from the family picture-gallery of the Tablinum was the **Lararium**, a private chapel for the worship of such members of the family—Livia and many others—as were deified after death. An altar on the original site was erected here by Signor Rosa, from bits which have been found. It was probably here that Heliogabalus collected the most precious relics of ancient Rome—the Palladium, the fire of Vesta, the Ancilia, and the stone of Pessinus from the temple of Cybele. The latter was probably a brown stone three feet high, ending in a sharp point, found here by Monsignor Bianchini in 1725, and left uncared for. Under all these halls are still buried chambers of the palace of Domitian.

Hitherto the chambers which we have visited were open to the public; beyond this, none but his immediate family and attendants could follow the emperor. We now enter the **Peristyle**, a courtyard which was open to the sky, but surrounded with arcades ornamented with statues, where we may imagine that the empresses amused themselves with their birds and flowers. Suetonius describes Domitian as walking in the colonnades of this court, secure from interruption and danger, the walls of marble being so highly polished, that the emperor could see reflected in them any one who was approaching from behind. The decorations were of *porta santa* and white marble. Hence, by a narrow staircase, we can descend into rooms of an earlier house of the late Republic which formerly stood in the valley between the two divisions of the Palatine unearthed, which retain remains of gilding and fresco, and an artistic group in stucco. When first discovered in 1726, the first room was covered with exquisite arabesques on a gold ground. An original window remains, and it will be recollected, on looking

at it, that when this was built it was not subterranean, but merely in the hollow of the valley afterwards filled up.

We now reach the **Triclinium** or dining-room, surrounded by a skirting of pavonazzetto with a cornice of giallo. The apse has a beautiful *opus sectile* pavement. Tacitus describes a scene in the imperial triclinium, in which the Emperor Tiberius is represented as reclining at dinner, having on one side his aged mother, the Empress Livia, and on the other his niece Agrippina, widow of Germanicus and grand-daughter of the great Augustus.[1] It was while the imperial family were seated at a banquet in the triclinium, of the time of Nero, that his young step-brother Britannicus (son of Claudius and Messalina) swallowed the cup of poison which the Emperor had caused Locusta to prepare, and sank back dead upon his couch, his wretched sisters Antonia and Octavia, also seated at the ghastly feast, not daring to give expression to their grief and horror—and Nero merely desiring the attendants to carry the boy out, and saying that it was a fit to which he was subject.[2] Here it was that Marcia, the concubine, presented the cup of drugged wine to the wicked Commodus, on his return from a wild-beast hunt, and produced the heavy slumber during which he was strangled by the wrestler Narcissus. In this very room also his successor Pertinax, who had spent his short reign of three months in trying to reform the State, resuscitate the finances, and to heal, as far as possible, 'the wounds inflicted by the hand of tyranny,' received the news that the guard, impatient of unwonted discipline, had risen against him, and going forth to meet his assassins, fell, covered with wounds, just in front of the palace.[3]

Vitruvius says that every well-arranged Roman house has a dining-room opening into a nymphaeum ; and accordingly here, on the right, is a **Nymphaeum**, with a beautiful fountain surrounded by miniature niches, once filled with bronzes and statues. Water was conveyed hither by the Neronian aqueduct. The pavement of this room was of oriental alabaster, of which fragments remain. Large windows opened from the Nymphaeum to the Triclinium, that the banqueters might be refreshed by the splash of the fountain.

The magnificence of the **Palace of Domitian** (Imp. A.D. 81–96) is extolled in the inflated verses of Statius, who describes the imperial dwelling as exciting the jealousy of the abode of Jupiter—as losing itself amongst the stars by its height, and rising above the clouds into the full splendour of the sunshine ! Such was the extravagance displayed by Domitian in these buildings, that Plutarch compares him to Midas, who wished everything to be made of gold. This probably was the scene of many of the tyrannical vagaries of Domitian.

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[1] *Ann.* iv. 54.
[2] Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 18 ; Suet. *Ner.* 33 ; Dion. lxi. 7.
[3] See Gibbon, i. 133.

'"Having once made a great feast for the citizens, he proposed," says Dion, "to follow it up with an entertainment to a select number of the highest nobility. He fitted up an apartment all in black. The ceiling was black, the walls were black, the pavement was black, and upon it were ranged rows of bare stone seats, black also. The guests were introduced at night without their attendants, and each might see at the head of his couch a column placed, like a tombstone, on which his own name was graven, with the cresset lamp above, such as is suspended in the tombs. Presently there entered a troop of naked boys, blackened, who danced around with horrid movements, and then stood still before them, offering them the fragments of food which are commonly presented to the dead. The guests were paralysed with terror, expecting at every moment to be put to death; and the more, as the others maintained a deep silence, as though they were dead themselves, and Domitian spake of things pertaining to the state of the departed only." But this funeral feast was not destined to end tragically. Caesar happened to be in a sportive mood, and when he had sufficiently enjoyed his jest, and had sent his visitors home expecting worse to follow, he bade each to be presented with the silver cup and platter on which his dismal supper had been served, and with the slave, now neatly washed and apparelled, who had waited upon him. Such, said the populace, was the way in which it pleased the emperor to solemnise the funeral banquet of the victims of his defeats in Dacia, and of his persecutions in the city.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxii.

It was in this palace, perhaps in the existing Crypto Porticus, that the murder of Domitian took place.

'Of the three great deities, the august assessors in the Capitol, Minerva was regarded by Domitian as his special patroness. Her image stood by his bedside; his customary oath was by her divinity. But now a dream apprised him that the guardian of his person was disarmed by the guardian of the empire, and that Jupiter had forbidden his daughter to protect her favourite any longer. Scared by these horrors, he lost all self-control, and petulantly cried, and the cry was itself a portent: "Now strike Jove whom he will!" From supernatural terrors, he reverted again and again to earthly fears and suspicions. Henceforward the tyrant allowed none to be admitted to his presence without being previously searched; and he caused the ends of the corridor in which he took exercise to be lined with polished marble, to reflect the image of any one behind him; and at the same time he inquired anxiously into the horoscope of every chief whom he might fear as a possible rival or successor.

'The victim of superstition had long since, it was said, ascertained too surely the year, the day, the hour which should prove fatal to him. He had learnt too that he was to die by the sword. . . . The omens were now closing about the victim, and his terrors became more importunate and overwhelming. "Something," he exclaimed, "is about to happen, which men shall talk of all the world over." Drawing a drop of blood from a pimple on his forehead, "May this be all," he added. His attendants, to reassure him, declared that the hour had passed. Embracing the flattering tale with alacrity, and rushing at once to the extreme of confidence, he announced that the danger was over, and that he would bathe and dress for the evening repast. But the danger was just then ripening within the walls of the palace. The mysteries there enacted, few, indeed, could penetrate, and the account of Domitian's fall has been coloured by invention and fancy. The story that a child, whom he suffered to attend in his private chamber, found by chance the tablets which he had placed under his pillow, and that the empress, on inspecting them, and finding herself, with his most familiar servants, designated for execution, contrived a plot for his assassination, is one so often repeated as to cause great suspicion. But neither can we accept the version of Philostratus, who would have us believe that the murder of Domitian was the deed of a single traitor, a freedman of Clemens, named Stephanus, who, indignant at his patron's death, and urged to fury by the sentence on his patron's wife, Domitilla, rushed alone into the tyrant's chamber, diverted his attention with a frivolous pretext, and smote him with the sword he bore concealed in his sleeve. It is more likely that the design, however it originated, was common to several of the household, and that means were taken among them to disarm the victim and baffle his cries for assistance.

Stephanus, who is said to have excelled in personal strength, may have been employed to deal the blow; for not more, perhaps, than one attendant would be admitted at once into the presence. Struck in the groin, but not mortally, Domitian snatched at his own weapon, but found the sword removed from its scabbard. He then clutched the assassin's dagger, cutting his own fingers to the bone; then desperately thrust the bloody talons into the eyes of his assailant, and beat his head with a golden goblet, shrieking all the time for help. Thereupon in rushed Parthenius, Maximus, and others, and despatched him as he lay writhing on the pavement.'—*Merivale*, ch. lxii.

'Gibbon has described the hopeless condition of one who should attempt to fly from the wrath of the almost omnipresent imperator. But this dire impossibility of escape was in the end dreadfully retaliated upon that imperator: persecutors and traitors were found everywhere; and the vindictive or the ambitious subject found himself as omnipresent as the jealous or offended emperor. There was no escape open, says Gibbon, *from* Caesar; true; but neither was there any escape *for* Caesar. The crown of the Caesars was therefore a crown of thorns; and it must be admitted, that never in this world have rank and power been purchased at so awful a cost of tranquillity and peace of mind. The steps of Caesar's throne were absolutely saturated with the blood of those who had possessed it: and so inexorable was the murderous fate which overhung that gloomy existence, that at length it demanded the spirit of martyrdom in him who ventured to ascend it.'—*De Quincey*, '*The Caesars*.'

We now reach the portico which closed the principal apartments of the palace on the south-west. Some of its Corinthian pillars have been re-erected on the sites where they were found. From hence we can look down upon some grand walls of republican times, formed of huge tufa blocks, which have been buried under the artificial platform of Domitian.

Passing a space of ground, called, without much authority, *Biblioteca*, we reach a small **Theatre** on the edge of the hill, interesting as described by Pliny, and because the Emperor Vespasian, who is known to have been especially fond of reciting his own compositions, probably did so here. Hence we may look down upon the valley between the Palatine and Aventine, where the rape of the Sabines took place, and upon the site of the Circus Maximus. From hence we may imagine that the later emperors surveyed the hunts and games in that circus, when they did not care to descend into the amphitheatre itself.

Beyond this, on the right, is (partially restored) the grand staircase leading to the platform once occupied by the **Temple of Jupiter Victor**, vowed by Fabius Maximus during the Samnite war, in the assurance that he would gain the victory. On the steps is a sacrificial altar, which retains its grooves for the blood of the victims, with an inscription stating that it was erected by 'Cn. Domitius M. F. Calvinus, Pontifex'—who was a general under Julius Caesar, and consul 53 B.C. and 40 B.C. The altar does not belong to the temple, but to a place near the Regia in the Forum. Lanciani considers the temple to have been that of Jupiter Propugnator. Beneath the temple are subterranean chambers used as cisterns for storing water.

Opposite the temple are remains of a large *hypocaust*, the under floor of which remains, with the square pilae on which the upper floor rested.

We now reach a broad flight of steps cut in the tufa rock, pro-

bably the Scalae Caci of Solinus,[1] called from the hut of Cacus, the friend of Hercules, at their foot. A little chamber in the tufa wall which flanks the stairs was probably a fountain or cistern.

Here stood a little Temple of Hercules and the wild cornel or cherry tree, supposed to have grown from the spear of Romulus, surrounded by a stone fence, whence oracles were supposed to proceed, as from the oak groves of the ancient Israelites. When the steps were widened by Caligula, he interfered with the roots of the cornel tree, and it died. He altered the steps that he might more easily reach his jockeys in the Circus Maximus. This staircase formed the escape to the Aventine used by Caius Gracchus. Vitellius also escaped this way when the city was taken by the generals of Vespasian in December 69; and Otho descended these stairs when he was going to murder Galba. Near the top of the stairs fragments of very early black pottery have been found. On the right of the descent, nearly at the top, are remains of a drain, a stone channel, with tufa slabs to cover it. A street, with shops, here ran beneath the palace of Tiberius.

Beyond this, for some distance, we find no remains, because this space was always kept clear: for here, constantly renewed, stood the **Hut of Faustulus and the Sacred Fig-tree.**[2]

'The old Roman legend ran as follows: Procas, king of Alba, left two sons. Numitor, the elder, being weak and spiritless, suffered Amulius to wrest the government from him, and reduce him to his father's private estates. In the enjoyment of these he lived rich, and, as he desired nothing more, secure; but the usurper dreaded the claims that might be set up by heirs of a different character. He had Numitor's son murdered, and appointed his daughter, Silvia, one of the Vestal virgins.

'Amulius had no children, or at least only one daughter: so that the race of Anchises and Aphrodite seemed on the point of expiring, when the love of a god prolonged it, in spite of the ordinances of man, and gave it a lustre worthy of its origin. Silvia had gone into the sacred grove to draw water from the spring for the service of the temple. The sun quenched its rays: the sight of a wolf made her fly into a cave: there Mars overpowered the timid virgin, and then consoled her with the promise of noble children, as Poseidon consoled Tyro, the daughter of Salmoneus. But he did not protect her from the tyrant, nor could the protestations of her innocence save her. Vesta herself seemed to demand the condemnation of the unfortunate priestess; for at the moment when she was delivered of twins, the image of the goddess hid its eyes, her altar trembled, and her fire died away. Amulius ordered that the mother and her babes should be drowned in the river. In the Anio Silvia exchanged her earthly life for that of a goddess. The river carried the bole or cradle, in which the children were lying, into the Tiber, which had overflowed its banks far and wide, even to the foot of the woody hills. At the root of a wild fig-tree, the *Ficus ruminalis*, which was preserved and held sacred for many centuries, at the foot of the Palatine, the cradle overturned. A she-wolf came to drink of the stream: she heard the whimpering of the children, carried them into her den hard by, made a bed for them, licked and suckled them.[3] When they wanted other food than milk, a woodpecker, the bird sacred to Mars, brought it to them. Other birds consecrated to auguries hovered over them, to drive away insects. This marvellous spectacle was seen by Faustulus, the shepherd of the royal flocks. The

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[1] i. 18.

[2] A fig-tree was always sacred, and is so still in India and South America.

[3] There is nothing impossible in this story. Well-authenticated instances were collected by Major Sleeman, in India, of boys carried off by wolves and nurtured by them.

she-wolf drew back, and gave up the children to human nature. Acca Laurentia, his wife, became their foster-mother. They grew up, along with her twelve sons, on the Palatine hill, in straw huts which they built for themselves: that of Romulus was preserved by continual repairs, as a sacred relic, down to the time of Nero. They were the stoutest of the shepherd lads, fought bravely against wild beasts and robbers, maintaining their right against every one by their might, and turning might into right. Their booty they shared with their comrades. The followers of Romulus were called Quinctilii, those of Remus Fabii: the seeds of discord were soon sown amongst them. Their wantonness engaged them in disputes with the shepherds of the wealthy Numitor, who fed their flocks on Mount Aventine: so that here, as in the story of Evander and Cacus, we find the quarrel between the Palatine and the Aventine in the tales of the remotest times. Remus was taken by the stratagem of these shepherds, and dragged to Alba as a robber. A secret foreboding, the remembrance of his grandsons, awakened by the story of the two brothers, kept Numitor from pronouncing a hasty sentence. The culprits' foster-father hastened with Romulus to the city, and told the old man and the youths of their kindred. They resolved to avenge their own wrong and that of their house. With their faithful comrades, whom the dangers of Remus had brought to the city, they slew the king, and the people of Alba again became subject to Numitor.

'But love for the home which fate had assigned them drew the youths back to the banks of the Tiber, to found a city there, and the shepherds, their old companions, were their first citizens. . . . This is the old tale, as it was written by Fabius, and sung in ancient lays down to the time of Dionysius.'—*Niebuhr's 'History of Rome.'*

The tufa foundations of the hut were discovered in 1872, and still partially exist.

In the cliff of the Palatine, below the fig-tree (*Ficus ruminalis*), was shown for many centuries the cavern Lupercal, sacred from the earliest times to the Pelasgic god Pan.

> 'Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum
> Retulit, et gelidâ monstrat sub rupe Lupercal,
> Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.'
> —*Virgil, Aen.* viii. 342.

'La louve, nourrice de Romulus, a peut-être été imaginée en raison des rapports mythologiques qui existaient entre le loup et Pan, défenseur des troupeaux. Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que les fêtes lupercales gardèrent le caractère du dieu en l'honneur duquel elles avaient été primitivement instituées et l'empreinte d'une origine pélasgique; ces fêtes au temps de Cicéron avaient encore un caractère pastoral en mémoire de l'Arcadie d'où on les croyait venues. Les Luperques qui représentaient les Satyres, compagnons de Pan, faisaient le tour de l'antique séjour des Pélasges sur le Palatin. Ces hommes nus allaient frappant avec les lanières de peau de bouc, l'animal lascif par excellence, les femmes pour les rendre fécondes; des fêtes analogues se célébraient en Arcadie sous le nom de Lukéia (les fêtes des loups), dont le mot *lupercales* est une traduction.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* i. 143.

When M. Furius, 390 B.C., appealed to the senate in an impassioned speech not to desert the sacred spots of Rome, this was especially mentioned—'*casa illa conditoris nostri.*' In the hut were preserved several objects venerated as relics of Romulus.

'On conservait le bâton augural avec lequel Romulus avait dessiné sur le ciel, suivant le rite étrusque, l'espace où s'était manifesté le grand auspice des douze vautours dans lesquels Rome crut voir la promesse des douze siècles qu'en effet le destin devait lui accorder. Tous les augures se servirent par la suite de ce bâton sacré, qui fut trouvé intact après l'incendie du monument dans lequel il était conservé, miracle païen dont l'équivalent pourrait se rencontrer dans plus d'une légende de la Rome chrétienne. On montrait le cornouiller né du bois de la lance que Romulus, avec la vigueur surhumaine d'un demi-dieu, avait jetée de

l'Aventin sur le Palatin, où elle s'était enfoncée dans la terre et avait produit un grand arbre.

'On montrait sur le Palatin le berceau et la cabane de Romulus. Plutarque a vu ce berceau, le *Santo-Presepio* des anciens Romains, qui était attaché avec des liens d'airain, et sur lequel on avait tracé des caractères mystérieux. La cabane était à un seul étage, en planches et couverte de roseaux, que l'on reconstruisait pieusement chaque fois qu'une incendie la détruisait; car elle brûla à diverses reprises, ce que la nature des matériaux dont elle était formée fait croire facilement. J'ai vu dans les environs de Rome un cabaret rustique dont la toiture était exactement pareille à celle de la cabane de Romulus.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* i. 342.

Turning along the terrace which overhangs the Velabrum, we reach a block of buildings crowned with ilex trees, supposed to be remains of the most famous of the **Temples of Cybele**—*aedes Magnae Deum matris.* The temple was identified from the colossal female figure found near it in 1872. Thirteen years before it was built, the 'Sacred Stone,' the form under which the 'Idaean Mother' was worshipped, had been brought from Pessinus in Phrygia, because, according to the Sibylline books, frequent showers of stones which had occurred could only be expiated by its being transported to Rome. It was given up to the Romans by their ally Attalus, king of Pergamus, and P. Cornelius Scipio, the younger brother of Africanus—accounted the worthiest and most virtuous of the Romans—was sent to receive it. As the vessel bearing the holy stone came up the Tiber, it grounded at the foot of the Aventine, when the aruspices declared that only chaste hands would be able to move it. Then the Vestal Claudia drew the vessel up the river by a rope.

'Ainsi Sainte Brigitte, Suédoise morte à Rome, prouva sa pureté en touchant le bois de l'autel, qui reverdit soudain. Une statue fut érigée à Claudia dans le vestibule du temple de Cybèle. Bien qu'elle eût été, disait-on, seule épargnée dans deux incendies du temple, nous n'avons plus cette statue, mais nous avons au Capitole un bas-relief où l'événement miraculeux est représenté. C'est un autel dédié par une affranchie de la *gens* Claudia; il a été trouvé au pied de l'Aventin, près du lieu qu'on désignait comme celui où avait été opéré le miracle. —*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 142.

In her temple, which was round and surmounted by a cupola, Cybele was represented by a statue with its face to the east, and the stone, which ended in a point so sharp that Servius calls it *acus Matris Deum*, occupied the place of the head. The relic was stolen by Heliogabalus and placed in his private museum. It was found (as described by Mgr. Francesco Bianchini) in 1730, and then lost. The temple was adorned with a painting of Corybantes, and plays were acted in front of it.[1]

'Qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei,
Et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus.'
—*Martial, Ep.* i. 71, 9.

This temple, after its second destruction by fire, was entirely rebuilt by Augustus in A.D. 2.

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[1] Dyer's '*Hist. of the City of Rome.*'

'Cybèle est certainement la grande déesse, la grande mère, c'est-à-dire la personnification de la fécondité et de la vie universelle : bizarre idole qui présente le spectacle hideux de mamelles disposées par paires le long d'un corps comme enveloppé dans une gaîne, et d'où sortent des taureaux et des abeilles, images des forces créatrices et des puissances ordonnatrices de la nature. On honorait cette déesse de l'Asie par des orgies furieuses, par un mélange de débauche effrénée et de rites cruels ; ses prêtres efféminés dansaient au son des flûtes lydiennes et de ses *crotales*, véritables castagnettes, semblables à celles que fait résonner aujourd'hui le paysan romain en dansant la fougueuse *saltarelle*. On voit au musée du Capitole l'effigie en bas-relief d'un *archigalle*, d'un chef de ces prêtres insensés, et près de lui les attributs de la déesse asiatique, les flûtes, les crotales, et la mystérieuse corbeille. Cet archigalle, avec son air de femme, sa robe qui conviendrait à une femme, nous retrace l'espèce de démence religieuse à laquelle s'associaient les délires pervers d'Héliogabale.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 310.

On this side of the hill was the **Palace of Tiberius,**[1] in which he resided during the earlier part of his reign, when he was under the influence of his aged and imperious mother, Livia. Here he had to mourn for Drusus, his only son, who fell a victim (A.D. 23) to poison, administered to him by his wife Livilla and her lover, the favourite Sejanus. Here also, in A.D. 29, died Livia, widow of Augustus, at the age of eighty-six, 'a memorable example of successful artifice, having attained in succession, by craft if not by crime, every object she could desire in the career of female ambition.'[2] It was from the windows of the Tiberiana Domus that Tacitus describes Vitellius as watching the burning of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter, and the fight between his adherents and the partisans of Vespasian under Sabinus.

Cicero mentions baths at this corner of the hill, and also that Quintus Roscius was murdered here whilst returning from them. This was the dandy Quintus Roscius, who used to follow Hortensius as he walked, that he might observe the graceful way in which he folded his toga : his nephew was a great friend of Cicero.

The consul Messala wished to build a theatre at this corner of the hill for scenic representations in honour of the worship of Cybele, whose temple was close by, but his intention was knocked on the head for fear he might interfere with the sacred Lupercal.

From the Temple of Cybele a second flight of steps led to the Scalae Caci. A gutter surrounds the foundations of a building which was probably one of the Chapels of the Argei, of which there were twenty-seven in Rome and two on the Palatine. Hither, on May 3, came a procession, with pontifices and augurs, and to the suppliants were given thirty[3] images made of reeds (*argei*), which each recipient afterwards threw into the Tiber, probably as an offering of propitiation to the gods for the bridge which had been built over it. Dionysius says that the custom, continued till his time, was instituted by Hercules to satisfy the scruples of the people when he abolished the human sacrifices to Saturn.

The row of arches remaining beneath the upper level to which we ascend in the palace of Tiberius are those of the soldiers'

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1 Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 77 ; Suet. *Vitell.* 15.

2 Merivale, ch. xlv.

3 Either representing the thirty patrician curiae or the thirty Latin townships.

quarters. In the fourth arch is, or was, a curious *graffito* of a ship. In another the three pavements in use at different times may be seen *in situ*, one above another. On the terrace above these arches has recently been discovered a large piscina or *fishpond;* beneath, on the right, are the painted chambers of a building, discovered 1869, which is supposed to have been the **House of Drusus** (elder brother of Tiberius) **and Antonia.**[1] A vaulted staircase leads down to the atrium on which the different public rooms open. Several of the rooms are richly decorated in fresco paintings of earlier date than those of Pompeii; one has the picture of a street with figures of females going to a sacrifice, and of ladies at their toilette another of Mercury, Io, and Argus; and a third of Galatea, and the Cyclops Polyphemus with Cupid on his shoulders. From the names of the characters represented in these pictures being affixed to them in Greek, we may naturally conclude that they are the work of Greek artists. Fixed to the wall are inscribed lead pipes found in the house.

Except the soldiers' quarters, the **Domus Tiberiana** remains unexcavated, and its site is covered with gardens. It contained a famous library, probably burnt in the fire of Commodus. The ilex grove beyond is interesting as having been the first meeting-place of the Accademia degli Arcadi. The north-eastern corner of the Palatine is entirely occupied by the vast ruins of the **Palace of Caligula**—*Domus Gaiana*—built against the side of the hill above the **Clivus Victoriae**, which still remains, and consisting of ranges of small rooms, communicating with open galleries, edged by marble balustrades, of which a portion exists. In these rooms the half-mad Caius Caligula rushed about, sometimes dressed as a charioteer, sometimes as a warrior, and delighted in astonishing his courtiers by his extraordinary pranks, or shocking them by trying to enforce a belief in his own divinity.[2]

'C'est dans ce palais que, tourmenté par l'insomnie et par l'agitation de son âme furieuse, il passera une partie de la nuit à errer sous d'immenses portiques, attendant et appelant le jour. C'est là aussi qu'il aura l'incroyable idée de placer un dieu infâme.

'Caligula se fit bâtir sur le Palatin deux temples. Il avait d'abord voulu avoir une demeure sur le mont Capitolin; mais, ayant réfléchi que Jupiter l'avait précédé au Capitole, il en prit de l'humeur et retourna sur le Palatin. Dans les folies de Caligula, on voit se manifester cette pensée: Je suis dieu! pensée qui n'était peut-être pas très extraordinaire chez un jeune homme de vingt-cinq ans devenu tout à coup maître du monde. Il parut en effet croire à sa divinité, prenant le nom et les attributs de divers dieux, et changeant de nature divine en changeant de perruque.

'Non content de s'élever un temple à lui-même, Caligula en vint à être son propre prêtre et à s'adorer. Le despotisme oriental avait connu cette adoration étrange de soi: sur les monuments de l'Égypte on voit Ramsès-roi présenter son offrande à Ramsès-dieu; mais Caligula fit ce que n'avait fait aucun Pharaon: il se donna pour collègue, dans ce culte de sa propre personne, son cheval, qu'il ne nomma pas, mais qu'il songea un moment à nommer consul.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 7.

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[1] It is sometimes called the House of Livia, sometimes the House of Germanicus.

[2] Suet. *Cal.* 22.

Here 'one day at a public banquet, when the consuls were reclining by his side, Caligula burst suddenly into a fit of laughter; and when they courteously inquired the cause of his mirth, astounded them by coolly replying that he was thinking how by one word he could cause both their heads to roll on the floor. He amused himself with similar banter even with his wife Caesonia, for whom he seems to have had a stronger feeling than for any of his former consorts. While fondling her neck he is reported to have said, "Fair as it is, how easily I could sever it!" '—*Merivale*, ch. xlviii.

After the murder of Caligula (Jan. 24, A.D. 41) by the tribune Chaerea, in the vaulted passage which led from the palace to the theatre, a singular chance which occurred in this part of the palace led to the elevation of Claudius to the throne.

'In the confusion which ensued upon the death of Caius, several of the praetorian guards had flung themselves furiously into the palace and began to plunder its glittering chambers. None dared to offer them any opposition; the slaves or freedmen fled and concealed themselves. One of the inmates, half-hidden behind a curtain in an obscure corner, was dragged forth with brutal violence; and great was the intruders' surprise when they recognised him as Claudius, the long despised and neglected uncle of the murdered emperor.[1] He sank at their feet almost senseless with terror; but the soldiers in their wildest mood still respected the blood of the Caesars, and instead of slaying or maltreating the suppliant, the brother of Germanicus, they hailed him, more in jest perhaps than earnest, with the title of Imperator, and carried him off to their camp.'—*Merivale*, ch. xlix.

In this same place Claudius was feasting when he was told that his hitherto idolised wife Messalina was dead, without being told whether she died by her own hand or another's, and asked no questions, merely desiring a servant to pour him out some more wine, and went on eating his supper.[2] Here also Claudius, who so dearly loved eating, devoured his last and fatal supper of poisoned mushrooms, which his next loving wife (and niece), Agrippina, prepared for him, to make way for her son Nero upon the throne.[3]

The Clivus Victoriae commemorates by its names the **Temple of Victory**,[4] said to have been founded by the Sabine aborigines before the time of Romulus, and to be the earliest temple at Rome of which there is any mention except that of Saturnus. This temple was rebuilt by the consul L. Postumius. Some remains of the temple were found in 1725–28 behind S. Maria Liberatrice. They remained on the spot for many years, but were dispersed in 1836. Some fragments are now in the museum at Naples, others in the Palazzo Farnese.

Other temples on the Palatine were that of Juno Sospita :—

> 'Principio mensis, Phrygiae contermina Matri,
> Sospita delubris dicitur aucta novis.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 55.

of Minerva :—

> 'Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae,
> Ingenio frueris qui propiore Dei.'
> —*Martial, Ep.* v. 5.

and a temple of Moonlight mentioned by Varro (iv. 10).

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1 Suet. *Claud.* 10. 'Prorepsit ad solarium proximum, interque praetenta foribus vela se abdidit.' The solarium was the external terraced portico, and this still remains.

2 Tac. *Ann.* xi. 37, 38; Dion. lx. 31; Suet. *Claud.* 39.

3 Tac. *Ann.* xii. 67; Suet. *Claud.* 44.

4 Dionysius, i. 32; Livy, xxix. 14.

From the Torretta del Palatino, an interesting building of Farnese times destroyed in 1884, which stood near the house of Caligula, there was a magnificent view over the seven hills of Rome; —the Palatine, Aventine, Capitoline, Coelian, Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline. From this point also it was very interesting to remember that these were not the heights considered as 'the Seven Hills' in the ancient history of Rome, when the sacrifices of the *Septimontium* were offered upon the Palatine, Velia, and Germale, the three divisions of the Palatine—of which one can no longer be traced; upon the Fagutal,[1] Oppius, and Cispius, the secondary heights of the Esquiline; and upon the Suburra, which perhaps comprehended the Viminal.[2] Hence also we could see the ground we have traversed on the Palatine spread before us like a map.

If we descend the staircase in the Palace of Caligula, we find ourselves on the **Clivus Victoriae**, so named from an altar of victory, precursor of a temple. Here was the *Porta Romanula*, one of the three early gates of the Palatine (which took its name from the neighbouring springs). By a hanging bridge above the Temple of Augustus, which we return to later (supra templum divi Augusti ponte transmisso), and over the tops of the houses in the valley, the half-mad Caligula used to pass, that he might, as he said, the more easily hold intercourse with his friend and comrade Jupiter upon the Capitol. The bridge was supported on corbels bearing arches, and the side was decorated with stucco reliefs. Part of its marble balustrade remains *in situ*. One of the piers which Caligula used for his bridge, beyond the limits of the palace, was formed by the Temple of Augustus, built by Tiberius.[3] This bridge, with many other works of Caligula, was of very short duration, being destroyed immediately after his death by Claudius. The Porta Romanula itself was probably destroyed long before Caligula built his palace.

If we turn to the left below the Clivus Victoriae, we shall find that against the escarpment of the Palatine behind S. Teodoro are remains of an early concrete wall of imperial date, behind which the tufa rock is visible. The wall is only built where the tufa is of a soft character, and the concrete still retains the impression of supporting timbers, which themselves have rotted away. Here also are fragments of bases of towers of republican times. Near the western corner of the hill is a portion of the earliest wall of the Palatine, usually known as the **Wall of Romulus**, but more probably of Tarquinius Priscus, built in large oblong blocks, without mortar or cement.[4] The stone used was the brown tufa of the Palatine, which is studded with pieces of pumice-stone and charred wood, and is evidently formed by the hot ashes of a volcano falling upon forest.

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[1] So called from its beeches.
[2] Festus, 340, 348.
[3] Suet. *Tib.* 47, *Cal.* 21. 22; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45.
[4] The real wall of Romulus must have been a mere earthwork.

'Le système de construction est le même que dans les villes d'Etrurie et dans la muraille bâtie à Rome par les rois étrusques. Cependant l'appareil est moins régulier. Les murs d'une petite ville du Latium fondée par un aventurier ne pouvaient être aussi soignés que les murs des villes de l'Etrurie, pays tout autrement civilisé. La petite cité de Romulus, bornée au Palatin, n'avait pas l'importance de la Rome des Tarquins, qui couvrait les huit collines.

'Du reste, la construction est étrusque et devait l'être. Romulus n'avait dans sa ville, habitée par des pâtres et des bandits, personne qui fût capable d'en bâtir l'enceinte. Les Etrusques, grands bâtisseurs, étaient de l'autre côté du fleuve. Quelques-uns même l'avaient probablement passé déjà et habitaient le mont Coelius. Romulus dut s'adresser à eux, et faire faire cet ouvrage par des architectes et des maçons étrusques. Ce fut aussi selon le rite de l'Etrurie, pays sacerdotal, que Romulus, suivant en cela l'usage établi dans les cités latines, fit consacrer l'enceinte de la ville nouvelle. Il agit en cette circonstance comme agit un paysan romain, quand il appelle un prêtre pour bénir l'emplacement de la maison qu'il veut bâtir.

'Les détails de la cérémonie par laquelle fut inaugurée la première enceinte de Rome nous ont été transmis par Plutarque,[1] et avec un grand détail par Tacite,[2] qui sans doute avait sous les yeux les livres des pontifes. Nous connaissons avec exactitude le contour que traça la charrue sacrée. Nous pouvons le suivre encore aujourd'hui.

'Romulus attela un taureau blanc et une vache blanche à une charrue dont le soc était d'airain.[3] L'usage de l'airain a précédé à Rome, comme partout, l'usage du fer. Il partit du lieu consacré par l'antique autel d'Hercule, au-dessous de l'angle occidental du Palatin et de la première Rome des Pelasges, et, se dirigeant vers le sud-est, traça son sillon le long de la base de la colline.

'Ceux qui suivaient Romulus rejetaient les mottes de terre en dedans du sillon, image du Vallum futur. Ce sillon était l'Agger de Servius Tullius en petit. A l'extrémité de la vallée qui sépare le Palatin de l'Aventin, où devait être le grand cirque, et où est aujourd'hui la rue des *Cerchi*, il prit à gauche, et, contournant la colline, continua, en creusant toujours son sillon, à tracer sans le savoir la route qui devaient suivre un jour les triomphes, puis revint au point d'où il était parti. La charrue, l'instrument du labour, le symbole de la vie agricole des enfants de Saturne, avait dessiné le contour de la cité guerrière de Romulus. De même quand on avait détruit une ville, on faisait passer la charrue sur le sol qu'elle avait occupé. Par là, ce sol devenait sacré, et il n'était pas plus permis de l'habiter qu'il ne l'était de franchir le sillon qu'on creusait autour des villes lors de leur fondation, comme le fit Romulus et comme le firent toujours depuis les fondateurs d'une colonie; car toute colonie était une Rome.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* i. 282.

Behind the wall are remains of a rock cistern, reached by two circular shafts from the upper part of the hill.

Close under this, the northern side of the walls of Romulus, ran the **Via Nova**, down which Marcus Caedicius was returning to the city in the gloaming, when at this spot, between the sacred grove and the Temple of Vesta, he heard a supernatural voice bidding him to warn the senate of the approach of the Gauls. After the Gauls had invaded Rome and departed again, an altar and sanctuary recorded the miracle on this site.[4]

At the corner near S. Anastasia are remains of houses, apparently of the time of Tiberius, built against the cliff. Near this were steps supposed to be those called the **Stairs of Cacus**,[5] leading to the hut of Faustulus. On the other side, the **Gradus Pulchri Littoris**, the καλὴ ἀκτὴ of Plutarch, led to the river.[6] Most authorities consider that this was the spot called Germalus in remembrance of the twin brothers (*germani*) Romulus and Remus,

[1] Plut. *Romul.* xi. [2] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 24. [3] Prell. *R. Myth.* 456.
[4] Cic. *De Div.* i. 45; Livy, v. 32. [5] Solinus, i. 18. [6] Plut. *Rom. Sol.* 2.

who are believed to have been cast ashore by the swollen Tiber and suckled by the wolf near this. The statue of the wolf now in the Capitol was found close by. The flat ground below this has been supposed, from objects found there, to have contained an imperial brassfoundry.

Here a remarkable travertine altar of republican times was discovered in 1820, and remains *in situ*. It is inscribed SEI DEO SEI DEIVAE SAC. C SEXTIVS C. F. CALVINUS PR—DE SENATI SENTENTIA RESTITVIT. Some suppose this to be the actual altar mentioned above as erected to the Genius Loci, in consequence of the mysterious warning in 370 B.C. of the Gallic invasion, and that it was originally called the altar of Locutius. Others think that this, dedicated to 'a god or goddess,' is the altar to an unknown god mentioned by S. Paul. Sometimes the name of the god of dedication was concealed, for fear enemies should make effectual prayers to it. The father of the tribune C. S. Calvinus mentioned in the inscription was consul with C. Cassius Longinus, B.C. 124, and is described by Cicero as a graceful orator of a sickly constitution.[1]

On the gardener's house, under the cliff, is a bust of Monsignor Bianchini, who (*c.* 1720) held this part of the Palatine under a lease, allowing him to mine for marbles, which he sold to workmen for lime. One day when walking here with two prelates to whom he was showing his spoils, he put his foot into a hole, broke his leg, and died of it.

Beyond this a number of chambers have been discovered under the steep bank and ancient wall of the Palatine (again visible here), belonging to the house of one Gelotius—Domus Gelotiana—bought and added to the imperial palace by Caligula. It was afterwards used as the **Paedagogium**, or school for the court pages, and retains a quantity of *graffiti* which they scratched upon the walls. They had been previously at the elementary school called *paedagogium ad caput Africae*, and testified their delight at being transferred from the rod of their master there to the palace in such inscriptions as 'Corinthus exit de paedagogio;' 'Marianus afer exit de paedagogio.' Another (now destroyed) allusion to the hardships of school-life was a sketch of an ass turning a cornmill, and the superscription 'Labora aselle quomodo ego laboravi et proderit tibi' ('Work, little donkey, as I have worked, and it will profit thee'). The most interesting *graffito*, found (1857) in the fourth chamber, has been removed to the Kircherian Museum. It is generally believed to have been executed during the reign of Septimius Severus, and to have been done in an idle moment by one of the soldiers occupying these rooms, supposed to have been used as guard-chambers under that emperor. If so, it is perhaps the earliest existing pictorial allusion to the manner of our Saviour's death. It is a caricature apparently of the end of the second century, evidently executed in ridicule of a christian fellow-soldier. The figure on the cross has an ass's head,

[1] Cic. *Brut.* 34.

and by the worshipping figure is inscribed in Greek characters, *Alexamenos worships his God.*[1]

'The lowest orders of the populace were as intelligently hostile to it [the worship of the Crucified] as were the philosophers. Witness that remarkable caricature of the adoration of our crucified Lord, which was discovered some ten years ago beneath the ruins of the Palatine palace. It is a rough sketch, traced, in all probability, by the hand of some pagan slave in one of the earliest years of the third century of our era. A human figure with an ass's head is represented as fixed to a cross, while another figure in a tunic stands on one side. This figure is addressing himself to the crucified monster, and is making á gesture which was the customary pagan expression of adoration. Underneath there runs a rude inscription—*Alexamenos adores his God.* Here we are face to face with a touching episode of the life of the Roman Church in the days of Severus or of Caracalla. As under Nero, so, a century and a half later, there were worshippers of Christ in the household of Caesar. But the paganism of the later date was more intelligently and bitterly hostile to the Church than the paganism which had shed the blood of the apostles. The Gnostic invective which attributed to the Jews the worship of an ass was applied by pagans indiscriminately to Jews and Christians. Tacitus attributes the custom to a legend respecting services rendered by wild asses to the Israelites in the desert; "and so, I suppose," observes Tertullian, "it was thence presumed that we, as bordering upon the Jewish religion, were taught to worship such a figure." Such a story, once current, was easily adapted to the purposes of a pagan caricaturist. Whether from ignorance of the forms of christian worship, or in order to make his parody of it more generally intelligible to its pagan admirers, the draughtsman has ascribed to Alexamenos the gestures of a heathen devotee. But the real object of his parody is too plain to be mistaken. Jesus Christ, we may be sure, had other confessors and worshippers in the imperial palace as well as Alexamenos. The moral pressure of the advancing Church was felt throughout all ranks of pagan society; ridicule was invoked to do the work of argument; and the moral persecution which crowned all true christian devotion was often only the prelude to a sterner test of that loyalty to a crucified Lord which was as insensible to the misrepresentations, as christian faith was superior to the logic of heathendom.' [2]—*Liddon, Bampton Lectures of* 1866, Lect. vii. p. 593.

These chambers acquire a great additional interest from the belief which many entertain that they are those once occupied by the Praetorian Guard, in which S. Paul was confined.

'The close of the Epistle to the Ephesians contains a remarkable example of the forcible imagery of S. Paul. Considered simply in itself, the description of the Christian's armour is one of the most striking passages in the sacred volume. But if we view it in connection with the circumstances with which the Apostle was surrounded, we find a new and living emphasis in his enumeration of all the parts of the heavenly panoply,—the belt of sincerity and truth, with which the loins are girded for the spiritual war,—the breastplate of that righteousness the inseparable links whereof are faith and love,—the strong sandals, with which the feet of Christ's soldiers are made ready, not for such errands of death and despair as those on which the Praetorian soldiers were daily sent, but for the universal message of the gospel of peace,—the large shield of confident trust, wherewith the whole man is protected, and whereon the fiery arrows of the Wicked One fall harmless and dead,—the close-fitting helmet, with which the hope of salvation invests the head of the believer,—and finally, the sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, which, when wielded by the Great Captain of our Salva-

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[1] Some authorities now contend that the *graffito* was only a Gnostic device of a figure with a jackal's head, representing the deity, which had its origin in the Egyptian Anubis. How any one who examines the graffito can see in it a representation of rope-dancers (see *Edinburgh Review* for January 1900) it is difficult to imagine.

[2] Padre Garucci, S.J., has published an exhaustive monograph on this now celebrated 'Graffito Blasfemo.' Roma, 1857.

tion, turned the tempter in the wilderness to flight, while in the hands of His chosen Apostle (with whose memory the sword seems inseparably associated), it became the means of establishing Christianity on the earth.

'All this imagery becomes doubly forcible if we remember that when S. Paul wrote the words he was chained to a soldier, and in the close neighbourhood of military sights and sounds. The appearance of the Praetorian guards was daily familiar to him; as his "chains," on the other hand (so he tells us in the succeeding Epistle), became well known throughout the whole *Praetorium* (Phil. i. 13). A difference of opinion has existed as to the precise meaning of the word in this passage. Some have identified it, as in the Authorised Version, with the house of Caesar on the Palatine: more commonly it has been supposed to mean that permanent camp of the Praetorian guards which Tiberius established on the north of the city, outside the walls. As regards the former opinion, it is true that the word came to be used, almost as we use the word "palace," for royal residences generally or for any residences of princely splendour. Yet we never find the word employed for the imperial house at Rome; and we believe the truer view to be that which has been recently advocated—namely, that it denotes here, not the place itself, but the quarters of that part of the imperial guards which was in immediate attendance upon the emperor. The emperor was *praetor* or commander-in-chief of the troops, and it was natural that his immediate guard should be in a *praetorium* near him. It might, indeed, be argued that this military establishment on the Palatine would cease to be necessary when the Praetorium camp was established; but the purpose of that establishment was to concentrate near the city those cohorts which had previously been dispersed in other parts of Italy: a local body-guard near the palace would not cease to be necessary; and Josephus, in his account of the imprisonment of Agrippa, speaks of a "camp" in connection with the "royal house." Such we conceive to have been the barrack immediately alluded to by S. Paul; though the connection of these smaller quarters with the general camp was such that he would naturally become known to "*all the rest*" of the guards, as well as those who might for the time be connected with the imperial household.

'S. Paul tells us (in the Epistle to the Philippians) that throughout the Praetorian quarter he was well known as a prisoner for the cause of Christ, and he sends special salutations to the Philippian Church from the Christians of the imperial household. These notices bring before us very vividly the moral contrasts by which the Apostle was surrounded. The soldier to whom he was chained to-day might have been in Nero's body-guard yesterday; his comrade who next relieved guard might have been one of the executioners of Octavia, and might have carried her head to Poppaea a few weeks before.

'History has few stronger contrasts than when it shows us Paul preaching Christ under the walls of Nero's palace. Thenceforward there were but two religions in the Roman world: the worship of the emperor, and the worship of the Saviour. The old superstitions had long been worn out; they had lost all hold on educated minds. . . . Over against the altars of Nero and Poppaea, the voice of a prisoner was daily heard, and daily woke in grovelling souls the consciousness of their divine destiny. Men listened, and knew that self-sacrifice was better than ease, humiliation more exalted than pride, to suffer nobler than to reign. They felt that the only religion which satisfied the needs of man was the religion of sorrow, the religion of self-devotion, the religion of the cross.'—*Conybeare and Howson.*

We now reach the hollow beneath the Villa Mills, or Villa Palatina—a convent of Visitandine nuns, still (1900) unconfiscated, and occupying a most beautiful position. Here was the House of Hortensius, an orator, 'who was second only to Cicero in eloquence, and who, in the early part at least of their lives, was his chief opponent.'[1] Cicero himself describes the extraordinary gifts of his rival,[2] as well as the integrity with which he fulfilled the duties of a quaestor.[3] In the latter portion of his public career Hortensius

[1] Dyer, p. 143. [2] *Pro Quinct.* 1, 2, 22, 24, 26. [3] *In Verr.* i. 14, 39.

was frequently engaged on the same side as Cicero, and then always recognised his superiority by allowing him to speak last. Hortensius died B.C. 50, to the great grief of his ancient rival.[1] The splendid villas of Hortensius were celebrated. He was accustomed to water his trees with wine at regular intervals,[2] and had huge fishponds at Bauli, into which the salt-water fish came to feed from his hand, and he became so fond of them, that he wept for the death of a favourite muraena.[3] But his house on the Palatine was exceedingly simple, and had no decorations but plain columns of Alban stone.[4] This was the chosen residence of Augustus, until, upon its destruction by fire in A.D. 3, the citizens insisted upon raising the more sumptuous residence by public subscription.

The **Palace of Augustus** was begun soon after the battle of Actium. Part of the ground which it covered had previously been occupied by the villa of Catiline.[5] Here Suetonius says that Augustus occupied the same bedroom forty years. Here he had his collections and his Greek and Latin library, and here his grandsons Caius and Lucius had their lessons in the atrium from Verius Flaccus. Before the entrance of the palace it was ordained by the Senate, B.C. 26, that two bay-trees should be planted, in remembrance of the citizens Augustus had preserved, while an oak wreath was placed above the gate in commemoration of his victories.

'Singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis
Conspicuos postes, tectaque digna deo.
An Jovis haec, dixi, domus est? Quod ut esse putarem,
Augurium menti querna corona dabat.
Cujus ut accepi dominum, Non fallimur, inquam:
Et magni verum est hanc Jovis esse domum.
Cur tamen apposita velatur janua lauro,
Cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores?'
—*Ovid, Trist.* iii. *El.* i. 33.

'State, Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
Stet domus; aeternos tres habet una deos.'
—*Fast.* iv. 953.

It was before the gate of this palace that Augustus upon one day in every year sat as a beggar, receiving alms from the passers-by, in obedience to a vision that he should thus appease Nemesis.

Behind the gardener's house above the slope of the hill, the semi-circular form (*pulvinar*) of the front of the house of Augustus is visible, whence the emperor could look down upon the games in the Circus Maximus. But even the lower part of the valley has been greatly filled up, and to reach the real level of the house it would be necessary to descend forty feet below S. Anastasia, where some of the chambers are exposed. At the point where we are now, if we ascend (with an order) the staircase behind the gardener's house, we reach the cypress garden which till recently belonged to the convent, and may thence, with lights, descend a

[1] *Ad Att.* vi. 6. [2] Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 9.
[3] Varr. *R. R.* iii. 17; Pliny, *H. N.* ix. 55. [4] Suet. *Aug.* 72.
[5] Vell. Paterc. ii. 81.

long staircase leading to the third storey of the palace (excavated in 1792 by Raucoureuil), vast chambers and halls, splendid in proportion, once adorned by 200 statues,[1] but now stripped of all their precious marbles by an antiquity vendor who rented them for the purpose in the last century, and which, lighted from above, must always have been gloomy in the extreme.

We have the authority of Martial[2] that in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple of Cybele stood the **Temple of Apollo,** though Signor Rosa places it on this side of the hill in the gardens of S. Buonaventura, and is followed by most later authorities. Its remains have yet to be discovered.

'Nothing could exceed the magnificence of this temple, according to the accounts of ancient authors. Propertius, who was present at its dedication, has devoted a short elegy to the description of it, and Ovid describes it as a splendid structure of white marble.

"Tum medium claro surgebat marmore templum,
Et patria Phoebo carius Ortygia.
Auro Solis erat supra fastigia currus,
Et valvae, Libyci nobile dentis opus,
Altera dejectos Parnassi vertice Gallos,
Altera moerebat funera Tantalidos.
Deinde inter matrem Deus ipse, interque sororem,
Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat."
—*Propertius, El.* ii. 31.

"Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
Ducor ad intonsi candida templa Dei."
—*Ovid, Trist.* iii. *El.* 1. 59.

'From the epithet *aurea* porticus, it seems probable that the cornice of the portico which surrounded it was gilt. The columns were of African marble, or *giallo antico*, and must have been fifty-two in number, as between them were the statues of the fifty Danaids, and that of their father, brandishing a naked sword.

"Quaeris cur veniam tibi tardior? Aurea Phoebi
Porticus a magno Caesare aperta fuit.
Tota erat in speciem Poenis digesta columnis:
Inter quas Danai foemina turba senis."
—*Propert. El.* ii. 31.

"Signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis
Belides, et stricto barbarus ense pater."
—*Ovid, Trist.* iii. 1. 61.

'Here also was a statue of Apollo sounding the lyre, apparently a likeness of Augustus; whose beauty when a youth, to judge from his bust in the Vatican, might well entitle him to counterfeit the god. Around the altar were the images of four oxen, the work of Myron, so beautifully sculptured that they seemed alive. In the middle of the portico rose the temple, apparently of white marble. Over the pediment was the chariot of the sun. The gates were of ivory, one of them sculptured with the story of the giants hurled down from the heights of Parnassus, the other representing the destruction of the Niobids. Inside the temple was the statue of Apollo in a tunica talaris, or long garment, between his mother Latona and his sister Diana, the work of Scopas, Cephisodorus, and Timotheus. Under the base of Apollo's statue Augustus caused to be buried

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1 From hence comes the fine head on a cushion in the Museo delle Terme, and hence the Hercules of Lysippus was carried off by Cosimo de' Medici.
2 Ep. i. 70.

the Sibylline books, which he had selected and placed in gilt chests. Attached to the temple was a library called *Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina*, apparently, however, only one structure, containing the literature of both tongues. Only the choicest works were admitted to the honour of a place in it, as we may infer from Horace:—

> "Tangere vitet
> Scripta, Palatinus quaecunque recepit Apollo."
> —*Ep.* i. 3. 16.

'The library appears to have contained a bronze statue of Apollo, fifty feet high; whence we must conclude that the roof of the hall exceeded that height. In this library, or more probably, perhaps, in an adjoining apartment, poets, orators, and philosophers recited their productions. The listless demeanour of the audience on such occasions seems, from the description of the younger Pliny, to have been, in general, not over-encouraging. Attendance seems to have been considered as a friendly duty.'—*Dyer's 'City of Rome.'*

The Temple of Apollo was built by Augustus to commemorate the battle of Actium. He appropriated to it part of the land covered with houses which he had purchased upon the Palatine;—another part he gave to the Vestals; the third he used for his own palace.

> 'Phoebus habet partem; Vestae pars altera cessit:
> Quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
> . . . . . .
> Stet domus; aeternos tres habet una deos.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* iv. 951.

Thus Apollo and Vesta became, as it were, the household gods of Augustus:—

> 'Vestaque Caesareos inter sacrata penates,
> Et cum Caesarea tu, Phoebe domestice, Vesta.'
> —*Ovid, Metam.* xv. 864.

But the Temple of Apollo was burnt in 363.

(The saracenic-looking villa, which is now turned into a convent, possessed some frescoes painted by Giulio Romano from designs of Raffaelle, but these have been destroyed or removed in deference to the modesty of the present inhabitants.)

Ascending the hillside by a path through a little orange-garden, we reach an open space once occupied by the garden of Augustus, whither (in his insomnia) he used to be carried on a sofa to the side of a fountain, that he might be lulled to sleep by the sound of its falling waters.[1] Here we now see the remains of a **Stadium** for foot-races, with a large semicircular exedra, or stand for viewing the sports. The Stadium was built by Domitian, restored by Severus, and transformed into a kind of amphitheatre by King Theodoric. A passage on the left communicated with the Domus Augustana; the wall on the right was the work of Domitian, who lined the whole with Porta Santa marble. After 110, when Hadrian extended the buildings of Domitian, he built the half-domed edifice,

[1] His friend Maecenas, also troubled by insomnia, built a villa at Tivoli, that he might be lulled by the sound of the waterfall.

whence the imperial family used to look down on the games below. Theodoric probably placed at the entrance of the Stadium the two pedestals removed from the Atrium Vestae, which apparently supported statues of the Vestals, and which are inscribed to Cloelia Claudiana, virgo vestalis maxima. Some of the art treasures found here are preserved in the Palazzo Mattei and Villa Albani.

The Stadium was approached by the Porticus Danaiorum—of the fifty daughters of Danäus, who were married to the fifty sons of Egyptus, and who, with one exception, obeyed their father by killing their husbands, for which they were believed to be punished in Hades by being condemned to pour water for ever through a sieve. They were represented here with their father, and the fifty husbands on horseback were in front. The statue of the Muse, now in the Museo delle Terme, was found here in 1868, and a beautiful Juno, also in the Museo, in 1878.

From the Stadium we enter the grand ruins, occupying the second height of the Palatine, known as *Palatium*, which are by far the most picturesque part of the palace of the Caesars, and the only part not embedded in soil before 1861. These ruins are now supposed to be remains of the **Palace of Hadrian**, swallowed up in the later buildings of Severus. Few compositions can be finer than those formed by the huge masses of stately brick arches, standing out against the soft hues and delicate blue and pink shadows of the distant Campagna, and formerly laden with a wealth of laurustinus, cytisus, and other flowering shrubs. Beneath the terrace is a fine range of lofty chambers on arches, framing lovely glimpses of the Alban hills, and the deserted convents of the Pseudo-Aventine. This was the portion of the palace which longest remained entire, and which was inhabited by Heraclius in the seventh century. In the sixteenth this part of the Palatine was owned by Tommaso Inghirami of Volterra, surnamed Fedra.

The **Septizonium of Severus**, into which part of the palace of Hadrian was incorporated, was so called from its seven storeys of building, 210 feet high, erected A.D. 198, and finally destroyed in 1588 by Sixtus V., who carried off its materials for the building of S. Peter's, making the base of the obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo, and restoring other buildings. The Pope only paid 900 scudi for his purchase of materials. The Septizonium was erected by Severus at the southern corner of the palace, in order that it might at once strike the eyes of his African compatriots[1] on their arrival in Rome. He built two other edifices which he called Septizonium, one on the Esquiline near the baths of Titus, and the other on the Via Appia, which he intended as the burial-place of his family, and where his son Geta was actually interred.

There was probably a gate of Roma Quadrata at this corner of the Palatine. The remaining ruins in this division of the hill, sup-

[1] Septimius Severus was born A.D. 146, near Leptis in Africa. Statius addresses a poem to one of his ancestors, Sept. Severus of Leptis.

posed to be those of a theatre, a library, &c., have not yet been historically identified. The arches seen in the hollow between the Palatine and Coelian belong to the glorious aqueduct of four tiers of arches made by Septimius Severus to carry the Aqua Claudia from the top of the Coelian to the Palatine.

Trajan stripped the palace of his predecessors of all its ornaments to adorn the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus,[1] but it was restored by Commodus, after a fire which occurred in his reign,[2] and enriched by Heliogabalus,[3] and almost every succeeding emperor, till the time of Theodoric,[4] who lived in the palace in 930, and restored its aqueduct.

'Is it illusion? or does there a spirit from perfecter ages,
Here, even yet, amid loss, change, and corruption, abide?
Does there a spirit we know not, though seek; though we find, comprehend not,
Hereto entice and confuse, tempt and evade us, abide?
Lives in the exquisite grace of the column disjointed and single,
Haunts the rude masses of bricks garlanded gaily with vine,
E'en in the turret fantastic surviving that springs from the ruin,
E'en in the people itself? is it illusion or not?'

—*Clough.*

Returning by the way we came, and ascending the Clivus Victoriae, we shall find ourselves again on the eastern slope of the hill from which we started, the site once occupied by so many of the great patrician families, whose residence on the Palatine caused the name of *palace* to be afterwards applied to noble residences. Here at one time lived Caius Gracchus, who, to gratify the populace, gave up his house on the side of the Palatine, and made his home in the gloomy Suburra. Here also lived his coadjutor in the consulship, Fulvius Flaccus, who shared his fate, and whose house was razed to the ground by the people after his murder. At this corner of the hill also was the house of Q. Lutatius Catulus, poet, historian, and builder of the Tabularium, who was consul 102 B.C., and together with Marius was conqueror of the Cimbri in a great battle near Vercelli. In memory of this he founded a temple of the 'Fortuna hujusce diei,' and decorated the portico of his house with Cimbrian trophies. Varro mentions that his house had also a domed roof.[5] Here also the consul Octavius, murdered on the Janiculum by the partisans of Marius, had a house, which was rebuilt with great magnificence by Emilius Scaurus, who adorned it with columns of marble thirty-eight feet high.[6] These two last-named houses were bought by the wealthy Clodius, who gave 14,800,000 sesterces, or about £130,000, for that of Scaurus, and throwing down the Porticus Catuli, included its site, and the house of E. Scaurus, in his own magnificent dwelling. Clodius was a member of the great house of the Claudii, and was the favoured lover of Pompeia, wife of Julius Caesar, by whose connivance, disguised as a female musician, he attempted to be present at the orgies of the Bona Dea, which

1 Martial, xii. *Ep.* 75. 2 Dion Cass. *Commod.* 3 Lamprid, *Elagab.* 8.
4 Cassiod. vii. 5. 5 *De Re Rust.* iii. 5. 6 Pliny, xxxvi. 2.

were celebrated in the house of the Pontifex Maximus, close to the Temple of Vesta, and from which men were so carefully excluded that even a male mouse, says Juvenal, dared not show himself there. The position of his own dwelling, and that of the Pontifex, close to the foot of the Clivus Victoriae, afforded every facility for this adventure, but it was discovered by his losing himself in the passages of the Regia. A terrible scandal was the result: Caesar divorced Pompeia, and the senate referred the matter to the pontifices, who declared that Clodius was guilty of sacrilege. Clodius attempted to prove an alibi, but Cicero's evidence showed that he was with him in Rome only three hours before he pretended to be at Interamna. Bribery and intimidation secured his acquittal by a majority of thirty-one to twenty-five,[1] but from this time a deadly enmity ensued between him and Cicero.

The house of Clodius naturally leads us to that of Cicero, which was also situated at this corner of the Palatine, whence he could see his clients in the Forum and go to and fro to his duties there. This house had been built for M. Livius Drusus, who, when his architect proposed a plan to prevent its being overlooked, answered, 'Rather build it so that all my fellow-citizens may behold everything that I do.' In his acts Drusus seemed to imitate the Gracchi; but he sought popularity for its own sake, and after being the object of a series of conspiracies, was finally murdered in the presence of his mother Cornelia, in his own hall, where the image of his father was sprinkled with his blood. When dying he turned to those around him, and asked, with characteristic arrogance, based perhaps upon conscious honesty of purpose, 'When will the commonwealth have a citizen like me again?' After the death of Drusus the house was inhabited by L. Licinius Crassus the orator, who lived here in great elegance and luxury. His house was called, from its beauty, 'the Venus of the Palatine,' and was remarkable for its size, the taste of its furniture, and the beauty of its grounds. 'It was adorned with pillars of Hymettian marble, with expensive vases, and triclinia inlaid with brass. His gardens were provided with fishponds, and some noble lotus-trees shaded his walks. Ahenobarbus, his colleague in the censorship, found fault with such corruption of manners,[2] estimated his house at a hundred million, or, according to Valerius Maximus,[3] six million sesterces, and complained of his crying for the loss of a lamprey as if it had been a daughter. It was a tame lamprey, which used to come at the call of Crassus and feed out of his hand. Crassus retorted by a public speech against his colleague, and by his great powers of ridicule turned him into derision, jested upon his name;[4] and to the accusation of weeping for a lamprey, replied that it was more than Ahenobarbus had done for the loss of any of his three wives.[5] Cicero purchased the house of Crassus a year or two after his

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1 See Smith's '*Dict. of Roman Biography.*' 2 Plin. *H. N.* xvii. 1.
3 Val. Max. ix. 1. 4 Suet. *Nero.* 2.
5 Smith's '*Dict. of Roman Biography.*'

consulate for a sum equal to about £30,000, and removed thither from the Carinae with his wife Terentia. His house was close to that of Clodius, but a little lower down the hill, which enabled him to threaten to increase the height, so as to shut out his neighbour's view of the city.[1] Upon his accession to the tribuneship Clodius procured the disgrace of Cicero, and after his flight to Greece, obtained a decree of banishment against him. He then pillaged and destroyed his house upon the Palatine, as well as his villas at Tusculum and Formiae, and obliged Terentia to take refuge with the Vestals, whose superior was fortunately her sister. But in the following year, a change of consuls and revulsion of the popular favour led to the recall of Cicero, who found part of his house appropriated by Clodius, who had erected a shrine to Libertas (with a statue which was that of a Greek courtesan carried off from a tomb) on the site of the remainder, which he had razed to the ground.[2]

'Clodius had also destroyed the portico of Catulus: in fact, he appears to have been desirous of appropriating all this side of the Palatine. He wanted to buy the house of the aedile Seius. Seius having declared that so long as he lived Clodius should not have it, Clodius caused him to be poisoned, and then bought his house under a feigned name! He was thus enabled to erect a portico three hundred feet in length, in place of that of Catulus. The latter, however, was afterwards restored at the public expense.

'Cicero obtained public grants for the restoration of his house and of his Tusculan and Formian villas, but very far from enough to cover the losses he had suffered. The aristocratic part of the Senate appears to have envied and grudged the *novus homo* to whose abilities they looked for protection. He was advised not to rebuild his house on the Palatine, but to sell the ground. It was not in Cicero's temper to take such a course, but he was hampered ever after with debts. Clodius, who had been defeated but not beaten, still continued his persecutions. He organised a gang of street boys to call out under Cicero's windows, "Bread! Bread!" His band interrupted the dramatic performances on the Palatine, at the Megalesian games, by rushing upon the stage. On another occasion, Clodius, at the head of his myrmidons, besieged the Senate in the Temple of Concord. He attacked Cicero in the streets, to the danger of his life; and when he had begun to rebuild his house, drove away the masons, overthrew what part had been re-erected of Catulus's portico, and cast burning torches into the house of Quintus Cicero, which he had hired next to his brother's on the Palatine, and consumed a great part of it.'—*Dyer's 'City of Rome,'* p. 152.

The indemnity which Cicero received from the State in order to rebuild his house on the Palatine amounted to about £16,000. The house of Quintus Cicero was rebuilt close to his brother's at the same time by Cyrus, the fashionable architect of the day.[3]

Among other noble householders on this part of the Palatine was Mark Antony,[4] whose house was afterwards given by Augustus to Agrippa and Messala, soon after which it was burnt down.

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[1] 'Tollam altius tectum, non ut ego te despiciam, sed ne tu aspicias urbem eam, quam delere voluisti.'—*De Harusp. Res.* 15.

[2] Cic. *Pro. Dom. ad Pont*, 42.

[3] See Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 528.

[4] Dion. Cass. iii. 27.

Caligula pulled down all the great houses of subjects which remained upon the Palatine to build his palace.

To the left of the main (week-day) entrance to the Palace of the Caesars are the huge ruins of the **Temple of Augustus**—Templum Divi Augusti—begun by Livia and Tiberius, finished by Caligula, and restored by Domitian. It was used as a museum for some of the precious works of art and curiosities collected by Augustus. The temple had two inner halls, of which that nearest to the Forum was turned into a christian church at the end of the fourth century—S. Maria Antiqua—ending in an apse decorated with frescoes, in which the sainted Pope Paul I. (757–767) was represented. A passage through the wall seven feet thick connected it with the Augusteum, and was discovered in 1885, adorned with (vanished) frescoes representing processions of the Basilian and Benedictine monks, who had convents on the Palatine at S. Cesario in Palatio and S. Sebastiano in Pallara. The worship of Christ was established in this church before the worship of Vesta, hard by, was extinct: their hymns must have mingled.

Close by, under the Clivus Victoriae, was the **Fons Juturnae**, the spring of Juturna, which fed the pool called Lacus Curtius. This corner of the Palatine was subject to sudden outbursts of water, whence probably it was known in the Middle Ages as Hell (*Inferno*), and whence perhaps also the name of the adjoining church, 'S. Maria libera nox a poenis Inferni.'

Commendatore Rosa collected all the objects found in the palace since the excavations in an interesting little museum on the Palatine, but they have now all been removed to the Museo delle Terme, where they have lost their interest and individuality.

CHAPTER VII

THE COELIAN

S. Gregorio—SS. Giovanni e Paolo—Arch of Dolabella—S. Tommaso in Formis—Villa Mattei—S. Maria della Navicella—S. Stefano Rotondo—I Santi Quattro Incoronati—S. Clemente.

THE Coelian Hill extends from S. John Lateran to the Vigna of the Porta Capena, and from the Fountain of Egeria to the Convent of S. Gregorio. Till very recently it has been entirely uninhabited, except by monks of the Camaldolese, Passionist, and Redemptorist Orders, and by the Augustinian Nuns of the Incoronati; but no part of Rome has been more cruelly dealt with since the change of government than this interesting district.

In the earliest times the name of this hill was Mons Querquetulanus, 'The Hill of Oaks,' and it was clothed with forest, part of which long remained as the sacred wood of the Camenae. It first received its name of Coelius from Coelius Vibenna, an Etruscan Lucumo of Ardea, who is said to have come to the assistance of Romulus in his war against the Sabine king Tatius, and to have afterwards established himself here. In the reign of Tullus Hostilius the Coelian assumed some importance, as that king fixed his residence here, and transported hither the Latin population of Alba.

As the Coelian had a less prominent share in the history of Rome than any of the other hills, it preserves scarcely any historical monuments of pagan times. All those which existed under the republic were destroyed by a great fire which ravaged this hill in the reign of Tiberius,[1] except the Temple of the Nymphs, which once stood in the grove of the Camenae, and which had been already burnt by Clodius, in order to destroy the records of his falsehoods and debts which it contained.[2] Some small remains in the garden of the Passionist convent are attributed to the temple which Agrippina raised to her husband the Emperor Claudius, and in S. Stefano Rotondo some antiquaries recognise the Macellum of Nero. There are no remains of the palace of the Emperor Tetricus, who lived here, 'between the two sacred groves,'[3] in a magnificent captivity under Aurelian, whom he received here at a banquet, at

[1] Dyer's *Rome*, p. 222. [2] Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 460.
[3] Trebellius Pollio.

which he exhibited an allegorical picture representing his reception of the empire of Gaul, and his subsequent resignation of it for the simple insignia of a Roman senator.[1]

To the christian visitor, however, the Coelian will always prove of the deepest interest; and the slight thread of connection which runs between all its principal objects, as well as their nearness to one another, brings them pleasantly within the limits of a single day's excursion. Many of those who are not mere passing visitors at Rome will probably find that their chief pleasure lies not amid the well-known sights of the great basilicas and palaces, but in quiet walks through the silent lanes and amid the decaying buildings of these more distant hills. As many as possible of these have been destroyed since the change of government, but a few (1896) still remain.

'The recollection of Rome will come back, after many years, in images of long delicious strolls, in musing loneliness, through the deserted ways of the ancient city; of climbing among its hills, over ruins, to reach some vantage-ground for mapping out the adjacent territory, and looking beyond on the glorious chains of greater and lesser mountains, clad in their imperial hues of gold and purple; and then, perhaps, of solemn entrance into the cool solitude of an open basilica, where your thought now rests, as your body then did, after the silent evening prayer, and brings forward from many well-remembered nooks every local inscription, every lovely monument of art, the characteristic feature of each, or the great names with which it is associated. The Liberian speaks to you of Bethlehem and its treasured mysteries; the Sessorian, of Calvary and its touching relics. Baronius gives you his injunctions on christian architecture inscribed, as a legacy, in his title of Fasciola; S. Dominic lives in the fresh paintings of a faithful disciple, on the walls of the opposite church of S. Xystus; there stands the chair and there hangs the hat of S. Charles as if he had just left his own church, from which he calls himself in his signature to letters, "the Cardinal of S. Praxedes;" near it, in a sister church, is fresh the memory of S. Justin Martyr, addressing his apologies for Christianity to heathen emperor and senate, and of Pudens and his British spouse; and far beyond the city gates the cheerful Philip[2] is seen kneeling at S. Sebastiano, waiting for the door to the Platonia to be opened for him, that he may watch the night through in the martyr's dormitory.'—*Wiseman's 'Life of Leo XII.'*

'For myself, I must say that I know nothing to compare with a pilgrimage among the antique churches scattered over the Esquiline, the Coelian, and the Aventine Hills. They stand apart, each in its solitude, amid gardens and vineyards and heaps of nameless ruins;—here a group of cypresses, there a lofty pine or solitary palm; the tutelary saint, perhaps some Sant' Achilleo or Santa Bibiana, whom we never heard of before—an altar rich in precious marbles—columns of porphyry—the old frescoes dropping from the walls—the everlasting colossal mosaics looking down so solemn, so dim, so spectral; these grow upon us, until at each succeeding visit they themselves, and the associations by which they are surrounded, become a part of our daily life, and may be said to hallow that daily life when considered in a right spirit. True, what is most sacred, what is most poetical, is often desecrated to the fancy by the intrusion of those prosaic realities which easily strike prosaic minds; by disgust at the foolish fabrications which those who recite them do not believe, by lying inscriptions, by tawdry pictures, by tasteless and even profane restorations;—by much that saddens, much that offends, much that disappoints—but then so much remains! So much to awaken, to elevate, to touch the heart; so much that will not pass away from the memory; so much that makes a part of our after-life.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

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[1] Gibbon, v. 1.

[2] S. Filippo Neri.

We may pass under the Arch of Constantine,[1] or through the pleasant sunny walks known as the **Parco di San Gregorio**—planted by the French during their first occupation of Rome, but which may almost be regarded as a remnant of the sacred grove of the Camenae which once occupied this site. Here is the **Museo al Celio**, or **Museo Archeologico Urbano**, to which the less important objects recently discovered in the city have been brought. It is deeply interesting to students, but scarcely attractive to the casual visitor. The contents are still in a transition state. We may notice :—

Room 1. Specimens of precious marbles.
Room 2. Fragments of sculpture.
Room 3. Objects from the Esquiline cemetery. Remains of a water conduit.
Room 4. Ex votos in terra-cotta. Republican inscriptions on travertine and peperino.
Room 5. Several fine busts. That of Hephaestus has traces of gilding and painting.
Room 6. Water-pipes of various kinds. The inscription to Caius Duilius from the Forum of Augustus.

(Open Mondays and Fridays from 1–5, and Wednesdays 9–1 ; admission 25 c.)

The farther gate of the Parco opens on a small triangular piazza, whence a broad flight of steps leads up to the **Church of S. Gregorio**, to the English pilgrim one of the most interesting spots in Rome, for it was at the head of these steps that S. Augustine took his last farewell of Gregory the Great, and, kneeling on the greensward below, the first missionaries of England received the parting blessing of the great pontiff, as he stood on the height in the gateway. As we enter the portico (built 1633 by Cardinal Scipio Borghese), we see on either side two world-famous inscriptions.

On the right :—

Adsta hospes
et lege.
Hic olim fuit M. Gregori domus,
Ipse in monasterium convertit,
Ubi monasticen professus est
Et diu abbas praefuit.
Monachi primum Benedictini
Mox Graeci tenuere,
Dein Benedictini iterum
Post varios casus
Quum jamdiu
Esset commendatum
Et poene desertum.
Anno MDLXXIII
Camaldulenses inducti
Qui et industria sua
Et ope plurium
R. E. Cardinalium
Quorum hic monumenta exstant,
Favente etiam Clemente XI. P. M.
Templum et adjacentes aedes
In hanc quam cernis formam
Restituerunt.

[1] The road crosses a great cloaca, which enters the Tiber near the Cloaca Maxima, and is built of enormous blocks, and well preserved.

On the left:—

Ex hoc monasterio
Prodierunt
S. Gregorius M. Fundator et Parens.
S. Eleutherius, AB. Hilarion, AB.
S. Augustinus, Anglor. Apostol.
S. Laurentius, Cantuar. Archiep.
S. Mellitus, Londinen. Ep. mox
Archiep. Cantuar.
S. Justus, Ep. Roffensis.
S. Paulinus, Ep. Eborac.
S. Maximianus, Syracusan. Ep.
SS. Antonius, Merulus, et Joannes, Monachi.
S. Petrus, AB. Cantuar.
Marinianus, Archiep. Raven.
Probus, Xenodochi Jerosolymit.
Curator. A. S. Gregorio Elect.
Sabinus Callipolit. Ep.
Gregorius, Diac. Card. S. Eustach.
Hic . Etiam . Diu . Vixit . M. Gregori
Mater . S. Silvia . Hoc . Maxime
Colenda . Quod . Tantum . Pietatis
Sapientiae . Et . Doctrinae . Lumen
Pepererit.

Cette ville incomparable renferme peu de sites plus attrayants et plus dignes d'éternelle mémoire. Ce sanctuaire occupe l'angle occidental du mont Coelius. . . . Il est à égale distance du grand Cirque, des Thermes de Caracalla et du Colisée, tout proche de l'église des saints martyrs Jean et Paul. Le berceau du christianisme de l'Angleterre touche ainsi au sol trempé par le sang de tant de milliers de martyrs. En face s'élève le mont Palatin, berceau de Rome païenne, encore couvert des vastes débris du palais des Césars. . . . Où est donc l'Anglais digne de ce nom qui, en portant son regard du Palatin au Colisée, pourrait contempler sans émotion ce coin de terre d'où lui sont venus la foi, le nom chrétien et la Bible dont il est si fier. Voilà où les enfants esclaves de ses aïeux étaient recueillis et sauvés! Sur ces pierres s'agenouillaient ceux qui ont fait sa patrie chrétienne! Sous ces voûtes a été conçu par une âme sainte, confié à Dieu, béni par Dieu, accepté et accompli par d'humbles et généreux chrétiens, le grand dessein! Par ces degrés sont descendus les quarante moines qui ont porté à l'Angleterre la parole de Dieu, la lumière de l'Evangile, la succession apostolique et la règle de Saint Benoît!'—*Montalembert, 'Moines d'Occident.'*

Hard by was the house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory, of which the ruins still remain, opposite to the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and in the little garden which still exists we may believe that he played as a child under his mother's care. Close to his mother's home he founded the monastery of S. Andrew, to which he retired from the world, taking nothing with him but his favourite cat, and in which he dwelt for many years as a monk, employed in writing homilies, and in the enjoyment of visionary conversation with the Virgin, whom he believed to answer him in person from her picture before which he knelt. To this monastery he presented his own portrait, with those of his father and mother, which were probably in existence 300 years after his death; and this portrait of himself probably furnished that peculiar type of physiognomy which we trace in all the best representations of him.[1] During the life of penance and poverty which was led here by S. Gregory, he

[1] Mrs. Jameson.

sold all his goods for the benefit of the poor, retaining nothing but a silver basin given him by his mother. One day a poor shipwrecked sailor came several times to beg in the cell where he was writing, and, as he had no money, he gave him instead this one remaining treasure. A long time after S. Gregory saw the same shipwrecked sailor reappear in the form of his guardian angel, who told him that God had henceforth destined him to rule his Church, and become the successor of S. Peter, whose charity he had imitated.[1]

'Un moine (A.D.590) va monter pour la première fois sur la chaire apostolique. Ce moine, le plus illustre de tous ceux qui sont compté parmi les souverains pontifes, y rayonnera d'un éclat qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs n'a égalé et qui rejaillira, comme une sanction suprême, sur l'institut dont il est issu. Grégoire, le seul parmi les hommes avec le Pape Léon Ier qui ait reçu à la fois, du consentement universel, le double surnom de Saint et de Grand, sera l'éternel honneur de l'Ordre bénédictin comme de la papauté. Par son génie, mais surtout par le charme et l'ascendant de sa vertu, il organisera le domaine temporel des papes, il développera et régularisera leur souveraineté spirituelle, il fondera leur paternelle suprématie sur les royautés naissantes et les nations nouvelles qui vont devenir les grands peuples de l'avenir, et s'appeler la France, l'Espagne, l'Angleterre. A vrai dire, c'est lui qui inaugure le moyen âge, la société moderne et la civilisation chrétienne.'—*Montalembert.*

The church of S. Gregory is approached by a cloistered court filled with monuments. On the left is that of Sir Edward Carne, one of the commissioners to obtain the opinion of foreign universities respecting the divorce of Henry VIII. from Catherine of Arragon, ambassador to Charles V., and afterwards to the court of Rome. He was recalled when the embassy was suppressed by Elizabeth, but was kept at Rome by Paul IV., who had conceived a great affection for him, and he died here in 1561. Another monument of an exile for the Catholic faith is that of Robert Pecham, who died in 1567, inscribed :—

'Roberto Pecham Anglo, equiti aurato, Philippi et Mariae Angliae et Hispan. regibus olim a consiliis genere religione virtute praeclaro, qui, cum patriam suam a fide catholica deficientem adspicere sine summo dolore non posset, relictis omnibus quae in hac vita carissima esse solent, in voluntarium profectus exilium, post sex annos, pauperibus Christi heredibus testamento institutis, sanctissime e vita migravit.'

The **Church**, one of the most interesting in Italy, was profanely rebuilt in 1734, under Francesco Ferrari. It has sixteen ancient granite columns and a fine *opus-alexandrinum* pavement. Among its monuments we may observe that of Cardinal Zurla, a learned writer on geographical subjects, who was abbot of the adjoining convent. It was a curious characteristic of the laxity of morals in the time of Julius II. (1503–13), that her friends did not hesitate to bury the famous Aspasia of that age in this church, and to inscribe upon her tomb : 'Imperia, cortisana Romana, quae digna tanto nomine, rarae inter homines formae specimen dedit. Vixit annos xxvi. dies xii. obiit 1511, die 15 Augusti.' But this monument has now been removed.

[1] Montalembert, '*Moines d'Occident.*'

At the end of the right aisle is a picture by *Badalocchi*, commemorating a miracle on this spot, when, at the moment of elevation, the Host is said to have bled in the hands of S. Gregory, to convince an unbeliever of the truth of transubstantiation. It will be observed that in this and in most other representations of S. Gregory, a dove is perched upon his shoulder, and whispering into his ear. This is commemorative of the impression that every word and act of the saint was directly inspired by the Holy Ghost; a belief first engendered by the happy promptitude of Peter, his archdeacon, who invented the story to save the beloved library of his master, which was about to be destroyed after his death by the people, in a pitiful spirit of revenge, because they fancied that a famine which was decimating them had been brought about by the extravagance of Gregory.[1] An altar beneath this picture is decorated with marble reliefs, by Mino da Fiesole, representing the same miracle, and also the story of the soul of the Emperor Trajan being freed from purgatory by the intercession of Gregory. (Chap. IV. p. 110.) The reredos belonging to this altar, moved from its original site, still remains in the north-east chapel.

A low door near this leads into the monastic cell of S. Gregory containing his marble chair, and the spot where his bed lay, inscribed :—

'Nocte dieque vigil longo hic defessa labore
Gregorius modica membra quiete levat.'

Here also an immense collection of minute relics of saints is exposed to the veneration of the credulous.

On the opposite side of the church is the **Salviati Chapel**, the burial-place of that noble family, modernised in 1690 by Carlo Maderno. Over the altar is a copy of Annibale Caracci's picture of S. Gregory, which once existed here, but is now in England. On the right is the picture of the Madonna 'which spoke to S. Gregory,' and which is said to have become suddenly impressed upon the wall after a vision in which she appeared to him. On the left is a beautiful marble dossale of the fifteenth century.

Hence a sacristan will admit the visitor into the **Garden of S. Silvia**, whence there is a grand view over the opposite Palatine.

'To stand here or on the summit of the flight of steps which leads to the portal, and look across to the ruined Palace of the Caesars, makes the mind giddy with the rush of thoughts. *There*, before us, the Palatine Hill—pagan Rome in the dust; *here*, the little cell, a few feet square, where slept in sackcloth the man who gave the last blow to the power of the Caesars, and first set his foot as sovereign on the cradle and capital of their greatness.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

Here are three chapels, restored by the historian Cardinal Baronius in the sixteenth century. The first, of **S. Silvia**, contains a fresco of the Almighty with a choir of angels, by *Guido;* and beneath it a beautiful statue of the venerable saint (especially invoked

[1] Milman's '*Latin Christianity*,' vol. ii.

against convulsions), by *Niccolo Cordieri*—one of the best statues of saints in Rome. The second chapel, of **S. Andrew**, contains the two famous rival frescoes of *Guido* and *Domenichino*. Guido has represented S. Andrew kneeling in reverent thankfulness at first sight of the cross on which he was to suffer; Domenichino—a more painful subject—the flagellation of the saint. Of these paintings Annibale Caracci observed that 'Guido's was the painting of the master; but Domenichino's the painting of the scholar who knew more than the master.' The beautiful group of figures in the corner, where a terrified child is hiding its face in its mother's dress, is introduced in several other pictures of Domenichino.

'It is a well-known anecdote that a poor old woman stood for a long time before the story of Domenichino, pointing it out bit by bit and explaining it to a child who was with her; and that she then turned to the story told by Guido, admired the landscape and went away. It is added that when Annibale Caracci heard of this, it seemed to him in itself a sufficient reason for giving the preference to the former work. It is also said that when Domenichino was painting one of the executioners, he worked himself up into a fury with threatening words and gestures, and that Annibale, surprising him in this condition, embraced him, saying, "Domenico, to-day you have taught me a lesson, which is that a painter, like an orator, must first feel himself that which he would represent to others."' —*Lanzi*, v. 82.

'In historical pictures Domenichino is often cold and studied, especially in the principal subject, while, on the other hand, the subordinate persons have much grace and a noble character of beauty. Thus, in the scourging of S. Andrew, a group of women thrust back by the executioners is of the highest beauty. Guido's fresco is of high merit: S. Andrew, on his way to execution, sees the cross before him in the distance, and falls upon his knees in adoration—the executioners and spectators regard him with astonishment.'—*Kugler*.

The third chapel, of **S. Barbara**, contains a grand statue of S. Gregory, by *Niccolo Cordieri*[1] (where the whispering dove is again represented), and the table at which he daily fed twelve poor pilgrims after washing their feet. The Roman Breviary tells how on one occasion an angel appeared at the feast, as the thirteenth guest. This story, the sending forth of S. Augustine, and other events of S. Gregory's life, are represented in rude frescoes upon the walls by *Viviani*. The table is mentioned in the Mirabilia as an object of devotion in the middle of the twelfth century.

The adjoining **Convent** (modern) is of vast size, and is now occupied by Camaldolese monks, though in the time of S. Gregory it belonged to the Benedictines. In its situation it is beautiful and quiet, and must have been so even in the time of S. Gregory, who often regretted the seclusion which he was compelled to quit.

'Un jour, plus accablé que jamais par le poids des affaires séculières, il s'était retiré dans un lieu secret pour s'y livrer dans un long silence à sa tristesse, et y fut rejoint par le diacre Pierre, son élève, son ami d'enfance et le compagnon de ses chères études. "Vous est-il donc arrivé quelque chagrin nouveau," lui dit le jeune homme, "pour que vous soyez ainsi plus triste qu'à l'ordinaire?" "Mon

[1] Rome possesses at least eight fine modern statues of saints: besides those of S. Silvia and S. Gregory, are the S. Agnese of Algardi, the S. Bibiana of Bernini, the S. Cecilia of Maderno, the S. Susanna of Quesnoy, the S. Martina of Menghino, and the S. Bruno of Houdon.

chagrin," lui répondit le pontife, "est celui de tous mes jours, toujours vieux par l'usage, et toujours nouveau par sa croissance quotidienne. Ma pauvre âme se rappelle ce qu'elle était autrefois, dans notre monastère, quand elle planait sur tout ce qui passe, sur tout ce qui change; quand elle ne songeait qu'au ciel; quand elle franchissait par la contemplation le cloître de ce corps qui l'enserre; quand elle aimait d'avance la mort comme l'entrée de la vie. Et maintenant il lui faut, à cause de ma charge pastorale, supporter les mille affaires des hommes du siècle et se souiller dans cette poussière. Et quand, après s'être ainsi répandue au dehors, elle veut retrouver sa retraite intérieure, elle n'y revient qu'amoindrie. Je médite sur tout ce que je souffre et sur tout ce que j'ai perdu. Me voici, battu par l'océan et tout brisé par la tempête; quand je pense à ma vie d'autrefois, il me semble regarder en arrière vers le rivage. Et ce qu'il y a de plus triste, c'est qu'ainsi ballotté par l'orage, je puis à peine entrevoir le port que j'ai quitté."'—*Montalembert*, '*Moines d'Occident.*'

Pope Gregory XVI. was for some years abbot of this convent, to which he was afterwards a generous benefactor—regretting always, like his great predecessor, the peace of his monastic life. His last words to his cardinals, who were imploring him, for political purposes, to conceal his danger, were singularly expressive of this: 'Per Dio, lasciatemi!—voglio morire da frate, non da sovrano.' The last great ceremony enacted at S. Gregorio was when Cardinal Wiseman consecrated the mitred abbot of English Cistercians—Dr. Manning preaching at the same time on the prospects of English Catholicism. As Cardinal Manning he offered a sum of £1000 for excavating the house of S. Gregory, which is known to exist under the church (as at S. Clemente, S. Martino, &c.), but permission to excavate was refused by the jealousy of the Government, because he was a foreigner, in spite of his being titular of S. Gregorio. The crypto-porticus of the house of S. Gregory exists beyond the coal-cellar of the convent.

Ascending the steep paved lane between S. Gregorio and the Parco, the picturesque church on the left with the arcaded apse and tall campanile (*c.* A.D. 1206), inlaid with coloured tiles and marbles, is that of **SS. Giovanni e Paolo**, two officers in the household of the christian princess Constantia, daughter of the Emperor Constantine, in whose time they occupied a position of great influence and trust. When Julian the Apostate came to the throne, he attempted to persuade them to sacrifice to idols, but they refused, saying, 'Our lives are at the disposal of the emperor, but our souls and our faith belong to our God!' Then Julian, fearing to bring them to public martyrdom, lest their popularity should cause a rebellion, and the example of their well-known fortitude be an encouragement to others, sent soldiers to behead them privately in their own house. Hence the inscription on the spot, 'Locus martyrii SS. Joannis et Pauli in aedibus propriis.' The campanile rests upon part of a travertine arcade, supposed to have belonged to the Domus Vectiliana, bought by Commodus as a residence because he could not sleep on the Palatine, and which was the scene of his murder. It was connected by a crypto-porticus with the Coliseum. The church known as *Titulus Pammachii* was built by Pammachus, the friend of S. Jerome, on the site of the house of the saints. It is entered by a portico adorned with eight ancient granite

columns, interesting as having been erected by the English Pope Nicholas Breakspear, A.D. 1158. The interior, in the basilica form, has sixteen ancient columns and a beautiful *opus-alexandrinum* pavement. In the centre of the floor is a stone, railed off, upon which it is said that the saints were beheaded. Their bodies are contained in a porphyry urn under the high altar. In early times these were the only bodies of saints preserved within the walls of Rome (the rest being in the catacombs). In the Sacramentary of S. Leo, in the Preface of SS. John and Paul, it is said, 'Of Thy merciful providence Thou hast vouchsafed to crown not only the circuit of the city with the glorious passion of the martyrs, but also to hide in the very heart of the city itself the victorious limbs of S. John and S. Paul.'[1]

The 'very large and beautiful' church of Pammachus was cruelly modernised by Cardinal Camillo Paolucci and his architect Antonio Canevari, at the end of the seventeenth century, when the tomb of Luke, Cardinal of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the friend of S. Bernard, which stood in the portico, was broken up, and his coffin used as a water-trough.

Above the tribune are frescoes by *Pomerancio*. Beneath the altar on the left of the tribune is preserved the embalmed body of S. Paul of the Cross (who died 1776, and whose festival is April 28), founder of the Order of Passionists, who inhabit the adjoining convent. The aged face bears a beautiful expression of repose; the body is dressed in the robe which clothed it when living.[2] In honour of this saint a splendid chapel has been erected on the right of the nave (1868–70), cased with precious alabaster and jaspers; its two great alabaster pillars were the gift of Pius IX. Beneath the high altar of the church, the excavations of Father Germanus brought to light in 1887 several chambers evidently belonging to the house of a Roman of the fourth century. The walls have remains of frescoes of peacocks, wild beasts, sea-horses, &c. Several pictures are of undoubted christian character: Moses before the Burning Bush (also seen in the catacomb of S. Calixtus); a woman, with a veil and a pearl necklace, praying, with her arms outstretched; and scenes from the Passion of Christ. These are the earliest instances of christian frescoes found outside the catacombs. The house contains fifteen rooms, and there are others still unexcavated. The amphorae remain in the cellars.

'The murder of the saints seems to have taken place in a narrow passage (*fauces*) not far from the *tablinum* or reception room. Here we see the *fenestella confessionis*, by means of which pilgrims were allowed to behold and touch the venerable grave. Two things strike the modern visitor: the variety of the fresco decorations of the house, which begin with pagan genii holding festoons,

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[1] See '*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 106.

[2] 'Domine Jesu Christe, qui ad mysterium crucis praedicandum Sanctum Paulum singulari caritate donasti, et per eum novam in ecclesia familiam florescere voluisti; ipsius nobis intercessione concede, ut passionem tuam jugiter recolentes in terris, ejusdem fructum consequi mereamur in coelis.'—*Collect of S. Paul of the Cross*, '*Roman Vesper-Book*.'

a tolerably good work of the third century, and end with stiff, uncanny representations of the Passion, of the ninth and tenth centuries; second, the fact that such an important monument should have been buried and forgotten.'—*Lanciani.*

The famous church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice was founded by emigrants from this convent. The memory of these saints was so much honoured up to the time of Pope Gregory the Great, that the eve of their festival was an obligatory fast. Their festa (June 26) is still kept with great solemnities on the Coelian, when the railing round their place of execution is wreathed and laden with flowers. When the 'station' is held at their church, the apse is illuminated.

Male visitors are admitted through the convent to its large and beautiful **Garden**, which overhangs the steep side of the Coelian towards the Coliseum, of which there is a fine view between its ancient cypresses. Here on a site near the monastery are some remains believed to be those of the temple built by Agrippina (*c.* A.D. 57), daughter of Germanicus, to the honour of her deified husband (and uncle) Claudius, after she had sent him to Olympus by feeding him with poisonous mushrooms. Nero, who wished to efface the memory of his predecessor, pulled down this temple, on the pretext that it interfered with his Golden House, but it was rebuilt under Vespasian. In this garden also is the entrance to the vast substructions known as the **Vivarium**, whence the wild beasts who devoured the early christian martyrs were frightened by burning tow down a subterranean passage into the arena. The ruins in the part of the garden nearest to the Coliseum have been supposed to belong to the **Domus Vectiliana** of Commodus, which he frequented as a retreat for his insomnia, and where the concubine Marcia, finding her name on a tablet-list of those to be executed, determined on his murder.

Continuing to follow the lane up the Coelian, we reach the richly tinted brick **Arch of Dolabella**, erected A.D. 10, by the consuls P. Cornelius Dolabella and Caius Julius Silanus. Nero, building his aqueduct to the Palace of the Caesars, made use of this, which already existed, and included it in his line of arches.

Above the arch is a **Hermitage**, revered as that where S. Giovanni de Matha lived, and where he died in 1213. Before he came to reside here he had been miraculously brought from Tunis (whither he had gone on a mission) to Ostia, in a boat without helm or sail, in which he knelt without ceasing before the crucifix throughout the whole of his voyage!

Passing beneath the gateway, we emerge upon the picturesque irregular Piazza of the Navicella, the central point of the Coelian, which is surrounded by a most interesting group of buildings, and which contains an isolated fragment of the aqueduct of Nero, dear to artists from its colour. Behind this, under the trees, is the marble **Navicella**, which is supposed to have been originally a votive offering of a sailor to Jupiter Redux, whose temple stood near this; but which was adapted by Leo X. as a christian emblem of the Church—the boat of S. Peter.

'The allegory of a ship is peculiarly dwelt upon by the ancient Fathers. A ship entering the port was a favourite heathen emblem of the close of life. But the christian idea, and its elevation from individual to universal or catholic humanity, is derived directly from the Bible—see, for instance, 1 Peter iii. 20, 21. "Without doubt," says S. Augustine, "the ark is the figure of the city of God pilgrimising in this world, in other words, of the Church, which is saved by the wood on which hung the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." The same interpretation was recognised in the Latin Church in the days of Tertullian and S. Cyprian, &c. The bark of S. Peter is similarly represented on a Greek gem, found in the Catacombs, as sailing on a fish, probably Leviathan or Satan, while doves, emblematical of the faithful, perch on the mast and stern—two Apostles row, a third lifts up his hands in prayer, and our Saviour, approaching the vessel, supports Peter by the hand when about to sink. . . . But the allegory of the ship is carried out to its fullest extent in the fifty-seventh chapter of the second book of the "Apostolical Constitutions," supposed to have been compiled, in the name of the Apostles, in the fourth century.'—*Lord Lindsay's 'Christian Art,'* i. 18.

On the right is (first) the gateway of the deserted convent of Redemptorists, called **S. Tommaso in Formis**, which was founded by S. Giovanni de Matha, who, when celebrating his first mass at Paris, beheld in a vision an angel robed in white, with a red and blue cross upon his breast, and his hands resting in benediction upon the heads of two captives—a white and a black man. The Bishop of Paris sent him to Rome to seek explanation from Innocent III., who was celebrated as an interpreter of dreams—his foundation of the Franciscan order having resulted from one which befell him. S. Giovanni was accompanied to the Pope by another hermit, Felix de Valois. They found that Innocent had himself seen the same vision of the angel between the two captives while celebrating mass at the Lateran, and he interpreted it as inculcating the duty of charity towards christian slaves, for which purpose he founded the Trinitarians, since called Redemptorists. The story of the double vision is commemorated in a **Mosaic** erected above the door, A.D. 1260, and bearing the name of the artist, Jacobus Cosmati.

The next gate beyond the church is that of the **Villa Mattei**, formerly belonging to the ducal family of Mattei di Giove, now to Baron Richard von Hoffman. (Visitors are admitted on Thursdays, after 2 P.M.—sometimes at the entrance opposite SS. Giovanni e Paolo—upon writing down their names at the gate.) These grounds are well worth visiting—quite the ideal of a Roman garden, a wealth of large Roman daisies, roses, and periwinkle spreading amid remains of ancient statues and columns. A grand little avenue of ilexes, lined with ancient statues, leads to a terrace whence there is a most beautiful view towards the aqueducts and the Alban hills, with a noble sarcophagus and a quantity of fine aloes and prickly pears in the foreground. There is an obelisk, of which only the top is Egyptian. It is said that there is a man's hand underneath; when the obelisk was lowered it fell suddenly, and one of the workmen had not time to take his hand away. In the lowest portion of the grounds, now enclosed in some picturesque ancient farm-buildings, is the crystal spring which has been identified as the true **Fountain of Egeria**, where the nymph held her

mysterious interviews with Numa Pompilius. Near the gate of the villa was the **Statio** of the fifth battalion of the Roman vigiles, or fire brigade. Two marble pedestals have been found: one bearing the roll of the company; the other bearing a dedication to Caracalla from the officers and men of the fifth battalion, with their names. They are now at the entrance of the little ilex avenue in the villa.

Almost standing in the garden of the villa, and occupying the site of the house of S. Ciriaca, is the **Church of S. Maria in Domenica** or **della Navicella.** (If no one is there, the hermit at S. Stefano Rotondo will unlock it.) The unremarkable portico was designed by Raffaelle.[1] The damp interior (rebuilt by Leo X. from designs of Raffaelle) is solemn and striking. It is in the basilica form, the nave separated from the aisles by eighteen columns of granite and one (smaller, near the tribune) of porphyry. The frieze, in chiaroscuro, was painted by *Giulio Romano* and *Pierino del Vaga.* Beneath the confessional are the bones of S. Balbina, whose fortress-like church stands on the Pseudo-Aventine. In the tribune are curious mosaics, in which the figure of Pope Paschal I. is introduced, the square nimbus round his head being an evidence of its portrait character, *i.e.* that it was done during his lifetime.[2]

'Within the tribune are mosaics of the Virgin and Child seated on a throne, with angels ranged in regular rows on each side; and, at her feet, with unspeakable stiffness of limb, the kneeling figure of Pope Paschal I. Upon the walls of the tribune is the Saviour with a nimbus, surrounded with two angels and the twelve apostles, and farther below, on a much larger scale, two prophets, who appear to point towards Him. The most remarkable thing here is the rich foliage decoration. Besides the wreath of flowers (otherwise not a rare feature) which are growing out of two vessels on the edge of the dome, the floor beneath the figures is also decorated with flowers—a graceful species of ornament seldom aimed at in the moroseness of Byzantine art. From this point, the decline into utter barbarism is rapid.'—*Kugler.*

'The Olivetan monks inhabited the church and cloisters of S. Maria in Domenica, commonly called in Navicella, from the rudely sculptured marble monument that stands on the grass before its portal, a remnant of bygone days, to which neither history nor tradition has given a name, but which has itself given one to the picturesque old church which stands on the brow of the Coelian Hill.'—*Lady Georgiana Fullerton.*

A tradition of the Church narrates that S. Lorenzo, deacon and martyr, daily distributed alms to the poor in front of this church —then the house of S. Ciriaca—with whom he had taken refuge.

Opposite, is the round **Church of S. Stefano Rotondo,** dedicated by S. Simplicius in 467. It appears to have been built on the site of an ancient circular building, and to have belonged to the great victual-market — Macellum Magnum — erected by Nero in this quarter.[3] It is seldom used for service, except on S. Stephen's

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1 His sketch is in the collection at Windsor Castle.

2 A square nimbus indicates that a portrait was executed *before*, a round *after*, the death of the person represented.

3 See Emile Braun. The building of the Macellum is described by Dion Cassius, i. 18; Notitia, *Reg.* ii.

Day (December 26); but visitors are admitted through a little cloister, in which stands a well of beautiful proportions, of temp. Leo X.—attributed to Michelangelo. The interior is exceedingly curious architecturally. It is one hundred and thirty-three feet in diameter, with a double circle of granite columns, thirty-six in the outer and twenty in the inner series, enclosing two tall corinthian columns, with two pilasters supporting a cross wall. In the centre is a kind of temple in which are relics of S. Stephen (his body is said to be at S. Lorenzo). In the entrance of the church is an ancient marble seat from which S. Gregory is said to have read his fourth homily.

The walls are lined with frescoes by *Pomerancio* and *Tempesta*. They begin with the Crucifixion, but as the Holy Innocents really suffered before our Saviour, one of them is represented lying on each side of the Cross. Next comes the stoning of S. Stephen, and the frescoes continue to portray every phase of human agony in the most revolting detail, but are interesting as showing an historical series of what the Roman Catholic Church considers as the best authenticated martyrdoms, viz. :—

Under Nero	S. Peter, crucified. S. Paul, beheaded. S. Vitale, buried alive. S. Thecla, tossed by a bull. S. Gervase, beaten to death.
Under Nero	SS. Protasius, Processus, and Martinianus, beheaded. S. Faustus and others, clothed in skins of beasts and torn to pieces by dogs.
Under Domitian	S. John, boiled in oil (which he survived) at the Porta Latina. S. Cletus, Pope, beheaded. S. Denis, beheaded (and carrying his head). S. Domitilla, roasted alive. SS. Nereus and Achilles, beheaded.
Under Trajan	S. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, eaten by lions in the Coliseum. S. Clement, Pope, tied to an anchor and thrown into the sea. S. Simon, Bishop of Jerusalem, crucified.
Under Hadrian	S. Eustachio, his wife Theophista, and his children Agapita and Theophista, burnt in a brazen bull before the Coliseum. S. Alexander, Pope, beheaded. S. Sinforosa, drowned, and her seven sons martyred in various ways. S. Pius, Pope, beheaded.
Under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius	S. Felicitas and her seven sons, martyred in various ways. S. Justus, beheaded. S. Margaret, stretched on a rack, and torn to pieces with iron forks.
Under Antoninus and Verus	S. Blandina, tossed by a bull, in a net. S. Attalus, roasted on a red-hot chair. S. Pothinus and others, burnt alive.
Under Septimius Severus and Caracalla	SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, torn to pieces by lions in the Coliseum. SS. Victor and Zephyrinus, Leonida and Basil, beheaded. S. Alexandrina, covered with boiling pitch.

Under Alexander Severus	S. Calixtus, Pope, thrown into a well with a stone round his neck. S. Calepodius, dragged through Rome by wild horses, and thrown into the Tiber.
Under Alexander Severus	S. Martina, torn with iron forks. S. Cecilia, who, failing to be suffocated with hot water, was stabbed in the throat. S. Urban the Pope, Tibertius, Valerianus, and Maximus, beheaded.
Under Valerianus and Gallienus. .	S. Pontianus, Pope, beheaded in Sardinia. S. Agatha, her breasts cut off. SS. Fabian and Cornelius, Popes, and S. Cyprian of Carthage, beheaded. S. Tryphon, burnt. SS. Abdon and Sennen, torn by lions. S. Apollonia, burnt, after all her teeth were pulled out. S. Stephen, Pope, burnt in his episcopal chair. S. Cointha, torn to pieces. S. Sixtus, Pope, killed with the sword. S. Venantius, thrown from a wall. S. Laurence the deacon, roasted on a gridiron. S. Hippolytus, torn by wild horses. SS. Rufina and Semula, drowned in the Tiber. SS. Protus and Hiacinthus, beheaded.
Under Claudius II.	Three hundred Christians, burnt in a furnace. S. Tertullian, burnt with hot irons. S. Nemesius, beheaded. SS. Sempronius, Olympius, and Theodulus, burnt. S. Marius, hung, with a huge weight tied to his feet. S. Martha and her children, martyred in different ways. SS. Cyprian and Justinian, boiled. S. Valentine, killed with the sword.
Under Aurelian and Numerianus . .	S. Agapitus (aged 15), hung head downwards over a pan of burning charcoal. Inscribed above are these words from Wisdom: 'Properavit ut educeret illum a seductionibus et iniquitatibus gentis suae.' S. Cristina, transfixed through the heart. S. Columba, burnt. SS. Crysanthus and Daria, buried alive.
Under Diocletian and Maximianus.	S. Agnes, bound to a stake, afterwards beheaded. S. Caius, Pope, beheaded. S. Emerantia, stoned to death. Nearly the whole population of Nicomedia martyred in different ways. S. Erasmus, laid in a coffin into which boiling lead was poured. S. Blaise, bound to a column and torn to pieces. S. Barbara, burnt with hot irons. S. Eustathius and his companions, martyred in different ways. S. Vincent, burnt on a gridiron. SS. Primus and Felicianus, torn by lions. S. Anastasia, thrown from a rock? SS. Quattro Incoronati, martyred in various ways. SS. Peter and Marcellinus, beheaded. S. Boniface, placed in a dungeon full of boiling pitch. S. Lucia, shut up in a well full of serpents. S. Euphemia, run through with a sword. SS. Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentius, boiled alive. S. Sebastian, shot with arrows (which he survived). SS. Cosmo and Damian, Pantaleop, Saturninus, Susanna, Gornius, Adrian, and others, in different ways.

Under Maxentius .	S. Catherine of Alexandria, and others, broken on the wheel. SS. Faustina and Porfirius, burnt with a company of soldiers. S. Marcellus, Pope, died worn out by persecution.
Under Maximinus and Licinius . .	S. Simon and 1600 citizens, cut into fragments. S. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, and forty soldiers, left to die, up to their waists in a frozen lake.
Under Julian the Apostate . . .	SS. John and Paul, beheaded. S. Artemius, crushed between two stones. S. Pigmenius, drowned in the Tiber. S. Bibiana, flogged to death, and thrown for food to dogs in the Forum.

The last picture represents the reunion of eminent martyrs (in which the Roman Church includes English sufferers under Elizabeth), and above is inscribed this verse from Isaiah xxv.: 'Laudabit populus fortis, civitas gentium robustarum.'

'Au-dessus du tableau de la Crucifixion se trouve cette inscription: "Roi glorieux des martyrs, s'il donne sa vie pour racheter le péché, il verra une postérité sans fins." Et quelle postérité! Hommes, femmes, vieillards, jeunes hommes, jeunes filles, enfants! Comme tous accourent, comme tous savent mourir.'—'*Une Chrétienne à Rome.*'

'Les païens avaient divinisé la vie, les chrétiens divinisèrent la mort.'—*Madame de Staël.*

'S. Stefano Rotondo exhibits, in a series of pictures all round the church, the martyrdoms of the Christians in the so-called persecutions, with a general picture of the most eminent martyrs since the triumph of Christianity. No doubt many of the particular stories thus painted will bear no critical examination; it is likely enough, too, that Gibbon has truly accused the general statements of exaggeration. But this is a thankless labour, such as Lingard and others have undertaken with regard to the S. Bartholomew massacre, and the Irish massacre of 1642. Divide the sum-total of reported martyrs by twenty—by fifty, if you will—but after all you have a number of persons of all ages and sexes suffering cruel torments and death for conscience' sake and for Christ's, and by their sufferings manifestly, with God's blessing, ensuring the triumph of Christ's gospel. Neither do I think that we consider the excellence of this martyr-spirit half enough. I do not think pleasure is a sin: the Stoics of old, and the ascetic Christians since, who have said so (see the answers of that excellent man, Pope Gregory the Great, to Augustine's questions, as given at length by Bede), have, in saying so, outstepped the simplicity and wisdom of christian truth. But, though pleasure is not a sin, yet surely the contemplation of suffering for Christ's sake is a thing most needful to us in our days, from whom, in our daily life, suffering seems so far removed. And, as God's grace enabled rich and delicate persons, women, and even children, to endure all extremities of pain and reproach in times past, so there is the same grace no less mighty now, and if we do not close ourselves against it, it might in us be no less glorified in a time of trial. And that such times of trial will come, my children, in your times, if not in mine, I do believe fully, both from the teaching of man's wisdom and of God's. And therefore pictures of martyrdom are, I think, very wholesome—not to be sneered at, nor yet to be looked on as a mere excitement, but as a sober reminder to us of what Satan can do to hurt, and what God's grace can enable the weakest of His people to bear. Neither should we forget those who by their sufferings were more than conquerors, not for themselves only, but for us, in securing to us the safe and triumphant existence of Christ's blessed faith—in securing to us the possibility, nay, the actual enjoyment, had it not been for the Antichrist of the priesthood, of Christ's holy and glorious ἐκκλησία, the congregation and commonwealth of Christ's people.'—*Arnold's Letters.*

'On croit que l'église de Saint-Etienne-le-Rond est bâtie sur l'emplacement du *Macellum Augusti*. S'il en est ainsi, les supplices des martyrs, hideusement représentés sur les murs de cette église, rappellent ce qu'elle a remplacé.'—*Ampère, Emp.* I. 270.

'Je crains fort que des peintures pareilles à celles de Santo Stefano, au lieu d'agir sur beaucoup de spectateurs par voie d'édification chrétienne, n'agissent par voie de dépravation. Ne montrez jamais le rouge au taureau, le sang au tigre, la cruauté à l'animal humain.'—*Emile Montégut.*

The first chapel on the left, dedicated to SS. Primus and Felicianus, contains some delicate small mosaics.

'The mosaics of the small altar of S. Stefano Rotondo are of A.D. 642–649. A brilliantly decorated cross is represented between two standing figures of S. Primus and S. Felicianus. On the upper end of the cross (very tastefully introduced) appears a small head of Christ with a nimbus, over which the hand of the Father is extended in benediction.'—*Kugler.*

In the next chapel is a very beautiful tomb of Bernardino Capella, Canon of S. Peter's, who died 1524.

In a small house which formerly stood among the gardens in this neighbourhood, Palestrina lived and wrote.

'Sous le règne de Paul IV., Palestrina faisait partie de la chapelle papale ; mais il fut obligé de la quitter, parce qu'il était marié. Il se retira alors dans une chaumière perdue au milieu des vignes du Mont Coelius, et là, seul, inconnu au monde, il se livra, durant de longs jours, à cette extase de la pensée qui agrandit, au-delà de toute mesure, la puissance créatrice de l'homme. Le désir des Pères du concile lui ayant été manifesté, il prit aussitôt une plume, écrivit en tête de son cahier, "Mon Dieu, éclairez-moi!" et se mit à l'œuvre avec un saint enthousiasme. Ses premiers efforts ne répondirent pas à l'idéal que son génie s'était formé ; mais peu à peu ses pensées s'éclaircirent, et les flots de poésie qui inondaient son âme se répandirent en mélodies touchantes. Chaque parole du texte retentissait clairement, allait chercher toutes les consciences, et les exaltait dans une émotion commune. La *messe du pape Marcel* trancha la question ; et Pie IV. s'écria, après l'avoir entendue, qu'il avait cru assister aux concerts des anges.'—*Gournerie,* '*Rome Chrétienne,*' ii. 195.

Palestrina's house must have been on grounds adjoining the *Villa Casali*, where a military hospital marks the site of the villa of Annius Verus, grandfather of Marcus Aurelius, in which the emperor was born, A.D. 121, and where he was educated. Annius Verus was father of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and his sister, Anna Galeria Faustina, was the profligate wife of his predecessor, the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and mother of the Empress Annia Faustina, who became the equally dissolute wife of her first cousin, M. Aurelius, and the mother of the emperor Commodus. A new street on the Coelian is called Via Annia from the family.

Near this also was the Domus Valeriorum, belonging to the descendants of the famous Valerius Publicola, which remained in wonderful preservation till the seventeenth century, when many beautiful statues were removed from it, including the Cupid and Pysche of the Uffizi. The villa stood near the church and monastery of S. Erasmo, famous in mediaeval times, but which have totally disappeared. Another great Roman house in this neighbourhood was that of the Symmachi, of whom Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, a great pagan statesman and orator of the fourth century, was the builder of the Ponte Sisto.

Following the lane of S. Stefano Rotondo—skirted by broken fragments of Nero's aqueduct, but much spoilt by hideous gas-works and other modern buildings—almost to its debouchment near S. John Lateran, and then turning to the left, we reach the quaint fortress-like church and convent of the **Santi Quattro Incoronati,**[1] crowned by a stumpy campanile of 1112. The full title of this church is 'I Santi quattro Pittori Incoronati e i cinque Scultori Martiri;' the names which the Church attributes to the painters being Severus, Severianus, Carpoforus, and Vittorinus; and those of the sculptors, Claudius, Nicostratus, Sinforianus, Castorius, and Simplicius—who all suffered for refusing to carve and paint idols for Diocletian. Their festa is kept on November 8th.

This church was founded on the site of a Temple of Diana by Honorius I., A.D. 622; rebuilt by Leo IV., A.D. 850; and again rebuilt in its present form by Paschal II., who consecrated it afresh in A.D. 1111. It is approached through a double court, in which are many ancient columns—perhaps remains of the temple. Some antiquaries suppose that the church itself was once of larger size, and that the pillars which now form its atrium were once included in the nave. The interior is arranged on the English plan with a triforium and a clerestory, the triforium being occupied by the nuns of the adjoining convent. The aisles are groined, but the nave has a wooden ceiling. The inscribed pavement may be called an epigraphic museum.[2] Behind the tribune is a vaulted passage, partly subterranean. The tribune contains a marble throne, and is adorned with frescoes by *Giovanni di San Giovanni.*[3] In the right aisle are preserved some of the verses of Pope Damasus. Another inscription tells of the restoration of the church in the fifteenth century, and describes the state of desolation into which it had fallen :—

> 'Haec quaecumque vides veteri prostrata ruina
> Obruta verbenis, ederis, dumisque jacebant.'

Opening out of the court in front of the church is the little **Chapel of S. Silvestro,** built by Innocent II. in 1140. It contains a series of very curious frescoes.

'Showing the influence of Byzantine upon Roman art is the little chapel of S. Silvestro, detailing the history of the conversion of Constantine with a naïveté which, with the exception of a certain dignity in some of the figures, constitutes their sole attraction. They are indeed little better than Chinese paintings; the last of the series, representing Constantine leading Pope Sylvester's horse by the bridle, walking beside him in his long flowing robe, with a chattah held over his head by an attendant, has quite an Asiatic character.'—*Lord Lindsay's 'Christian Art.'*

'Here, as in so many instances, legend is the genuine reflex, not of the external, but of the moral part of history. In this series of curious wall-paintings we see Constantine dismissing, consoled and laden with gifts, the mothers whose children

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1 Key on the right of the entrance court—50 c.
2 See Lanciani, '*Pagan and Christian Rome.*'
3 Best known by his comic pictures in the Uffizi at Florence.

were to be slaughtered to provide a bath of blood, the remedy prescribed—but which he humanely rejected—for his leprosy, his punishment for persecuting the Church while he yet lingered in the darkness of paganism; we see the vision of S. Peter and S. Paul, who appear to him in his dreams, and prescribe the infallible cure for both physical and moral disease through the waters of baptism; we see the mounted emissaries, sent by the emperor to seek S. Sylvester, finding that pontiff concealed in a cavern on Mount Soracte; we see that saint before the emperor, exhibiting to him the authentic portraits of the two apostles (said to be still preserved at S. Peter's), pictures in which Constantine at once recognises the forms seen in his vision, assuming them to be gods entitled to his worship; we see the imperial baptism, with a background of fantastic architecture, the rite administered both by immersion (the neophyte standing in an ample font) and affusion; we see the pope on a throne, before which the emperor is kneeling, to offer him a tiara—no doubt the artist intended thus to imply the immediate bestowal of temporal sovereignty (very generally believed the act of Constantine in the first flush of his gratitude and neophyte zeal) upon the papacy; lastly, we see the pontiff riding into Rome in triumph, Constantine himself leading his horse, and other mitred bishops following on horseback. Another picture—evidently by the same hand—quaintly represents the finding of the true cross by S. Helena, and the miracle by which it was distinguished from the crosses of the two thieves—a subject here introduced because a portion of that revered relic was among treasures deposited in this chapel, as an old inscription on one side records. The largest composition on these walls, which complete the series, represents the Saviour enthroned amidst angels and apostles. This chapel is now only used for the devotions of a guild of marble-cutters, and open for mass on but one Sunday—the last—in every month.'—*Hemans*' '*Mediaeval Christian Art.*'

'Ahi Costantin! di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre.'
—*Dante, Inf.* xix.

In the fresco of the Crucifixion in this chapel an angel is represented taking off the crown of thorns and putting on a real crown, an incident nowhere else introduced in art.

The castellated **Convent of the Santi Quattro** was built by Paschal II. at the same time as the church, and was used as a papal palace while the Lateran was in ruins; hence its defensive aspect, suited to the troubious times of the anti-popes. It is still inhabited by Augustinian nuns, but their numbers have been greatly reduced since the change of government.

At the foot of the Coelian, beneath the Incoronati, and in the street leading from the Coliseum to the Lateran, is the **Church of S. Clemente,** the most perfect example existing of the architecture and arrangements of an early christian basilica, to which the discoveries of the late Irish abbot, Father Mullooly (who died June 1880), have given an extraordinary interest.

The upper church, in spite of modernisations under Clement XI. in the last century, retains more of the details belonging to primitive ecclesiastical architecture than any other building in Rome.

S. Clément, sous lequel il y a des siècles de croyances contraires stratifiés, un monument très ancien du temps de la république, un autre du temps de l'empire, dans lequel on a reconnu un temple de Mithra, enfin une basilique de la primitive foi.'—*Zola*, '*Rome.*'

It was consecrated in memory of Clement, the fellow-labourer of S. Paul and the third bishop of Rome, upon the site of his family house. It was already important in the time of Gregory the Great,

who here read his thirty-third and thirty-eighth homilies. It was altered by Adrian I. in A.D. 772, and by John VIII. in A.D. 800, and again restored in A.D. 1099 by Paschal II., who had been cardinal of the church, and who was elected to the papacy within its walls. The greater part of the existing building is thus either of the ninth or the twelfth century.

At the west end a porch, supported by two columns, and attributed to the eighth century, leads into the *quadriporticus*, from which is the entrance to the nave, separated from its aisles by sixteen columns evidently plundered from pagan buildings. Raised above the nave and protected by a low marble wall is the *cancellum*, preserving its ancient pavement, ambones, altar, and episcopal throne.

'In S. Clemente, built on the site of his paternal mansion, and restored at the beginning of the twelfth century, an example is still to be seen, in perfect preservation, of the primitive church; everything remains *in statu quo*—the court, the portico, the cancellum, the ambones, paschal candlestick, crypt, and ciborium—virgin and intact; the wooden roof has unfortunately disappeared, and a small chapel, dedicated to S. Catherine, has been added, yet even this is atoned for by the lovely frescoes of Masaccio. I most especially recommend this relic of early Christianity to your affectionate and tender admiration. Yet the beauty of S. Clemente is internal only, outwardly it is little more than a barn.'—*Lord Lindsay.*

Perhaps more beautiful than any other example in the world are the *transennae*, or pierced screens, removed from the lower church, where they stood in front of the relics of S. Clement and S. Ignatius. The ciborium on the right of the altar is of great beauty, and is surmounted by a precious little statuette of the Magdalen.

On the right of the side entrance is the chapel of the Passion, clothed with frescoes of *Masaccio*, which, though restored, are very beautiful; over the altar is the Crucifixion; on the side walls the stories of S. Clement and S. Catherine.

'The celebrated series relating to S. Catherine is still more striking in the grace and refinement of its principal figures:—

'1. S. Catherine (cousin of the Emperor Constantine) refuses to worship idols.

'2. She converts the empress of Maximin. She is seen through a window seated inside a prison, and the empress is seated outside the prison, opposite to her, in a graceful listening attitude.

'3. The empress is beheaded, and her soul is carried to heaven by an angel.

'4. Catherine disputes with the pagan philosophers. She is standing in the midst of a hall, the forefinger of one hand laid on the other, as in the act of demonstrating. She is represented fair and girlish, dressed with great simplicity in a tunic and girdle—no crown, nor any other attribute. The sages are ranged on each side, some lost in thought, others in astonishment; the tyrant (Maximin) is seen behind, as if watching the conference: while through an open window we behold the fire kindled for the converted philosophers, and the scene of their execution.

'5. Catherine is delivered from the wheels, which are broken by an angel.

'6. She is beheaded. In the background, three angels lay her in a sarcophagus on the summit of Mount Sinai.'—See *Jameson's 'Sacred Art,'* p. 491.

'"Masaccio," says Vasari, "whose enthusiasm for art would not allow him to rest contentedly at Florence, resolved to go to Rome, that he might learn there to surpass every other painter." It was during this journey, which, in fact, added much to his renown, that he painted, in the Church of San Clemente, the chapel which now so usually disappoints the expectations of the traveller, on account of the successive restorations by which his work has been disfigured. . . . The heavy

brush which has passed over each compartment has spared neither the delicacy of the outline, the roundness of the forms, nor the play of light and shade: in a word, nothing which constitutes the peculiar merit of Masaccio.'—*Rio*, '*Poetry of Christian Art.*'

At the end of the right aisle is the beautiful tomb of Cardinal Rovarella, ob. 1476, with a relief sometimes attributed to Mino da Fiesole. Near it is the tomb of Cardinal Brusato. A statue of S. John the Baptist is by Simone, brother of Donatello. At the end of the left aisle is the fine tomb of Cardinal Ant. Veniero, 1479. Beneath the altar repose the relics of S. Clement, S. Ignatius of Antioch, martyred in the Coliseum, S. Cyril and S. Servulus.

'S. Grégoire raconte que de son temps on voyait dans le vestibule de l'église Saint Clément un pauvre paralytique, priant et mendiant, sans que jamais une plainte sortît de sa bouche, malgré les vives douleurs qu'il endurait. Chaque fidèle lui donnait, et le paralytique distribuait à son tour aux malheureux ce qu'il avait reçu de la compassion publique. Lorsqu'il mourut, son corps fut placé près de celui de Saint Clément, pape, et de Saint Ignace d'Antioche, et son nom fut inscrit au martyrologe. On le vénère dans l'Eglise sous le nom de saint Servulus.'—'*Une Chrétienne à Rome.*'

The mosaics in the tribune are well worth examination.

'There are few christian mosaics in which mystic meaning and poetic imagination are more felicitous than in those on the apse of S. Clemente, where the crucifix and a wide-spreading vine tree (allusive to His words who said "I am the True Vine") spring from the same stem; twelve doves, emblems of the apostles, being on the cross with the Divine Sufferer; the Mother and S. John beside it, the usual hand stretched out in glory above, with a crown; the four doctors of the Church, also other small figures, men and birds, introduced amidst the mazy vine foliage; and at the basement, the four mystic rivers, with stags and peacocks drinking at their streams. The figure of S. Dominic is a modern addition. It seems evident, from characteristics of style, that the other mosaics here, above the apsidal arch, and at the spandrels, are more ancient, perhaps by about a century: these latter representing the Saviour in benediction, the four Evangelic emblems, S. Peter and S. Clement, S. Paul and S. Laurence seated; the two apostles designated by their names, with the Greek "hagios" in Latin letters. The later art-work was ordered (see the Latin inscription below), in 1299, by a cardinal titular of S. Clemente, nephew to Boniface VIII.; the same who also bestowed the beautiful gothic tabernacle for the holy oils, with a relief representing the donor presented by S. Dominic to the Virgin and Child—set against the wall near the tribune, an admirable, though but an accessorial, object of mediaeval art.'—*Hemans*' '*Mediaeval Art.*'

From the sacristy a staircase (adorned with many ancient fragments, including a curious and beautiful statuette of S. Peter as the Good Shepherd) leads to the **Lower Church**, occasionally illuminated for the public, first discovered in 1857, and unearthed by the indefatigable energy of Father Mullooly. Here there are many pillars of the rarest marbles in perfect preservation, and a very curious series of frescoes of the eighth and ninth centuries, parts of which are still clear and almost uninjured. These include: the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and S. John standing by the cross—the earliest example in Rome of this well-known subject; the Ascension, sometimes called by Romanists (in preparation for their dogma of 1870), 'the Assumption of the Virgin,' because the figure of the Virgin is elevated above the other apostles, though she is

evidently intent on watching the retreating figure of her Divine Son—in this fresco the figure of a pope is introduced (with the square nimbus, showing that it was painted in his lifetime), and the inscription, 'Sanctissimus dominus, Leo Papa Romanus,' probably Leo III. or Leo IV.; the Maries at the Sepulchre; the Descent into Hades; the Marriage of Cana; the Funeral of S. Cyril, with Pope Nicholas I. (858–67) walking in the procession; and, the most interesting of all—probably of somewhat later date—the story of S. Clemente, and that of S. Alexis, whose adventures are described in the account of his church in the Aventine. The paintings bear the names of their donor, Beno de Rapiza, his wife Maria Macellaria, and his children Clemente and Attilia. Beneath this crypt, approached by a staircase and a narrow passage of great interest, as showing at once the masonry of the kings, the republic, and the empire, is still a third structure, discovered 1867—probably the very house of S. Clement (decorated with rich stucco ornament)—sometimes supposed to be the 'cavern near S. Clemente' to which the Emperor Otho III., who died at the age of twenty-two, retired in A.D. 999 with his confessor, and where he spent fourteen days in penitential retreat. An altar and other relics found here show that this most ancient christian church was used as a temple of Mithras, after the worship of that Persian deity was introduced, to whom human sacrifices were offered at Rome in the reign of Commodus. This third church is unfortunately often under water, and very unhealthy.

According to the Acts of the Martyrs, the Prefect Mamertinus ordered the arrest of Pope Clement, and intended to put him to death, but was deterred by a tumult of the people, who cried with one voice, 'What evil has he done, or rather what good has he not done?' Clement was then condemned to exile in the Chersonese, and Mamertinus, touched by his submission and courage, dismissed him with the words, 'May the God you worship bring you relief in the place of your banishment.'

In his exile Clement received into the Church more than two hundred Christians who had been waiting for baptism, and miraculously discovered water for their support in a barren rock, to which he was directed by a Lamb, in whose form he recognised the guidance of the Son of God. The enthusiasm which these marvels excited led Trajan to send executioners to Cherson (now Inkerman), by whom Clement was tied to an anchor and thrown into the sea. But his disciples, kneeling on the shore, prayed that his relics might be given up to them, upon which the waves retired, and disclosed a marble chapel, built by unearthly hands, over the tomb of the saint. From the Chersonese the remains of S. Clement were brought back to Rome by S. Cyril, the Apostle of the Slavonians, who, dying here himself, was buried by his side.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AVENTINE

Jewish Burial-ground—S. Sabina—S. Alessio—The Priorato—S. Prisca—The Vigna dei Gesuiti—S. Sabba—S. Balbina.

THE Aventine, which is perhaps the highest, and now, from its coronet of convents, the most picturesque of all the Roman hills, is of irregular form, and is divided into two parts by a valley: one side, the higher, is crowned by the churches of S. Sabina, S. Alessio, and the Priorato, which together form 'the Capitol of the Aventine;' the other, known as the Pseudo-Aventine, is marked by the churches of S. Sabba and S. Balbina.

Virgil and Ovid allude repeatedly to the thick woods which once clothed the Aventine.[1] Dionysius speaks of the laurels or bays, an indigenous tree of ancient Rome, which grew there in abundance. Only one side of the hill, that towards the Tiber, now shows any of the natural cliff, but it was once remarkable for its rocks, and the Pseudo-Aventine obtained the name of Saxum from a huge solitary mass of stone which surmounted it—

> 'Est moles nativa; loco res nomina fecit:
> Appellant Saxum: pars bona montis ea est.'[2]

The upper portion of the hill is of volcanic formation, and it is supposed that the legend of Cacus vomiting forth flames from his cave on the side of the Aventine had its origin in noxious sulphuric vapours emitted by the soil, as is still the case at the Solfatara on the way to Tivoli. The demi-god Faunus, who had an oracle at the Solfatara, had also an oracle on this hill.[3]

Some derive the name of Aventine from Aventinus Silvius, king of Alba, who was buried here;[4] others from Avens, a Sabine river; while others say that the name simply means 'the hill of birds,' and connect it with the story of the foundation of the city. For when it became necessary to decide whether Romulus or Remus was to rule over the newly built Rome, Romulus seated himself upon the Palatine to watch the heavens, but Remus upon the rock of the Pseudo-Aventine. Here Remus saw only six vultures, while Romulus

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1 Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 104, 108, 216; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 551.
2 Ovid, *Fast.* v. 149.
3 Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* i. 79.
4 Varro, iv. 7.

saw twelve, but each interpreted the augury in his own favour, and Remus leapt across the boundary of the Palatine, whether in derision or war, and was slain by his brother, or by Celer, one of his followers. He was brought back and buried upon the Aventine, and the stone whence he had watched the vultures was thenceforth called the Sacred Rock. Ancient tradition places the tomb of Remus on the Pseudo-Aventine, but in the Middle Ages the tomb of Caius Cestius was believed—even by Petrarch—to be the monument of Remus.

Some authorities consider that when Remus was watching the vultures on the Pseudo-Aventine, that part of the hill was already occupied by a Pelasgic fortress called Romoria, but at this time, and for long afterwards, the higher part of the Aventine was held by the Sabines. Here the Sabine king Numa dedicated an altar to Jupiter Elicius,[1] and the Sabine god Consus had also an altar here. Hither Numa came to visit the forest-gods Faunus and Picus at their sacred fountain—

> 'Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
> Quo posses viso dicere, Numen inest.
> In medio gramen, muscoque adoperta virenti
> Manabat saxo vena perennis aquae.
> Inde fere soli Faunus Picusque bibebant.'[2]

By mingling wine and honey with the waters of their spring, Numa snared the gods, and compelled them to tell him how he might learn from Jupiter the knowledge of his will, and to reveal to him a charm against thunder and lightning.[3]

The Sabine king Tatius, the rival of Romulus, was buried on the Aventine 'in a great grove of laurels,' and at his tomb, then called Armilustrum, it was the custom every year, in the month of October, to hold a feast for the purification of arms, accompanied by martial dances. A horse was at the same time sacrificed to Janus, the Sabine war-god.[4]

Ancus Martius surrounded the Aventine by a wall,[5] and settled there many thousands of the inhabitants of Latin towns which he had subdued. This was the origin of the plebs, who were soon to become such formidable opponents of the first colonists of the Palatine, who took rank as patricians, and who at first found in them an important counterpoise to the power of the original Sabine inhabitants, against whom the little Latin colony of Romulus had hitherto been standing alone. The Aventine continued always to be the especial property and sanctuary of the plebs; the patricians avoiding it, in the first instance, it is supposed, from an impression that the hill was of evil omen, owing to the story of Remus. In B.C. 416 the tribune Icilius proposed and carried a law by which all the public lands of the Aventine were officially conferred upon

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1 Livy, i. 20.
2 Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 295.
3 'Onions, hair, and pilchards.' See Plutarch's '*Life of Numa.*'
4 Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* i. 427.
5 Dionysius, iii. 43.

the plebs, who forthwith began to cover its heights with houses, in which each family of the people had a right in one floor—a custom which still prevails at Rome. At this time, also, the Aventine was included for the first time within the pomoerium or religious boundary of the city. Owing to its being the 'hill of the people,' the commons henceforth held their comitia and elected their tribunes here; and here, after the murder of Virginia, to whom the tribune Icilius had been betrothed, the army assembled against Appius Claudius.

Very little remains of the numerous temples which once adorned the hill, but their sites are tolerably well ascertained. We still ascend the Aventine by the ancient Clivus Publicius, originally paved by two brothers Publicii, who were aediles at the same time, and had embezzled a sum of public money, which they were compelled to expend thus—

'Parte locant clivum, qui tunc erat ardua rupes:
Utile nunc iter est, Publiciumque vocant.'[1]

At the foot of this road was the Temple of Luna or Jana, in which Tatius had also erected an altar to Janus or the Sun—

'Luna regit menses; hujus quoque tempora mensis
Finit Aventino Luna colenda jugo.'[2]

It was up this road that Caius Gracchus, a few hours before his death, fled to take refuge in a small Temple of Diana, which stood somewhere near the present site of S. Alessio, where, kneeling before the statue of the goddess, he implored that the people who had betrayed him might never be free. Close by, singularly enough, rose the Temple of Liberty, which his grandfather Sempronius Gracchus had built. Adjoining this temple was a hall where the archives of the censors were kept, and where they transacted business; this was rebuilt by Asinius Pollio, who added to it the first public library established in Rome—

'Nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis
Atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.'[3]

In the same group stood the famous sanctuary of Juno Regina, vowed by Camillus during the siege of Veii, and to which the Juno of the captured city was removed after she had given a verbal consent when asked whether she wished to go to Rome and inhabit a new temple, much as the modern queen of heaven is apt to do in modern times at Rome.[4] The Temples of Liberty and Juno were both rebuilt under Augustus; some imagine that they were under a common roof. If they were distinct buildings, nothing of the former remains; some beautiful columns built into the church of

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[1] Ovid, *Fast.* v. 293.
[2] *Fast.* iii. 883.
[3] Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 1. 71.
[4] See the account of the Ch. of S. Francesca Romana, Chap. IV.

S. Sabina are all that remain of the Temple of Juno, though Livy thought that her reign here would be eternal—

'. . . in Aventinum, aeternam sedem suam.'[1]

Also belonging to this group was a Temple of Minerva—

'Sol abit a Geminis, et Cancri signa rubescunt:
Coepit Aventina Pallas in arce coli.'[2]

Here the dramatist Livius Andronicus, who lived upon the Aventine, was honoured after his death by a company of scribes and actors. Another poet who lived upon the Aventine was Ennius, who is described as inhabiting a humble dwelling, and being attended by a single female slave. The poet Gallus also lived here—

'Totis, Galle, jubes tibi me servire diebus,
Et per Aventinum ter quarter ire tuum!'[3]

On the other side of the Aventine (above the Circus Maximus), which was originally covered with myrtle—a shrub now almost extinct at Rome—on the site now occupied by the convent of S. Prisca, was a more important Temple of Diana, sometimes called by the Sabine name of Murcia,—built in imitation of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. Propertius writes—

'Phyllis Aventinae quaedam est Dianae;'[4]

and Martial—

'Quique videt propius magni certamina Circi
Laudat Aventinae vicinus Sura Dianae.'[5]

Here, till the time of Dionysius, was preserved the pillar of brass on which was engraved the law of Icilius.

Near this were the groves of Simila, the retreat of the infamous association discovered and terribly punished at the time of the Greek wars; and—in the time of the empire—the gardens of Servilia, where she received the devotion of Julius Caesar, and in which her son Brutus is said to have conspired his murder, and to have been interrogated by his wife Portia as to the mystery, which he refused to reveal to her, fearing her weakness under torture, until, by the concealment of a terrible wound which she had given to herself, she had shown him that the daughter of Cato could suffer and be silent.

The Aventine continued to be inhabited, and even populous, until the sixth century, from which period its prosperity began to decline. In the eleventh century it was occupied by the camp of Henry IV. of Germany, when he came in war against Gregory VII. In the thirteenth century Honorius III. made a final effort to re-establish

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[1] Livy, v. 22. [2] Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 727.
[3] Mart. *Ep.* x. 56. [4] Propert. *El.* iv. [5] Mart. *Ep.* vi. 64.

its popularity; but with each succeeding generation it has become —partly owing to the ravages of malaria—more and more deserted, until now its sole inhabitants are monks and the few ague-stricken contadini who look after the monastic vineyards. In wandering along its desolate lanes, hemmed in by hedges of elder, or by walls covered with parasitical plants, it is difficult to realise the time when it was so thickly populated; and, except in the quantities of coloured marbles with which its fields and vineyards are strewn, there is nothing to remind one of the 16 aediculae, 64 baths, 25 granaries, 88 fountains, 130 of the larger houses called *domus* and 2487 of the poorer houses called *insulae*, which occupied this site.

The present interest of the hill is almost wholly ecclesiastical, and centres around the story of S. Dominic, and the legends of the saints and martyrs connected with its different churches.

The best approach to the Aventine is behind the Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, where the **Via S. Sabina**, once the Clivus Publicius (available for carriages), turns up the hill.

A lane on the left leads to the **Jewish Burial-Ground**, used as a place of sepulture for the Ghetto for many centuries. A curious instance of the cupidity attributed to the Jewish race may be seen in the fact that they have, for a remuneration of four baiocchi, habitually given leave to their neighbours to discharge the contents of a rubbish-cart into their cemetery, a permission of which the Romans have so abundantly availed themselves, that the level of the soil has been raised by many yards, and whole sets of older monuments have been completely swallowed up, and new ones erected over their heads.

After we turn the corner at the hill-top, with its fine view over the Palatine, and cross the trench of fortification formed during the fear of a Garibaldian invasion in 1867, we skirt what appears to be part of a city wall.[1] This is in fact the wall of the Honorian city, built by Pope Honorius III., of the great family of Savelli, whose idea was to render the Aventine once more the populous and favourite portion of the city, and who began great works for this purpose. Before his arrangements were completed S. Dominic arrived in Rome, and was appointed master of the papal household and abbot of the convent of S. Sabina, where his ministrations and popularity soon formed such an attraction, that the pope wisely abandoned his design of founding a new city which would commemorate himself, and left the field to S. Dominic, to whom he made over the land on this side of the hill. Henceforward the convent of S. Sabina and its surroundings have become, more than any other spot, connected with the history of the Dominican Order—there all the great saints of the order have received their

[1] The lane along the outside of the wall leads down to join the Via Salara near the little chapel of S. Anna.

first inspiration, have resided, or are buried; there S. Dominic himself received in a beatific vision the institution of the rosary; there he was ordered to plant the famous orange-tree, which, being then unknown in Rome, he brought from his native Spain as the only present which it was suitable for the gratitude of a poor monk to offer to his patron Honorius, who was himself one of the great botanists of his time—an orange-tree which was described by John Evelyn in 1664, and which still lives, and is firmly believed to flourish or fail with the fortunes of the Dominican Order, so that it has been greatly the worse for the suppression of convents; though the brief residence of Père Lacordaire at S. Sabina is said to have proved exceedingly beneficial to it, and his visit even caused a new sucker to sprout.

The **Church of S. Sabina** was built on the site of the house of the saint—in which she suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Hadrian,[1] in A.D. 124—by Peter, a priest of Illyria, 'rich for the poor, and poor for himself' (*pauperibus locuples, sibi pauper*), as we read in the mosaic inscription inside the principal entrance. S. Gregory the Great read two of his homilies here. The church was rebuilt in 824, and restored and reconsecrated by Gregory IX. in 1238. Much of its interest—ancient pavements, mosaics, &c. —was destroyed in 1587 by Sixtus V., who took the credit of discovering the relics of the martyrs who are buried beneath the altar.

On the west is a covered corridor containing several ancient inscriptions. It is supported on one side by ancient spiral columns of pavonazzetto; on the other these have been plundered and replaced by granite. Hence, through a window, ladies are allowed to gaze upon the celebrated orange-tree, about 670 years old, which they cannot approach; a rude figure of S. Dominic is sculptured upon the low wall which surrounds it.

'J'ai vu un arbre planté par le bienheureux S. Dominique à Rome; chacun le va voir et chérit pour l'amour du planteur: c'est pourquoi ayant vu en vous l'arbre du désir de sainteté que notre Seigneur a planté en votre âme, je le chéris tendrement, et prends plaisir à le considérer . . . je vous exhorte d'en faire de même, et de dire avec moi: Dieu vous croisse, o bel arbre planté! divine semence céleste, Dieu vous veuille faire produire votre fruit à maturité.'—*S. François de Sales à S. Jeanne Françoise de Chantal.*

The west door, of the twelfth century, in a richly sculptured frame, is cited by Kugler as an instance of the extinction of the Byzantine influence upon art. Its panels are covered with carvings from the Old and New Testament, referred by Mamachi to the seventh, by Agincourt to the thirteenth century. Some of the subjects have been destroyed; among those which remain are the Annunciation, the Angels appearing to the Shepherds, the Angel and Zacharias in the Temple, the Magi, Moses turning the Rods

[1] There is a beautiful picture of S. Sabina, by Vivarini of Murano, in S. Zacharia at Venice.

into Serpents, the Ascent of Elijah, Christ before Pilate, the Denial of Peter, and the Ascension. The Crucifixion (in the left corner at the top), probably one of the earliest representations of the subject, has the figures on the crosses fully draped. Within the entrance are the only remains of the magnificent mosaic, erected in 431, under Celestine I. (which entirely covered the west wall till the time of Sixtus V.), consisting of an inscription in large letters, with a female figure on either side, that on the left bearing the name 'Ecclesia cum circumcisione,' that on the right, 'Ecclesia ex gentibus.' Among the parts destroyed were the four beasts typical of the Evangelists, and S. Peter and S. Paul. The church was thus gorgeously decorated, because, in the time of the Savelli popes, it was what the Sistine is now, the Chiesa Apostolica.

The nave is lined by twenty-four corinthian columns of white marble, relics of the Temple of Juno Regina, which once stood here. Above is an inlaid frieze of pietra-dura, of A.D. 431, which once extended up to the windows, but was destroyed by Sixtus V., who at the same time built up the windows which till then existed over each pier. In the middle of the pavement near the altar is a very curious mosaic figure over the grave of Munoz de Zamora, a General of the Dominican Order, who died in 1300. Nearer the west door are interesting incised slabs representing a German bishop[1] and a lady, benefactors of this church, and (on the left) a slab with arms in mosaic, to a lady of the Savelli family. In the left aisle is another monument of 1312, commemorating a warrior of the imperial house of Germany. The high altar covers the remains of Sabina and Seraphia, Alexander the Pope, Eventius and Theodulus, all martyrs. In the chapel beneath, S. Dominic is said to have flagellated himself three times nightly, 'perchè un colpo solo non abbastava per mortificare il carne.'

At the end of the right aisle is the Chapel of the Rosary, where a beautiful picture of *Sassoferrato*, called 'La Madonna del Rosario,' commemorates the vision of S. Dominic on that spot, in which he received the rosary from the hands of the Virgin.

'S. Catherine of Siena kneels with S. Dominic before the throne of the Madonna; the lily at her feet. The infant Saviour is turned towards her, and with one hand He crowns her with thorns, with the other He presents the rosary. This is the masterpiece of the painter, with all his usual elegance, without his usual insipidity.'—*Jameson's 'Monastic Orders.'*

Few Roman Catholic practices have excited more animadversion than the 'vain repetition' of the worship of the rosary. The Père Lacordaire (a Dominican) defended it, saying—

'Le rationaliste sourit en voyant passer de longues files de gens qui redisent une même parole. Celui qui est éclairé d'une meilleure lumière comprend que l'amour n'a qu'un mot, et qu'en le disant toujours, il ne répète jamais.'

[1] A bishop is represented with his crozier turned outwards—external rule; an abbot with his crozier turned inwards—internal rule.

Grouped around this chapel are three beautiful tombs—a cardinal, a bishop, and a priest of the end of the fifteenth century. That of the cardinal (which is of the well-known Roman type of the time) is inscribed, 'Ut moriens viveret, vixit ut moriturus;' the others are incised slabs. At the other end of this aisle is a marble slab, on which S. Dominic is said to have been wont to lie prostrate in prayer. One day while he was lying thus, the devil in his rage is said to have hurled a huge stone (a round black marble, *pietra di paragone*) at him, which missed the saint, who left the attack entirely unnoticed. The devil was frantic with disappointment, and the stone, remaining as a relic, is preserved on a low pillar in the nave. A small gothic ciborium, richly inlaid with mosaic, remains on the left of the tribune.

Opening from the left aisle is a chapel built by Elic of Tuscany, very rich in precious marbles. The frame of the panel on the left is said to be unique.

It was in this church, in 1218, that the Polish cousins Hyacinthus and Celsus Odrowaz, struck by the preaching of S. Dominic, and by the recollection of the barbarism, heathenism, and ignorance which prevailed in many parts of their native land of Silesia, offered themselves as missionaries, and took the vows of the Dominican Order, becoming the apostles of Hungary and Bohemia. Hither fled to the monastic life S. Thomas Aquinas, pursued to the very door of the convent by the tears and outcries of his mother, who vainly implored him to return to her. One evening, a pilgrim, worn out with travel and fatigue, arrived at the door of this convent, mounted upon a wretched mule, and implored admittance. The prior in mockery asked, 'What are you come for, my father? are you come to see if the college of cardinals is disposed to elect you as pope?' 'I come to Rome,' replied the pilgrim Michele Ghislieri, 'because the interests of the Church require it, and I shall leave as soon as my task is accomplished; meanwhile I implore you to give me a brief hospitality and a little hay for my mule.' Sixteen years afterwards Ghislieri mounted the papal throne as Pius V., and proved, during a troubled reign, the most rigid follower and eager defender of the institutions of S. Dominic. One day, as Ghislieri was about to kiss his crucifix in the eagerness of prayer, the image of Christ, says the legend, retired of its own accord from his touch, for it had been poisoned by an enemy, and a kiss would have been death. This crucifix is now preserved as a precious relic in the convent, where the cells both of S. Dominic and of S. Pius V. are preserved; though, like most historical chambers of Roman saints, their interest is lessened by their having been beautified and changed into chapels. In the cell of S. Dominic part of the ancient timber ceiling remains. Here is the beautiful portrait of the saint by *Bazzani*, founded on the records of his personal appearance; the lily lies by his side—the glory hovers over his head—he is, as the chronicler describes him, 'of amazing beauty.' In this cell he is said frequently to have passed the night in prayer with his rival

S. Francis of Assisi. The refectory is connected with another story of S. Dominic:—

'It happened that when he was residing with forty of his friars in the convent of S. Sabina at Rome, the brothers who had been sent to beg for provisions had returned with a very small quantity of bread, and they knew not what they should do, for night was at hand, and they had not eaten all day. Then S. Dominic ordered that they should seat themselves in the refectory, and, taking his place at the head of the table, he pronounced the usual blessing; and behold! two beautiful youths clad in white and shining garments appeared amongst them—one carried a basket of bread, and the other a pitcher of wine, which they distributed to the brethren; then they disappeared, and no one knew how they had come in, nor how they had gone out. And the brethren sat in amazement; but S. Dominic stretched forth his hand, and said calmly, "My children, eat what God has sent you;" and it was truly celestial food, such as they never tasted before nor since.' —*Jameson's 'Monastic Orders,'* p. 369.

Other saints who sojourned for a time in this convent were S. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians (ob. 1134), and S. Raymond de Penaforte (ob. 1275), who left his labours in Barcelona for a time in 1230 to act as chaplain to Gregory IX.

In 1287 a conclave was held at S. Sabina for the election of a successor to Pope Martin IV., but was broken up by the malaria, six cardinals dying at once within the convent, and all the rest taking flight, except Cardinal Savelli, who would not desert his paternal home, and survived by keeping large fires constantly burning in his chamber. Ten months afterwards his perseverance was rewarded by his own election to the throne as Honorius IV.

In the garden of the convent are some small remains of the palace of the great Savelli Pope, Honorius III. Here, on the declivity of the Aventine, many important excavations were made in 1856–57 by the French Prior Besson, a person of great intelligence; and he was rewarded by the discovery of some fine fragments of the wall of Servius Tullius, formed of gigantic blocks of peperino, and an ancient Roman house, its chambers paved with black and white mosaic. In the chambers, which were found decorated in stucco with remnants of painting in figures and arabesque ornaments, 'one little group represented a sacrifice before the statue of a god, in an aedicula. Some rudely scratched Latin lines on this surface led to the inference that this chamber, after becoming subterranean and otherwise uninhabitable, had served for a prison; one unfortunate inmate having inscribed curses against those who caused his loss of liberty; and another, more devout, left record of his vow to sacrifice to Bacchus in case of recovering that blessing.'[1]

Since the death of Prior Besson the works have been abandoned, and the remains already discovered have been for the most part earthed up again. A nympheum, a well, and several subterranean passages are still visible on the hillside.

The *Mirabilia* mention an Arch of Faustinus as existing near S. Sabina in the twelfth century.

Just beyond S. Sabina is the Hieronymite **Church and Convent of**

[1] Hemans' '*Monuments in Rome.*'

S. Alessio, the only monastery of Hieronymites in Italy where meat was allowed to be eaten—in consideration of the malaria. The first church erected here was built in A.D. 305 in honour of S. Boniface, martyr, by Aglae, a noble Roman lady, whose servant (and lover) he had been. It was reconsecrated in A.D. 401 by Innocent I. in honour of S. Alexis, whose paternal mansion was on this site. This saint, young and beautiful, took a vow of virginity, and being forced by his parents into marriage, fled on the same evening from his home, and was given up as lost. Worn out and utterly changed, he returned many years afterwards to be near those who were dear to him, and remained, unrecognised, as a poor beggar, under the stairs which led to his father's house. Seventeen years passed away, when a mysterious voice suddenly resounded through the Roman churches, crying, 'Seek ye out the man of God, that he may pray for Rome.' The crowd was stricken with amazement, when the same voice continued, 'Seek in the house of Euphemian.' Then, Pope, emperor, and senators rushed together to the Aventine, where they found the despised beggar dying beneath the doorstep, his countenance beaming with celestial light, a crucifix in one hand and a sealed paper in the other. The people vainly strove to draw the paper from the fingers which were closing in the gripe of death; but when Innocent I. bade the dying man in God's name to give it up, they opened, and the Pope read aloud to the astonished multitude the secret of Alexis, and his father Euphemian and his widowed bride regained in death the son and the husband they had lost.

> 'Then, lest some secular use might mar the place
> Made sacred by his pain, upon the ground
> Where stood that stately house they reared the church
> Of S. Alexis, and the marble stairs
> Which sheltered him they left as when he died.
> And there a sculptor carved him, in mean garb,
> Reclining, by his side his pilgrim's staff,
> And in his hand the story of his life,
> Of virgin pureness and humility.'—*Lewis Morris.*

S. Alessio is entered through a courtyard.

'The courtyards in front of S. Alessio, S. Cecilia, S. Gregorio, and other churches, are like the vestibula of the ancient Roman houses, on the site of which they were probably built. This style of building, says Tacitus, was generally introduced by Nero. Beyond opened the *prothyra*, or inner entrance, with the *cellae* for the porter and dog, *both* chained, on either side.'

In the portico of the church is a statue of Benedict XIII. (Pietro Orsini, 1724). The west door has a rich border of mosaic. The church has been so shamelessly modernised by Tommaso de Marchis, in 1750, as to retain no appearance of antiquity. The fine *opus-alexandrinum* pavement is preserved. In the floor is the incised gothic monument of Lupo di Olmeto, general of the Hieronymites (ob. 1433). Left of the entrance is a shrine of S. Alessio, with his figure sleeping under the staircase—part of the actual wooden stair being enclosed in a glass case over his head. Not far from this is

the ancient well of his father's house. In a chapel which opens out of a passage leading to a sacristy is the fine tomb of Cardinal Guido di Balneo of the time of Leo X. He is represented sitting, with one hand resting on the ground—the delicate execution of his lace in marble is much admired. The mosaic roof of this chapel was burst open by a cannon-ball during the French bombardment of 1849, but the figure was uninjured. The baldacchino is remarkable for its perfect proportions. Behind, in the tribune, are the inlaid mosaic pillars of a gothic tabernacle by Jacobus Cosmati. No one should omit to descend into the **Crypt of S. Alessio**, which is an early church, supported on stunted pillars, and containing a marble episcopal chair, green with age. Here tradition asserts that the Pope used to meet the early conclaves of the Church in times of persecution. The pillar under the altar is shown as that to which S. Sebastian was bound when he was shot with the arrows.

The convent is now appropriated as a blind asylum. The cloister blooms with orange and lemon trees. At one time the building was purchased by the ex-King Ferdinand of Spain, who intended turning it into a villa for himself. The famous Crescenzio, son of Theodora, the murderer of Popes John X. and Benedict VI., died peacefully in the monastery of S. Alessio in 984. His tomb remains in the cloisters, inscribed, 'Here lies the body of Crescentius, the illustrious, the honourable citizen of Rome, the great leader, the great descendant of a great family. . . . Christ, the Saviour of our souls, made him infirm and an invalid, so that, abandoning any further hope of worldly success, he entered this monastery, and spent his last years in prayer and retirement.'[1]

A short distance beyond S. Alessio is a sort of little square, adorned with trophied memorials of the Knights of Malta, and occupying the site of the laurel grove (Armilustrum) which contained the tomb of Tatius. Here is the entrance of the Priorato garden, where is the famous **View of S. Peter's through the keyhole**, admired by crowds of people on Ash-Wednesday, when the 'stazione' is held at the neighbouring churches. Entering the garden (which belongs to the Knights, and to which visitors are now only admitted on Wednesdays and Saturdays) we find ourselves in a beautiful avenue of old bay-trees framing the distant S. Peter's. A terrace overhanging the Tiber has an enchanting view over the river and town. In the garden is an old pepper-tree, and in a little court a picturesque palm-tree and well. From hence we can enter the church, sometimes called **S. Basilio**, sometimes **S. Maria Aventina**, an ancient building modernised by Cardinal Rezzonico in 1765, from the ignorant and atrocious designs of the archaeologist Piranesi, to whose memory a statue has been erected here. The church contains an interesting collection of tombs, most of them belonging to the Knights of Malta; that of Bishop Spinelli is an ancient marble sarcophagus, with a relief of Minerva and the

[1] See Lanciani.

Muses; that of Bartolommeo Caraffa—a knight in armour—chamberlain to Innocent VII., is by the rare fifteenth-century sculptor *Paolo Romano*. A richly sculptured ancient altar contains relics of saints found beneath the pavement of the church. In an upper hall, heads from the full-length portraits at Malta of the seventy-four Grand Masters have recently been arranged.

The Priorato garden, so beautiful and attractive in itself, has an additional interest as that in which the famous Hildebrand (Gregory VII., 1073–80) was brought up as a boy, under the care of his uncle, who was abbot of the adjoining monastery. A massive cornice in these grounds is one of the few architectural fragments of ancient Rome existing on the Aventine. It may perhaps have belonged to the smaller temple of Diana in which Caius Gracchus took refuge, and in escaping from which, down the steep hillside, he sprained his ankle, and so was taken by his pursuers. Some buried houses were discovered and some precious vases brought to light when Urban VIII. built the stately buttress walls which now support the hillside beyond the Priorato.

The cliff below these convents is the supposed site of the cave of the giant Cacus, described by Virgil:—

> 'At specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
> Regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae:
> Non secus ac si quâ penitus vi terra dehiscens
> Infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
> Pallida, dis invisa, superque immane barathrum
> Cernatur, trepidentque immisso lumine manes.'
>
> —*Aeneid*, viii. 241.

Hercules brought the oxen of Geryon to pasture in the valley between the Aventine and Palatine. Cacus, issuing from his cave while their owner was asleep, carried off four of the bulls, dragging them up the steep side of the hill by their tails, that Hercules might be deceived by their footprints being reversed. Then he concealed them in his cavern and barred the entrance with a rock. Hercules sought the stolen oxen everywhere, and when he could not find them he was going away with the remainder. But as he drove them along the valley near the Tiber, one of his oxen lowed, and when the stolen oxen in the cave heard that, they answered; and Hercules, after rushing three times round the Aventine boiling with fury, shattered the stone which guarded the entrance of the cave with a mass of rock, and, though the giant vomited forth smoke and flames against him, he strangled him in his arms. Thus runs the legend, which is explained by Ampère:—

'Cacus habite une caverne de l'Aventin, montagne en tout temps mal famée, montagne anciennement hérissée de rochers et couverte de forêts, dont la forêt Naevia, longtemps elle-même un repaire de bandits, était une dépendance et fut un reste qui subsista dans les temps historiques. Ce Cacus était sans doute un brigand célèbre, dangereux pour les pâtres du voisinage, dont il volait les troupeaux quand ils allaient paître dans les prés situés au bord du Tibre et boire l'eau du fleuve. Les hauts faits de Cacus lui avaient donné cette célébrité qui, parmi les paysans romains s'attache encore à ses pareils, et surtout le stratagème employé par lui probablement plus d'une fois pour dérouter les bouviers des

environs, en emmenant les animaux qu'il dérobait, de manière à cacher la direction de leurs pas. La caverne du bandit avait été découverte et forcée par quelque pâtre courageux, qui y avait pénétré vaillamment, malgré la terreur que ce lieu souterrain et formidable inspirait, y avait surpris le voleur et l'avait étranglé.

'Tel était, je crois, le récit primitif où il n'était pas plus question d'Hercule que de Vulcain, et dans lequel Cacus n'était pas mis à mort par un demi-dieu, mais par un certain Recaranus, pâtre vigoureux et de grande taille. A ces récits de bergers, qui allaient toujours exagérant les horreurs de l'antre de Cacus et a résistance désespérée de celui-ci, vinrent se mêler peu à peu des circonstances merveilleuses.'—*Hist. Rom.* i. 170.

Beyond the Priorato a huge modern **Benedictine Convent** has arisen, 1892-96, under the care of Leo XIII., intended for Benedictine scholars coming to study at Rome. At the angle of the hill is the fine bastion erected for its defence by Antonio da Sangallo.

We must retrace our steps as far as the summit of the hill towards the Palatine, and then turn to the right in order to reach the ugly, obscure-looking **Church of S. Prisca**—Titulus Priscae—founded by Pope Eutychianus in A.D. 280, close to the site of the house of Aquila and Priscilla, with whom S. Peter lodged when he was at Rome, but entirely modernised by Cardinal Giustiniani from designs of Carlo Lombardi, who encased its fine granite columns in miserable stucco pilasters. Over the high altar is a picture by *Passignano* of the baptism of the saint, which is said to have taken place in the ancient and very picturesque crypt beneath the church, where an inverted corinthian capital—a relic of the temple of Diana which once occupied this site—is shown as the font in which S. Prisca was baptized by S. Peter. The oratory—*ecclesiam domesticam*—which Aquila and Priscilla opened in their house, one of the first opened for worship in Rome, was discovered in 1776 close to the church, and may perhaps exist still underground undiscovered. A tablet found in 1776 shows that in 222 the house of Aquila and Priscilla belonged to one Gaius Marius Pudens Cornelianus, showing that the connection formed between the two families in the time of the apostles was still continued.

Opening from the right aisle was a kind of terraced loggia, now fallen into ruin, with a peculiar and beautiful view. In the adjoining vineyard are three arches of an aqueduct.

'The altar-piece of the church represents the baptism of S. Prisca, whose remains being afterwards placed in the church, it has since borne her name. According to the legend, she was a Roman virgin of illustrious birth, who, at the age of thirteen, was exposed in the amphitheatre. A fierce lion was let loose upon her, but her youth and innocence disarmed the fury of the savage beast, which, instead of tearing her to pieces, humbly licked her feet, to the great consolation of Christians and the confusion of idolaters. Being led back to prison, she was there beheaded. Sometimes she is represented with a lion, sometimes with an eagle, because it is related that an eagle watched by her body till it was laid in the grave; for thus, says the story, was virgin innocence honoured by kingly bird as well as by kingly beast.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*

'Aquila and Priscilla are known through the New Testament. "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus: who have for my life laid down their own necks, unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles. Likewise greet the church that is in their house." So writes

Paul, in the sixteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans; and this greeting is already enough to give us exalted ideas of the devotion of this couple to the faith. But our respect for them is further increased when we recollect what Luke tells us in the Acts of the Apostles: that Apollos—one of the most learned and eloquent amongst the first heralds of Christianity, and the probable author of the Epistle to the Hebrews—sat on the disciples' bench in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, and from them, but especially from the mother of the house, received deeper instruction in the way of salvation: "They expounded to him the way of God more perfectly," says the Acts of the Apostles.

'We know further of Aquila and Priscilla that they were working-people—that in their house on the Aventine they followed the trade of tent-making, the same by which the Apostle Paul also earned his bread. When the Emperor Claudius drove the Jews out of Rome, they too had to leave the city, for Aquila was a Jew, born in Pontus. They then removed to Corinth, where Paul became their guest, and where, as in Rome, they held assemblies at their house. They afterwards established their dwelling at Ephesus, and remained there till they obtained leave to return to Rome and their house on the Aventine.

'If the tradition—for which a Latin inscription in the very ancient church is responsible—if the tradition be right, the house of Aquila and Priscilla was in its turn built on the remains of a temple of Diana, and that again upon the site of an altar to Hercules, which the Arcadian king, Evander, had built, hundreds of years before the time of Romulus. What a train of memories, which carries us, though with uncertain steps, back into the very night of antiquity! And as the sun sinks and the wall of S. Prisca casts a lengthening shadow, let us linger a moment, and dream in silence and solitude of what the stories and memories may be with which coming ages shall lengthen out the chain of those which the past has already linked to this deserted and melancholy spot.'—*Rydberg's 'Roman Days.*

'We know from the Acts and the Epistles, that, in consequence of the decree of banishment which was issued against the Jews by the Emperor Claudius, Aquila and Priscilla were compelled to leave Rome for a while, and that on their return they were able to open a small oratory—*ecclesiam domesticam*—in their house. This oratory, one of the first opened to divine worship in Rome—these walls, which in all probability have echoed with the sound of S. Peter's voice, were discovered in 1776 close to the modern church of S. Prisca; but no attention was paid to the discovery, in spite of its unrivalled importance. The only memorandum of it is a scrap of paper in Codex 9697 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in which a man named Carrara speaks of having found a subterranean chapel near S. Prisca, decorated with paintings of the fourth century, representing the apostles. A copy of the frescoes seems to have been made at the time, but no trace of it has been found.

'In the same excavations of 1776 was found a bronze tablet, which had been offered to Gaius Marius Pudens Cornelianus by the people of Clunia (near Palencia, Spain), as a token of gratitude for the services which he had rendered them during his governorship of the province of Tarragona. This tablet, dated April 9, A.D. 227, proves that the house owned by Aquila and Priscilla in apostolic times had subsequently passed into the hands of a Cornelius Pudens; in other words, that the relations formed between the two families during the sojourn of the apostles in Rome had been faithfully maintained by their descendants. Their intimate connection is also proved by the fact that Pudens, Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Prisca were all buried in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria.'—*Lanciani.*

'It is worth noting that Aquila, an eagle, the German *Adler*, was already a Jewish name.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Opposite the door of this church is the entrance of the **Vigna Torlonia**, formerly **Vigna dei Gesuiti**, a wild and beautiful vineyard occupying the greater part of this deserted hill, and extending as far as the Porta S. Paolo and the pyramid of Caius Cestius. Several farm buildings are scattered amongst the vines and fruit trees. The principal farm-house marks the site of the Thermae Decianae, built by Trajan and named from the family of the

Caecinae Decii Albini, whose house was near this. There are beautiful views towards the Alban mountains, and to the Pseudo-Aventine with its fortress-like convents. The ground is littered with fragments of marbles and alabaster, which lie unheeded among the vegetables, relics of unknown edifices which once existed here. The spot till recently was beautiful, and overgrown by a luxuriance of wild mignonette and other flowers in the late spring. Here, where the road (Viale di Porta S. Paolo), now cuts the vineyard, are the finest existing remains of the **Walls of Servius Tullius,**[1] 50 feet high, and 11 feet 6 inches wide; formed of twenty-five courses of large quadrilateral blocks of tufa, laid alternately long and cross-ways, as in the Etruscan buildings. A semicircular open arch and part of another remain, and are apparently contemporary with the wall. This is the finest existing fragment of the **Wall** of the time of the Kings, which enclosed the seven hills of early Rome.

'Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.'
—*Virgil, Georg.* ii. 535.

There is now a popular restaurant here—*Castello di Costantino.* It occupies part of the site of the house of Licinius Sura, a friend of Trajan, who named in honour of his friend the Thermae Suranae, which he built near this.

Descending to the valley beneath S. Prisca, we cross the new road which leads from the Via Appia to the Porta S. Paolo.

On the opposite side of the Pseudo or smaller Aventine is the **Church of S. Sabba,** which is supposed to mark the site of the Porta Ruduscula of the walls of Servius Tullius. Its position is very striking, and its portico, built in A.D. 1200, is picturesque and curious. S. Sabba now belongs to the German College, and is probably open on Thursday afternoons.

This church is of unknown origin, but is known to have existed in the time of S. Gregory the Great, and to have been one of the fourteen privileged abbacies of Rome. Its patron saint was S. Sabbas, an abbot of Cappadocia, who died at Jerusalem in A.D. 532. Many remains of the Statio of the Fourth Battalion of Vigiles are built into its walls.

'The record of the artist Jacobus dei Cosmati, dated the third year of Innocent III. (1205), on the lintel of the mosaic-inlaid doorway, justifies us in classing this church among monuments of the thirteenth century. From its origin a Greek monastery, it was assigned by Lucius II., in 1141, to the Benedictines of the Cluny rule. An epigraph near the sacristy mentions a rebuilding either of the cloisters or church in 1325 by an abbot Joannes; and in 1465 the roof was renewed in woodwork by a cardinal, the nephew of Pius II.

'In 1512 the Cistercians of Clairvaux were located here by Julius II.; and some years later these buildings were given to the Germanic-Hungarian College. Amidst gardens and vineyards, approached by a solitary lane between hedgerows, this now deserted sanctuary has a certain affecting character in its forlornness. Save on Thursdays, when the German students are brought hither by their Jesuit professors to enliven the solitude by their sports and converse,

[1] Some antiquaries attribute them to the wall of the Aventine, built by Ancus Martius.

we might never succeed in finding entrance to this quiet retreat of the monks of old.

'Within the arched porch, through which we pass into an outer court, we read an inscription telling that here stood the house and oratory (called the *cella nova*) of S. Sylvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, whence the pious matron used daily to send a porridge of legumes to her son while he inhabited his monastery on the Clivus Scauri, or northern ascent of the Coelian. Within that court formerly stood the cloistral buildings, of which little now remains. The façade is remarkable for its atrium in two storeys: the upper with a pillared arcade, probably of the fifteenth century; the lower formerly supported by six porphyry columns, removed by Pius VI. to adorn the Vatican library, where they still stand. The porphyry statuettes of two emperors embracing, supposed either an emblem of the concord between the East and West, or the intended portraits of the co-reigning Constantine II. and Constans—a curious example of sculpture in its deep decline, and probably imported by Greek monks from Constantinople — project from two of those ancient columns.'[1] — *Hemans 'Mediaeval Art.'*

The interior of S. Sabba is in the basilica form. It retains some fragments of inlaid pavements, some handsome inlaid marble panels on either side of the high altar, and an ancient sarcophagus. The tribune has rude paintings of the fourteenth century, bearing the name of the donor, one Saba—the Saviour between S. Andrew and S. Sabbas the Abbot; and below, the Crucifixion, the Madonna, and the twelve Apostles. Beneath the tribune is a crypt, and over its altar a beautifully ornamented disk with a Greek cross in the centre. A great sepulchral stone is said to have been formerly preserved in the portico, with an inscription beginning, 'Conditur hic tumulo Titus cum Vespasiano.'

Behind S. Sabba is another delightful vineyard, but it is difficult to gain admittance. Here Flaminius Vacca describes the discovery of a mysterious chamber without door or window, whose pavement was of agate and cornelian, and whose walls were plated with gilt copper; but of this nothing remains.[2]

The headquarters of the fourth *statio* of the ancient fire-brigade was near S. Sabba. A pedestal of 205 has been found here, with an inscription authorising Junius Rufinus, prefect of the Vigiles, to punish with a rod or cat-of-nine-tails (*fustibus vel flagellis*) the janitor or any of the inhabitants of a house in which a fire had broken out through neglect.

To reach the remaining church of the Aventine, we have to turn to the Via Appia, and then follow the lane which leads up the hill-side near the Baths of Caracalla to the **Church of S. Balbina**, whose picturesque red-brick tower forms so conspicuous a feature, as seen against the long soft lines of the flat Campagna, in so many Roman views. Latterly, however, the effect of this attractive building—a unique mediaeval fortified monastery—has been greatly injured by a square white edifice erected around it. The church stands on the site of the Domus Cilonis, given by Septimius Severus in 204 to his intimate friend Lucius Fabius Cilo, consul and prefect of the city. Some reticulated work, used for foundations of the

[1] Similar figures exist near one of the corners of the Ducal Palace at Venice.
[2] Hemans' '*Story of Monuments in Rome*,' ii. 228.

monastery, belonged to the villa. The Servian Wall, which crosses the site, can also be seen in the garden and refectory. The church was erected in memory of S. Balbina, a virgin martyr (buried in S. Maria in Domenica), daughter of the prefect Quirinus, who suffered under Hadrian, A.D. 132. It contains the remains of an altar erected by Cardinal Barbo in the old basilica of S. Peter's, a splendid ancient throne of marble inlaid with mosaics, and a fine tomb, by Giovanni Cosmati, of the papal chamberlain, Stefano Sordi, supporting a recumbent figure, and adorned with mosaics.

Here the *Mirabilia* says that Constantine and Sylvester 'kissed and parted one from the other' after the interview in which the emperor is supposed to have surrendered Rome and the supremacy of the Western Empire to the Pope.

Adjoining this church, Monsignor de Mérode, in the time of Piux IX., established a house of correction for youthful offenders, to avert the moral result of exposing them to communication with other prisoners.

CHAPTER IX

THE VIA APPIA

The Porta Capena—Baths of Caracalla—SS. Nereo ed Achilleo—SS. Sisto e Domenico—S. Cesareo (S. Giovanni in Oleo—S. Giovanni in Porta Latina) —Columbarium of the Freedmen of Octavia—Tomb of the Scipios—Columbarium of the Vigna Codini—Arch of Drusus—Porta S. Sebastiano—Tombs of Geta and Priscilla—Church of Domine Quo Vadis (Vigna Marancia)—Catacombs of S. Calixtus, of S. Pretextatus, of the Jews, and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo—(Temple of Bacchus, *i.e.* S. Urbano—Grotto of Egeria—Temple of Divus Rediculus)—Basilica and Catacombs of S. Sebastiano—Circus of Maxentius—Temple of Romulus, son of Maxentius—Tomb of Cecilia Metella —Castle of the Caëtani—Tombs of the Via Appia—S. Maria Nuova—Roma Vecchia—Casale Rotondo—Tor di Selce, &c.

THE **Via Appia**, called Regina Viarum by Statius, was begun B.C. 312, by the Censor Appius Claudius the Blind, 'the most illustrious of the great Sabine and Patrician race, of whom he was the most remarkable representative.' It was paved throughout, and during the first part of its course served as a kind of patrician cemetery, being bordered by a magnificent avenue of family tombs. It began at the Porta Capena, itself crossed by the Appian aqueduct, which was due to the same great benefactor—

'Substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam'—

and was carried by Claudius across the Pontine Marshes as far as Capua, but afterwards extended to Brundusium. Up to 442 A.U.C. the drain-polluted waters of the Tiber had been drunk by the whole population.

The site of the Porta Capena, so important as marking the commencement of the Appian Way, was long a disputed subject. The Roman antiquaries maintained that it was outside the present Walls, basing their opinion on the statement of S. Gregory, that the river Almo was in that Regio, and considering the Almo identical with a small stream which is crossed in the hollow about half a mile beyond the Porta S. Sebastiano, and which passes through the Valle Caffarelle, and falls into the Tiber near S. Paolo. This stream, however, which rises at the foot of the Alban Hills below the lake, divides into two parts about six miles from Rome, and its smaller division, after flowing close to the Porta San Giovanni, recedes again into the country, enters Rome near the Porta Metronia, a little behind the Church of S. Sisto, and passing through the Circus Maximus, falls into the Tiber at the Pulchrum Littus, below the so-called Temple of Vesta.

Close to the point where this, the smaller branch of the Almo, crosses the Via San Sebastiano, Mr. J. H. Parker, in 1868–69, excavating in accordance with his measurements, discovered some remains, on the original line of walls, which he identified beyond doubt as those of the **Porta Capena**, whose position had been already proved by Ampère and other authorities. Pius IX. came to see the discoveries, and exclaiming, 'The heretic's right,' complained bitterly that his own archaeologists, whom he paid very highly, should have failed to find what was discovered by a stranger.

Close to the Porta Capena stood a large group of historical buildings of which no trace remains. On the right of the gate was the Temple of Mars :—

> 'Lux eadem Marti festa est; quem prospicit extra
> Appositum tectae porta Capena viae.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* vi. 191.

It is probably in allusion to this temple that Propertius says :—

> 'Armaque quum tulero portae votiva Capenae,
> Subscribam, salvo grata puella viro.'
> —*Prop.* iv. *Eleg.* 3.

Martial alludes to a little temple of Hercules near this :—

> 'Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta,
> Phrygiaeque matris Almo qua lavat ferrum,
> Horatiorum qua viret sacer campus,
> Et qua pusilli fervet Herculis fanum.'
> —*Mart. Ep.* iii. 47.

Near the gate also stood the tomb of the murdered sister of the Horatii,[1] with the temples of Honour and Virtue, vowed by Marcellus and dedicated by his son,[2] and a fountain dedicated to Mercury :—

> 'Est aqua Mercurii portae vicina Capenae;
> Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet.
> Huc venit incinctus tunica mercator, et urna
> Purus suffita, quam ferat, haurit aquam.
> Uda fit hinc laurus: lauro sparguntur ab uda
> Omnia, quae dominos sunt habitura novos.'
> —*Ovid, Fast.* v. 673.

It was at the Porta Capena that the survivor of the Horatii met his sister.

'Horatius went home at the head of the army, bearing his triple spoils. But as they were drawing near to the Capenian gate, his sister came out to meet him. Now she had been betrothed in marriage to one of the Curiatii, and his cloak, which she had wrought with her own hands, was borne on the shoulders of her brother; and she knew it, and cried aloud, and wept for him she had loved. At the sight of her tears Horatius was so wroth that he drew his sword and stabbed his sister to the heart, and he said, "So perish the Roman maiden who shall weep for her country's enemy!"'—*Arnold's 'Hist. of Rome,'* i. 16.

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[1] Livy, i. 10.
[2] Livy, xxvii. 25; xxix. 11.

Among the many other historical scenes with which the Porta Capena is connected, we may remember that it was here that Cicero was received in triumph by the senate and people of Rome upon his return from banishment, B.C. 57.

The aqueduct of the Aqua Marcia had its termination near this.

Two roads lead to the Via S. Sebastiano—one the Via S. Gregorio, which comes from the Coliseum beneath the Arch of Constantine; the other, the street which comes from the site of the Ghetto, through the Circus Maximus, between the Palatine and Aventine.

The first gate on the left after the junction of these roads is that of the vineyard of the monks of S. Gregorio, in which the site of the Porta Capena was found. The remains discovered were re-buried, owing to the indifference of the late Government; but the vineyard is worth entering on account of the picturesque view it possesses of the Palace of the Caesars.

On the right is a rope-walk, with remains of a pretty little renaissance villa. There a lane leads up the Pseudo-Aventine to the Church of S. Balbina, described Chap. VIII.

On the left, where the Via Appia crosses the brook of the Almo, now called Maranna, the Via di San Sisto Vecchio leads to the back of the Coelian behind S. Stefano Rotondo. Here also, in the grounds of the Villa Celimontana, is the spring which modern archaeology has determined to be the true **Fountain of Egeria**, where Numa Pompilius is described as having his mysterious meetings with the nymph Egeria. The locality of this fountain was verified when that of the Porta Capena was ascertained, as it was certain that it was in the immediate neighbourhood of that gate, from a passage in the 3rd Satire of Juvenal, which describes that when he was waiting at the Porta Capena with Umbritius while the waggon was loading for his departure to Cumae, they rambled into the valley of Egeria, and Umbritius said, after speaking of his motives for leaving Rome, 'I could add other reasons to these, but my beasts summon me to move on, and the sun is setting. I must be going, for the muleteer has long been summoning me by the cracking of his whip.'

To this valley the oppressed race of the Jews was confined by Domitian, their furniture consisting of a basket and a wisp of hay:—

> 'Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
> Judaeis, quorum cophinus foenumque supellex.'
> —*Juvenal, Sat.* iii. 13.

On the right are the **Baths of Caracalla**—*Thermae Antoninianae*—(admission 1 fr., Sundays free), the largest mass of ruins in Rome, except the Coliseum; consisting for the most part of huge walls of red and orange coloured brickwork, framing vast strips of blue sky. The ruins, formerly most beautiful, from the immense variety of shrubs and flowers which adorned them, have been utterly denuded since the change of Government, and, except to antiquaries, are now little worth visiting. Men are even let down by ropes, to the great

danger of the building and themselves, to tear out any stray plant which may have found a resting-place in the sides of the walls. These baths, which could accommodate 1600 bathers at once, were begun in A.D. 212, by Caracalla, continued by Heliogabalus, and finished under Alexander Severus. They covered a space so enormous that their size made Ammianus Marcellinus say that the Roman baths were like provinces—and they were supplied with water by the Antonine Aqueduct, which was brought hither for that especial purpose from the Claudian, over the Arch of Drusus.

'Imagine every entertainment for mind and body; enumerate all the gymnastic games our fathers invented; repeat all the books Italy and Greece have produced; suppose places for all these games, admirers for all these works; add to this, baths of the vastest size, the most complicated combination; intersperse the whole with gardens, with theatres, with porticoes, with schools; suppose, in one word, a city of the gods, composed but of palaces and public edifices, and you may form some faint idea of the glories of the great baths of Rome.'—*Bulwer Lytton.*

The baths were probably built on the gardens of Asinius Pollio, the 'Horti Asinarii' of Frontinus. Antiquaries have amused themselves by identifying different chambers, to which, with considerable uncertainty, the names of Calidarium, Laconicum, Tepidarium, Frigidarium, &c., have been affixed. 'In contemplating antiquities,' says Livy, 'the mind itself becomes antique.'

The habits of luxury and inertia which were introduced with the magnificent baths of the emperors were among the principal causes of the decline and fall of Rome, and the vices which were encouraged in the baths found their reaction in the impression of the early Christians that uncleanliness was a virtue, an impression which is retained by several of the Monastic Orders to the present day. They were like gigantic clubs. Thousands of the Roman youth frittered away their hours in these magnificent halls, which were provided with everything which could gratify the senses. Poets were wont to recite their verses to those who were reclining in the baths.

'In medio qui
Scripta foro recitent, sunt multi, quique lavantes:
Suave locus voci resonat conclusus.'

—*Horace, Sat.* i. iv. 74.

'These *Thermae* of Caracalla, which were one mile in circumference, and open at stated hours for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained above sixteen hundred seats of marble. The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious mosaics that imitated the art of the pencil in elegance of design and in the variety of their colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully encrusted with the precious green marble of Numidia. The perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capacious basins through so many wide mouths of bright and massy silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase, with a small copper coin, the daily enjoyment of a scene of pomp and luxury which might excite the envy of the kings of Asia. From these stately palaces issued forth a swarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without shoes and without mantle; who loitered away whole days in the street or forum, to hear news and to hold disputes; who dissipated, in extravagant gaming, the miserable pittance of their wives and children, and spent the hours of the night in the indulgence of gross and vulgar sensuality.'—*Gibbon.*

'Let us follow one of the elegant youths of Rome into one of the great thermae. He is welcomed at his entrance by the *ostiarius*, or porter, a tall

majestic fellow with a sword at his side, and by the *capsarius*, or wardrobe-keeper, who takes charge of his wraps. Then follows a general salutation and kissing of friends, exchange of the last topics and scandals of the day; reading of the newspapers, or *acta diurna*. The visitor then selects the kind of bath which may suit his particular case—cold, tepid, warm, shower, or perspiration bath. The bath over, the real business begins, as, for example, taking a constitutional up and down the beautiful grounds, indulging in athletic sports or simple gymnastics to restore circulation, and to prepare himself for the delights of the table.

'The luxurious meal finished, the gigantic club-house could supply him with every kind of amusement: libraries, concerts, literary entertainments, reading of the latest poems or novels, popular or Barnum-like shows, conversation with the noblest and most beautiful women. Very often a second bath was taken to prepare for the evening meal. All this could be done by three or four thousand persons at one and the same time, without confusion or delay, because of the great number of servants and slaves attached to the establishment.'—*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome.*'

The service of the baths was entirely carried on by means of underground passages, which enabled the slaves to move about, and appear when wanted, without interfering with the crowd of bathers.

In the first great hall was found, in 1824, the immense mosaic pavement of the pugilists, now in the Lateran Museum. Endless works of art have been discovered here from time to time, among them the best of the Farnese collection of statues—the Bull, the torso of the Hercules,[1] and the Flora—which were dug up in 1534, when Paul III. carried off all the still remaining marble decorations of the baths to use for the Farnese Palace. The last of the pillars to be removed from hence is that which supports the statue of Justice in the Piazza S. Trinità at Florence.

A winding stair leads to the top of the walls, which were once well worth ascending, as well for the idea which you there receive of the vast size of the ruins, as for the lovely views of the Campagna, which were obtained between the bushes of lentiscus and phillyrea with which till lately they were fringed. It was seated on these walls, now so bare and hideous, that Shelley wrote his 'Prometheus Unbound.'

'This poem was chiefly written upon the mountainous ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, among the flowery glades and thickets of odoriferous blossoming trees which are extended in ever-winding labyrinths upon its immense platforms and dizzy arches suspended in the air. The bright blue sky of Rome, and the effect of the vigorous awakening spring in the divinest climate, and the new life with which it drenches the spirits even to intoxication, were the inspiration of the drama.'—*Preface to the 'Prometheus.'*

'Maintenant les murailles sont nues, sauf quelques fragments de chapiteaux oubliés par la destruction; mais elles conservent ce que seules des mains de géant pourraient leur ôter, leur masse écrasante, la grandeur de leurs aspects, la sublimité de leurs ruines. On ne regrette rien quand on contemple ces énormes et pittoresques débris, baignés à midi par une ardente lumière ou se remplissant d'ombres à la tombée de la nuit, s'élançant à une immense hauteur vers un ciel éblouissant, ou se dressant, mornes et mélancoliques, sous un ciel grisâtre—ou bien, lorsque, montant sur la plate-forme inégale, crevassée, couverte d'arbustes

[1] It is an instance of the singular dispersion of ancient fragments at Rome, that the head of this statue was found at the bottom of a well in the Trastevere, and the legs on a farm ten miles from the city.

et tapissée de gazon, on voit, comme du haut d'une colline, d'un côté se dérouler la campagne romaine et le merveilleux horizon de montagnes qui la termine, de l'autre, apparaître, ainsi qu'une montagne de plus, le dôme de Saint-Pierre, la seule des œuvres de l'homme qui ait quelque chose de la grandeur des œuvres de Dieu.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 286.

The name of the lane which leads to the baths (*Viâ all' Antoniana*) recalls the fact that, 'with a vanity which seems like mockery, Caracalla dared to bear the name of Antoninus,' which was always dear to the Roman people.

Some interesting ruins, which may be entered at No. 29 Via Porta S. Sebastiano, probably belong to the **House of the Asinii**—rooms, with traces of fresco-paintings, open on three sides of a peristyle, and the lararium has terra-cotta panels, with representations of deities, still in tolerable preservation.

From this point to the gate, Rome remains more what it was before the change of Government than in any other quarter, and there is a charm even in the old walls overgrown with pellitory and stonecrop. We now pass under the wall of the **Government Garden** for raising shrubs for the public walks. On the right we reach **SS. Nereo ed Achilleo**, a most interesting little church. The tradition runs that S. Peter, going to execution, let drop here one of the bandages of his wounds, and that the spot was marked by the early Christians with an oratory, which bore the name of Fasciola. Nereus and Achilles, eunuchs in the service of Flavius Clemens and Flavia Domitilla (members of the imperial family exiled to Pontia under Diocletian), having suffered martyrdom at Terracina, their bodies were transported here in 524 by John I., when the oratory was enlarged into a church, which was restored under Leo III., in 795. The church was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, by Cardinal Baronius, who took his title from hence. In his work he desired that the ancient basilica character should be carefully carried out, and all the ancient ornaments of the church were preserved and re-erected. His anxiety that his successors should not meddle with or injure these objects of antiquity is shown by the inscription on a marble slab in the tribune:—

'Presbyter Card. Successor quisquis fueris, rogo te, per gloriam Dei, et per merita horum martyrum, nihil demito, nihil minuito, nec mutato; restitutam antiquitatem pie servato; sic Deus martyrum suorum precibus semper adjuvet!

The chancel is raised and surrounded by an inlaid marble screen. Instead of ambones there are two plain marble reading-desks for the Epistle and Gospel. The candelabrum, probably annexed from some pagan building, is of the most exquisite and delicate beauty. The altar is inlaid, and has 'transennae,' or a marble grating, through which the tomb of the saints Nereus and Achilles may be seen, and through which the faithful might pass their handkerchiefs to touch it. Behind, in the semicircular choir, is an ancient episcopal throne, supported by lions, and ending in a gothic gable. Upon it part of the twenty-eighth homily of S. Gregory was engraved by Baronius, under the impression that it was delivered thence—though it was really first read in the catacomb, whence

the bodies of the saints were not yet removed. All these decorations are of the restoration under Leo III., in the eighth century. Of the same period are the mosaics on the arch of the tribune (partly painted over in later times), representing, in the centre, the Transfiguration (the earliest instance of the subject being treated in art), with the Annunciation on one side and the Madonna and Child, attended by angels, on the other.

It is worth while remarking that when the relics of Flavia Domitilla (who was niece of Vespasian) and of Nereus and Achilles were brought hither from the catacomb on the Via Ardeatina, which bears the name of the latter, they were first escorted in triumph to the Capitol, and made to pass under the imperial arches which bore as inscriptions: 'The senate and the Roman people to S. Flavia Domitilla, for having brought more honour to Rome by her death than her illustrious relations by their works.' . . . 'To S. Flavia Domitilla, and to the Saints Nereus and Achilles, the excellent citizens who gained peace for the christian republic at the price of their blood.'

Opposite, on the left, is a courtyard leading to the **Church of S. Sisto** (once known as Titulus Tigridae), with its celebrated convent, long deserted on account of malaria.

It was here that S. Dominic first resided in Rome, and collected one hundred monks under his rule, before he was removed to S. Sabina by Honorius III. After he went to the Aventine, it was decided to utilise this convent by collecting here the various Dominican nuns, who had been living hitherto under very lax discipline, and allowed to leave their convents and reside in their own families. The nuns of S. Maria in Trastevere resisted the order, and only consented to remove on condition of bringing with them a Madonna picture attributed to S. Luke, hoping that the Trasteverini would refuse to part with their most cherished treasure. S. Dominic obviated the difficulty by going to fetch the picture himself at night, attended by two cardinals and a barefooted, torch-bearing multitude.

'On Ash-Wednesday 1218, the abbess and some of her nuns went to take possession of their new monastery, and being in the chapter-house with S. Dominic and Cardinal Stefano di Fossa Nuova, suddenly there came in one tearing his hair, and making great outcries, for the young Lord Napoleone Orsini, nephew of the cardinal, had been thrown from his horse and killed on the spot. The cardinal fell speechless into the arms of Dominic, and the women and others who were present were filled with grief and horror. They brought the body of the youth into the chapter-house, and laid it before the altar; and Dominic, having prayed, turned to it, saying, "O adolescens Napoleo, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi tibi dico surge," and thereupon he arose sound and whole, to the unspeakable wonder of all present.'—*Jameson's 'Monastic Orders.'*

After being convinced by this miracle of the divine mission of S. Dominic, forty nuns settled at S. Sisto, promising never more to cross the threshold.[1]

There is very little remaining of the ancient S. Sisto, except

[1] Hemans' '*Mediaeval Sacred Art.*'

the campanile. But the vaulted **Chapter-House**, now dedicated to S. Dominic, is well worth visiting. It has recently been covered with frescoes by the Padre Besson—himself a Dominican monk—who received his commission from Father Mullooly, Prior of S. Clemente, the Irish Dominican convent to which S. Sisto is now annexed. The three principal frescoes represent three miracles of S. Dominic—in each case of raising from the dead. One depicts the resuscitation of a mason of the new monastery who had fallen from a scaffold; another, that of a child in a wild and beautiful Italian landscape; the third, the restoration of Napoleone Orsini on this spot—the mesmeric upspringing of the lifeless youth being most powerfully represented. The whole chapel is highly picturesque, and effective in colour. Of two inscriptions, one commemorates the raising of Orsini; the other, a prophecy of S. Dominic as to the evil end of two monks who deserted their convent.

Just beyond S. Sisto, where the Via della Ferratella branches off on to the left to the Lateran, stands a small aediculum, or **Shrine of the Lares**, with brick niches for statues.

Farther on the right, standing back from a kind of piazza, adorned with an ancient granite column, is the **Church of S. Cesareo**,[1] which already existed in the time of S. Gregory the Great, but was modernised under Clement VII. (1523–34). Its interior retains many of its ancient features. The pulpit is one of the most exquisite specimens of church decoration in Rome, and is covered with the most delicate sculpture, interspersed with mosaic; the emblems of the Evangelists are introduced in the carving of the panels. The high-altar is richly encrusted with mosaics, probably by the Cosmati family; tiny owls form part of the decorations of the capitals of its pillars. Beneath is a 'confession,' where two angels are drawing curtains over the tomb of the saint. The chancel has an inlaid marble screen. In the tribune is an ancient episcopal throne, once richly ornamented with mosaics.

In this church S. Sergius was elected to the papal throne in 687; and here, also, an Abbot of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio was elected, in 1145, as Eugenius III., and was immediately afterwards forced by the opposing senate to fly to Monticelli, and then to the Abbey of Farfa, where his consecration took place.

Part of the *Palace* of the titular cardinal of S. Cesareo remains in the adjoining garden, with an interesting loggia of *c.* 1200, till recently in its colour a splendid subject for an artist.

In this neighbourhood was the **Piscina Publica**, which gave a name to the twelfth Region of the city. It was used for learning to swim, but all trace of it had disappeared before the time of Festus, whose date is uncertain, but who lived before the end of the fourth century.

> 'In thermas fugio: sonas ad aurem;
> Piscinam peto: non licet natare.'
>
> —*Mart. Ep.* iii. 44.

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[1] Seldom open except in the mornings of Sundays and festas.

Here a lane turns on the left, towards the ancient **Porta Latina**, of the time of Arcadius and Honorius (through which the Via Latina led to Capua), now closed, but well preserved.

In front of the gate is a little chapel, of the sixteenth century, called **S. Giovanni in Oleo**, decorated with indifferent frescoes, on the spot where S. John is said to have been thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil (under Domitian), from which 'he came forth as from a refreshing bath.' The *Mirabilia* mentions the vessel in which S. John was set as 'being shown in the twelfth century.' It is the suffering in the burning oil which gave S. John the palm of a martyr, with which he is often represented in art. The festival of 'S. John ante Port. Lat.' (May 6th) is preserved in the English Church Calendar.

On the left is the **Church of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina**, built in 1190 by Celestine III.

In spite of many modernisations, the last by Cardinal Rasponi in 1686, this building retains externally more of its ancient character than most Roman churches, in its fine campanile and the old brick walls of the nave and apse, decorated with terra-cotta friezes. The portico is entered by a narrow arch resting on two granite columns. The entrance-door and the altar have the peculiar mosaic ribbon decoration of the Cosmati of 1190. The frescoes are all modern; in the tribune are the deluge and the baptism of Christ—the type and antitype. Of the ten columns, eight are simple and of granite, two are fluted and of porta-santa, showing that they were not made for the church but removed from some pagan building—probably from the temple of Ceres and Proserpine. Near the entrance is a very picturesque marble *Well*, like those so common at Venice and Padua, decorated with an intricate pattern of rich carving.

In the opposite vineyard, behind the chapel of the Oleo, very picturesquely situated under the Aurelian Wall, is the **Columbarium of the Freedmen of Octavia.** A columbarium was a tomb containing a number of cinerary urns in niches like pigeon-holes, whence the name. Many columbaria were held in common by a great number of persons, and the niches could be obtained by purchase or inheritance; in other cases, the heads of the great houses possessed whole columbaria for their families and their slaves. In the present instance the columbarium is more than usually decorated, and, though much smaller, it is far more worth seeing than the columbaria which it is the custom to visit immediately upon the Appian Way. One of the cippi, above the staircase, is beautifully decorated with shells and mosaic. Below is a chamber, whose vault is delicately painted with vines and little Bacchi gathering in the vintage. Round the walls are arranged the urns, some of them in the form of temples, and very beautifully designed, others merely pots sunk into the wall, with conical lids, like pipkins let into a kitchen-range. A beautiful vase of lapis-lazuli found here has been transferred to the Vatican.

Proceeding along the Via Appia, on the left, by a tall cypress (No. 12; entrance, 25 c.), is the entrance to **the Tomb of the Scipios**, or of the **Gens Cornelia**, a small catacomb in the tufa rock, discovered in 1780, from which the famous sarcophagus of L. Scipio Barbatus, and a bust of the poet Ennius,[1] were removed to the Vatican by Pius VII. The skeleton of Scipio was found in perfect preservation. Pius VI. gave the gold and cornelian signet-ring which it wore to the antiquary Dutens, from whom it passed to Lord Beverley, and it is now at Alnwick Castle.

> 'The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes[2] now;
> The very sepulchres lie tenantless
> Of their heroic dwellers.'
> —'*Childe Harold.*'

The contadino at the neighbouring farmhouse provides lights, with which one can visit a labyrinth of steep narrow passages, some of them still retaining inscribed sepulchral slabs of peperino. Among the Scipios whose tombs have been discovered here were Lucius Scipio Barbatus and his son, the conqueror of Corsica; Aula Cornelia, wife of Cneus Scipio Hispallus; a son of Scipio Africanus; Lucius Cornelius, son of Scipio Asiaticus; Cornelius Scipio Hispallus and his son Lucius Cornelius. At the farther end of these passages, and now, like them, subterranean, may be seen the pediment and arched entrance of the tomb towards the Via Latina. 'It is uncertain whether Scipio Africanus was buried at Liternum or in the family tomb. In the time of Livy monuments to him were extant in both places.'[3] The Cornelian gens always retained the custom of burying instead of burning their dead.

There is a beautiful view towards Rome from the vineyard above the tomb. At the other end of the Vigna, towards the Porta Latina (custode at the tomb of the Scipios), are the **Columbaria of Pomponius Hylas**, discovered 1831. Under the farmhouse of the next vigna (Pallavicini) a crypt was found in 1875, dedicated to Gabriel the Archangel and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, with frescoes of the eleventh century.

A little farther on, left (No. 14), is the entrance of the **Vigna Codini** (a private garden with an extortionate custode), containing four interesting **Columbaria**. Three of these are large square vaults, supported by a central pillar, which, as well as the walls, is perforated by niches for urns. The fourth has three vaulted passages. Some of the more important persons have miniature sarcophagi. Amongst other inscriptions a lady's-maid ('ornatrix'), a barber

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[1] This bust has been supposed to represent the poet Ennius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, because his last request was that he might be buried by his side. Even in the time of Cicero, Ennius was believed to be buried in the tomb of the Scipios. 'Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius; itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore.'—*Cic. Orat. pro Arch. Poeta.*

[2] Not really 'ashes,' for the Scipios would never submit to cremation, which they thought incompatible with their ancient lineage.

[3] Dyer's '*Hist. of the City of Rome.*'

attached to the imperial household, the dumb buffoon of Tiberius ('T. Caesaris lusor'), and even a favourite lapdog, 'the delight of its mistress,' are commemorated. In 1840, a cubiculum (now lost) was discovered here with christian paintings of the third century.

The Arches of Trajan and Verus, which crossed the road within the walls, have been destroyed, but just within the gate still stands the **Arch of Drusus.** On its summit are the remains of the aqueduct by which Caracalla carried water to his baths.[1] The arch once supported an equestrian statue of Drusus, two trophies, and a seated female figure representing Germany.

The Arch of Drusus was decreed by the senate in honour of the second son of the Empress Livia by her first husband, Tiberius Nero. He was father of Germanicus and the Emperor Claudius, and brother of Tiberius. He died during a campaign on the Rhine, B.C. 9, and was brought back by his stepfather Augustus to be buried in his own mausoleum. His virtues are attested in a poem ascribed to Pedo Albinovanus.

'This arch, "Marmoreum arcum cum tropaeo Appia Via" (Suet. 1), is, with the exception of the Pantheon, the most perfect existing monument of Augustan architecture. It is heavy, plain, and narrow, with all the dignified but stern simplicity which belongs to the character of its age.'—*Merivale.*

'It is hard for one who loves the very stones of Rome to pass over all the thoughts which arise in his mind as he thinks of the great Apostle treading the rude and massive pavement of the Appian Way, and passing under the Arch of Drusus at the Porta S. Sebastiano, toiling up the Capitoline Hill past the Tabularium of the Capitol, dwelling in his hired house in the Via Lata or elsewhere, imprisoned in those painted caves in the Praetorian Camp, and at last pouring out his blood for Christ at the Tre Fontane, on the road to Ostia.'—*Dean Alford's 'Study of the New Testament,'* p. 335.

The Arch of Drusus was sometimes called 'arcus stillae,' from the dripping of the aqueduct over it. The Pope S. Stephen was imprisoned and held a synod 'in carcere ad arcum stillae.'

The **Porta San Sebastiano,** the ancient Porta Appia, has two fine semicircular towers of the Aurelian Wall,[2] resting on a basement of marble blocks, probably plundered from the tombs on the Via Appia. Under the arch is a gothic inscription relating to the repulse of an invading army (that of King Robert of Naples) in 1327, 'by the people of Rome, led by Jacopo de' Ponziani.'[3]

It was here that the senate and people of Rome received in state the last triumphant procession which has entered the city by the Via Appia, that of Marc Antonio Colonna, after the victory of Lepanto in 1571. As in the processions of the old Roman generals, the children of the conquered prince were forced to adorn the

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[1] Middleton ('*Remains of Ancient Rome,*' ii. 172) maintains that the Arch of Drusus was merely an ornamental arch of Caracalla's aqueduct where it crossed the Via Appia.

[2] The magnificent walls of Aurelian, the glory of Rome and admiration of the world, are (1900) doomed by the Government to—disappear!

[3] In the Einsiedlen MS. an unknown writer, who visited Rome in the ninth century, describes the walls with their fourteen (still existing) gates and 383 towers.

triumph of the victor, who rode into Rome attended by all the Roman nobles, 'in abito di grande formalità,'[1] preceded by the standard of the fleet.

On the right of the Porta is one of the (walled-up) posterns, only used in Jubilee years, and beyond the tenth tower a door of the first century, 'flanked by half-columns of the Corinthian order, with finely-cut capitals and frieze,' which belonged to a villa within the walls. A little farther on is the *Bastion* made by Sangallo for Paul III., which destroyed nine towers of the wall, as well as the ancient Porta Ardeatina.

From the gate, the **Clivus Martis** (crossed by the railway to Civita Vecchia) descends into the valley of the Almo, where antiquaries formerly placed the Porta Capena. On the hillside stood a Temple of Mars, vowed in the Gallic war, and dedicated by T. Quinctius, the 'duumvir sacris faciundis,' in B.C. 387. No remains exist of this temple. It was 'approached from the Via Capena by a portico, which must have rivalled in length the celebrated portico at Bologna extending to the church of the Madonna di S. Luca.'[2] This was the place where S. Sixtus was beheaded. In the legendary Acts of S. Stephen, the temple is described as having fallen down upon the prayer of the saint. Near this, a temple was erected to Tempestas in B.C. 260, by L. Cornelius Scipio, to commemorate the narrow escape of his fleet from shipwreck off the coast of Sardinia.[3] Near this, also, the poet Terence owned a small estate of twenty acres, presented to him by his friend Scipio Emilianus.[4]

Near the bridge over the Almo, at the entrance of the land of tombs,[5] the **Columbarium of the Freedmen of Livia** was discovered in 1725, containing six rooms and the remains of no less than six thousand servants and their families. Of these no less than six hundred were attached to the person of Livia, and included a Lydus, *a sede Augustae*, keeper of her armchair; an Aurelia, *a cura catellae*, care-taker of her lapdog; a Syneros, *ad imagines*, who took care of the family portraits, &c.

After crossing the brook, we pass between two conspicuous tombs. That on the left is the **Tomb of Geta**, son of Septimius Severus, the murdered brother of Caracalla; that on the right is the **Tomb of Priscilla**, wife of Abascantius, a favourite freedman of Domitian.

> 'Est locus ante urbem, qua primum nascitur ingens
> Appia, quaque Italo gemitus Almone Cybele
> Ponit, et Idaeos jam non reminiscitur amnes.
> Hic te Sidonio velatam molliter ostro
> Eximius conjux (nec enim fumantia busta
> Clamoremque rogi potuit perferre) beato
> Composuit, Priscilla, toro.'
>
> —*Statius, Sylv.* v. i. 222.

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1 Coppi, '*Memorie Colonnesi*,' p. 342.
2 See Dyer's '*Hist. of the City of Rome*,' p. 85.
3 Ibid., p. 97. 4 Ibid., p. 122.
5 No less than 1559 tombs have been discovered in modern times beyond the Aurelian Wall, in the triangular space between the Via Appia and Via Latina.

Just beyond this, the **Via Ardeatina** branches off on the right, passing, after about two miles, the picturesque **Vigna Marancia**, a pleasant spot, with fine old pines and cypresses, near which an interesting crypt has been discovered hewn out of the rock, with an inscription showing that it was constructed by Marcus Aurelius Restitutus, an early Christian, for himself and his family, provided that they were believers in Christ—*fidentes in Domino*.

Where the roads divide, is the **Church of Domine Quo Vadis**, containing a copy of the celebrated footprint said to have been left here by our Saviour: the original being removed to S. Sebastiano.

'After the burning of Rome, Nero threw upon the Christians the accusation of having fired the city. This was the origin of the first persecution, in which many perished by terrible and hitherto unheard-of deaths. The christian converts besought Peter not to expose his life. As he fled along the Appian Way, about two miles from the gates, he was met by a vision of our Saviour travelling towards the city. Struck with amazement, he exclaimed, "Lord, whither goest Thou?" to which the Saviour, looking upon him with a mild sadness, replied, "I go to Rome to be crucified a second time," and vanished. Peter, taking this as a sign that he was to submit himself to the sufferings prepared for him, immediately turned back to the city.[1] Michelangelo's famous statue, now in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, is supposed to represent Christ as He appeared to S. Peter on this occasion. A cast or copy of it is in the little church of "Domine Quo Vadis."

'It is surprising that this most beautiful, picturesque, and, to my fancy, sublime legend has been so seldom treated; and never, as it seems to me, in a manner worthy of its capabilities and high significance. It is seldom that a story can be told by two figures, and these two figures placed in such grand and dramatic contrast: Christ in His serene majesty, and radiant with all the joy of beatitude, yet with an expression of gentle reproach; the Apostle at His feet, arrested in his flight, amazed, and yet filled with a trembling joy; and for the background the wide Campagna or towering walls of imperial Rome.'—*Mrs. Jameson.*[2]

Beyond the church is a second 'Bivium,' or cross-ways, where a lane on the left leads up the Valle Caffarelle. Here, feeling an uncertainty *which* was the crossing where our Saviour appeared to S. Peter, the English Cardinal Pole erected a second tiny chapel of 'Domine Quo Vadis,' which remains to this day.

Columbaria near this are assigned to the Volusii and the Caecilii.

Over the wall on the left of the Via Appia now hangs in profusion the rare yellow-berried ivy (*Edera chrysocarpia*). It is represented in the mosaic of the Capitol, which is the pendant of 'Pliny's Doves,' where there are two masks, one of them crowned with this ivy. Banqueters wore wreaths of ivy because it was supposed to prevent wine from going to their heads. Many curious plants are to be found on these old Roman walls. Their commonest parasite, the pellitory—'*Herba parietina*'—calls to mind the nickname given to the Emperor Trajan in derision of his passion for inscribing his name upon the walls of Roman buildings which he had merely

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1 This story is told by S. Ambrose.

2 The story is represented in one of the ancient tapestries in the Cathedral of Anagni.

restored, as if he were their founder ;[1] a passion in which the popes afterwards largely participated.

We now reach (on the right) the entrance to the **Catacombs of S. Calixtus.**

(The Catacombs [except those at S. Sebastiano] can only be visited in company of a guide. For most of the Catacombs it is necessary to obtain a *permesso* : upon which a day (generally Sunday) is fixed, which must be adhered to. It may be well for the visitor to provide himself with tapers—*cerini*. The Catacombs of S. Calixtus are superficially shown at all times without a special *permesso*, and are quite sufficient for the requirements of the ordinary tourist. A visit to these, through the usual wicket gate at 1 fr. a head, in a crowd of Cook's tourists, renders study and sentiment alike impossible.)

All descriptions of dangers attending a visit to the Catacombs, if accompanied by a guide and provided with 'cerini,' are quite imaginary. Neither does the visitor ever suffer from cold ; the temperature of the Catacombs is mild and warm ; the vaults are almost always dry, and the air pure.

'The Roman Catacombs—a name consecrated by long usage, but having no etymological meaning, and not a very determinate geographical one—are a vast labyrinth of galleries excavated in the bowels of the earth in the hills around the Eternal City ; not in the hills on which the city itself was built, but those beyond the walls. Their extent is enormous ; not as to the amount of superficial soil which they underlie, for they rarely, if ever, pass beyond the third milestone from the city, but in the actual length of their galleries ; for these are often excavated on various levels, or *piani*, three, four, or even five—one above the other ; and they cross and recross one another, sometimes at short intervals, on each of these levels ; so that, on the whole, there are certainly not less than 350 miles of them ; that is to say, if stretched out in one continuous line, they would extend the whole length of Italy itself.[2] The galleries are from two to four feet in width, and vary in height according to the nature of the rock in which they are dug. The walls on both sides are pierced with horizontal niches, like shelves in a bookcase or berths in a steamer, and every niche once contained one or more dead bodies. At various intervals this succession of shelves is interrupted for a moment, that room may be made for a doorway opening into a small chamber ; and the walls of these chambers are generally pierced with graves in the same way as the galleries.

'These vast excavations once formed the ancient christian cemeteries of Rome ; they were begun in apostolic times, and continued to be used as burial-places of the faithful till the capture of the city by Alaric in the year 410. In the third century the Roman Church numbered twenty-five or twenty-six of them, corresponding to the number of her titles, or parishes, within the city ; and besides these, there were about twenty others of smaller dimensions, isolated monuments of special martyrs, or belonging to this or that private family. Originally they all belonged to private families or individuals, the villas or gardens in which they were dug being the property of wealthy citizens who had embraced the faith of Christ, and devoted of their substance to His service. Hence their most ancient titles were taken merely from the names of their lawful owners, many of which still survive. Lucina, for example, who lived in the days of the Apostles, and others of the same family, or at least of the same name, who lived at various periods in the next two centuries ; Priscilla, also a contemporary of the Apostles ; Flavia Domitilla, niece of Vespasian ; Commodilla, whose property lay on the Via Ostiensis ; Ciriaca, on the Via Tiburtina ; Pretextatus, on the Via Appia ; Pontiano, on the Via Portuensis ; and the Jordani, Maximus, and Thraso, all on the Via Salaria Nova. These names are still attached to the various catacombs, because they were originally begun upon

[1] Amm. Marcell. lib. xxvii. c.

[2] Michele Stefano de Rossi calculates the aggregate length of catacomb galleries at 587 miles.

the land of those who bore them. Other catacombs are known by the names of those who presided over their formation, as that of S. Calixtus, on the Via Appia; or S. Mark, on the Via Ardeatina; or of the principal martyrs who were buried in them, as SS. Hermes, Basilla, Protus, and Hyacinthus, on the Via Salaria Vetus; or, lastly, by some peculiarity of their position, as *ad Catacumbas* on the Via Appia, and *ad duas Lauros* on the Via Labicana.

'It has always been agreed among men of learning who have had an opportunity of examining these excavations, that they were used exclusively by the Christians as places of burial and of holding religious assemblies. Modern research has now placed it beyond a doubt that they were also originally designed for this purpose and for no other: that they were not deserted sand-pits (*arenariae*) or quarries, adapted to christian uses, but a development, with important modifications, of a form of sepulchre not altogether unknown even among the heathen families of Rome, and in common use among the Jews both in Rome and elsewhere.

'At first the work of making the catacombs was done openly without let or hindrance, by the Christians; the entrances to them were public, on the high-road or on the hillside, and the galleries and chambers were freely decorated with paintings of a sacred character. But early in the third century it became necessary to withdraw them as much as possible from the public eye; new and often difficult entrances were now effected in the recesses of deserted *arenariae*, and even the liberty of christian art was cramped and fettered, lest what was holy should fall under the profane gaze of the unbaptized.

'Each of these burial-places was called in ancient times either *hypogaeum*, *i.e.* generically, a subterranean place, or *coemeterium*, a sleeping-place, a new name of christian origin which the pagans could only repeat, probably without understanding; sometimes also *martyrium* or *confessio* (its Latin equivalent), to signify that it was the burial-place of martyrs or confessors of the faith. An ordinary grave was called *locus* or *loculus*, if it contained a single body; or *bisomum*, *trisomum*, or *quadrisomum*, if it contained two, three, or four. The graves were dug by *fossores*, and burial in them was called *depositio*. The galleries do not seem to have had any specific name; but the chambers were called *cubicula*. In most of these chambers, and sometimes also in the galleries themselves, one or more tombs are to be seen of a more elaborate kind; a long oblong *châsse*, like a sarcophagus, either hollowed out in the rock or built up of masonry, and closed by a heavy slab of marble lying horizontally on the top. The niche over tombs of this kind was of the same length as the grave, and generally vaulted in a semicircular form, whence they were called *arcosolia*. Sometimes, however, the niche retained the rectangular form, in which case there was no special name for it, but for distinction's sake we may be allowed to call it a table-tomb. Those of the *arcosolia* which were also the tombs of martyrs were used on the anniversaries of their deaths (*natalitia* or birthdays) as altars whereon the holy mysteries were celebrated; hence, whilst some of the *cubicula* were only family vaults, others were chapels or places of public assembly. It is probable that the holy mysteries were celebrated also in the private vaults on the anniversaries of the deaths of their occupants; and each one was sufficiently large in itself for use on these private occasions; but in order that as many as possible might assist at the public celebrations, two, three, or even four of the *cubicula* were often made close together, all receiving light and air through one shaft or air-hole (*luminare*), pierced through the superincumbent soil up to the open air. In this way as many as a hundred persons might be collected in some parts of the catacombs to assist at the same act of public worship; whilst a still larger number might have been dispersed in the *cubicula* or neighbouring galleries, and received there the bread of life brought to them by the assistant priests and deacons. Indications of this arrangement are not only to be found in ancient ecclesiastical writings; they may still be seen in the very walls of the catacombs themselves, episcopal chairs, chairs for the presiding deacon or deaconess, and benches for the faithful, having formed part of the original design when the chambers were hewn out of the living rock, and still remaining where they were first made.'—*Northcote and Brownlow*, '*Roma Sotterranea*.'

'To our classic associations, Rome was still under Trajan and the Antonines, the city of the Caesars, the metropolis of pagan idolatry—in the pages of her poets and historians we still linger among the triumphs of the Capitol, the shows of the Coliseum; or if we read of a Christian being dragged before the tribunal

or exposed to the beasts, we think of him as one of a scattered community, few in number, spiritless in action, and politically insignificant. But all this while there was living beneath the visible an invisible Rome—a population unheeded, unreckoned—thought of vaguely, vaguely spoken of, and with the familiarity and indifference that men feel who live on a volcano—yet a population strong-hearted, of quick impulses, nerved alike to suffer or to die, and in number, resolution, and physical force sufficient to have hurled their oppressors from the throne of the world, had they not deemed it their duty to kiss the rod, to love their enemies, to bless those that cursed them, and to submit for their Redeemer's sake to the "powers that be." Here, in these "dens and caves of the earth," they lived; here they died—a "spectacle" in their lifetime "to men and angels," and in their death a "triumph" to mankind—a triumph of which the echoes still float around the walls of Rome and over the desolate Campagna, while those that once thrilled the Capitol are silenced, and the walls that returned them have long since crumbled into dust.'—*Lord Lindsay's 'Christian Art,'* i. 4.

'What Saint Louis of France discerned, and found so irresistibly touching, through the dimness of many centuries, as a painful thing done for love of him by One whom he had never seen, was, to them, a thing of yesterday; and their hearts were full with it; it had the force, among their interests, of an almost recent event in the career of one whom their fathers' fathers might have known. From memories so sublime, yet so close to them, had the narration descended in which these acts of worship centred; and again the names of the more recent dead were mingled with it. And it seems as if the very dead were aware; were stirring beneath the slabs of the sepulchres which lay so near, that they might associate themselves to that enthusiasm—to that exalted worship of Jesus.'—*Walter Pater*, '*Marius the Epicurean.*'

The name Catacombs is modern, having originally been only applied to S. Sebastiano 'ad catacumbas.' The early Christians called their burial-places by the Greek name *Coemeteria*, sleeping-places. Almost all the catacombs are between the first and third milestones from the Aurelian Wall, to which point the city extended before the wall itself was built. This was in obedience to the Roman law which forbade burial within the precincts of the city.

The fact that the Christians were always anxious not to burn their dead, but to bury them in these rock-hewn sepulchres, was probably owing to the remembrance that our Lord was Himself laid 'in a new tomb hewn out of the rock,' and perhaps also for this reason the bodies were wrapt in fine linen cloths, and buried with precious spices, of which remains have been found in the tombs.

The Catacomb which is known as S. Calixtus is composed of a number of catacombs, once distinct, but now joined together. Such were those of S. Lucina; of Anatolia, daughter of the consul Aemilianus; and of S. Soteris, 'a virgin of the family to which S. Ambrose belonged in a later generation,' and who was buried 'in coemeterio suo,' A.D. 304. The passages of these catacombs were gradually united with those which originally belonged to the cemetery of Calixtus.

The high mass of ruin which meets our eyes on first entering the vineyard of S. Calixtus is a remnant of the tomb of the Caecilii, of which family a number of epitaphs have been found. Beyond this is another ruin, supposed by Marangoni to have been the basilica which S. Damasus provided for his own burial and that of his mother and sister; which Padre Marchi believed to be the church of

S. Mark and S. Marcellinus, but which De Rossi identifies with the *cella memoriae*, sometimes called of S. Sistus, sometimes of S. Cecilia (because built immediately over the graves of those martyrs), by S. Fabian in the third century.'

'The edifice has the shape of a square hall with three apses—*cella trichora*. It is built over the part of the catacombs which was excavated in the time of Pope Fabianus (A.D. 236–250), who is known to have raised *multas fabricas per coemeteria*; it is probably his work, as the style of masonry is exactly that of the first half of the third century. The original *schola* was covered with a wooden roof, and had no façade or door. In the year 258, while Sixtus II., attended by his deacons Felicissimus and Agapetus, was presiding over a meeting at this place in spite of the prohibition of Valerian, a body of men invaded the *schola*, murdered the bishop and his acolytes, and razed the building nearly to the level of the ground. Half a century later, in the time of Constantine, it was restored to its original shape with the addition of a vaulted roof and a façade. The line which separates the old foundation of Fabianus from the restorations of the age of peace is clearly visible. Later the *schola* was changed into a church and dedicated to the memory of Syxtus, who had lost his life there, and of Caecilia, who was buried in the crypt below. It became a great place of pilgrimage, and the itineraries mention it as one of the leading stations on the Appian Way.

'When De Rossi first visited the place, the famous *schola* or church of Syxtus and Caecilia was used as a wine-cellar, while the crypts of Caecilia and Cornelius were used as vaults. Thanks to his initiative, the monument has again become the property of the Church of Rome; and after a lapse of ten or twelve centuries divine service was resumed in it in April 1892. Its walls have been covered with inscriptions found in the adjoining cemetery.'—*Lanciani*.

Descending into the catacomb by an ancient staircase restored, we reach (passing a sepulchral cubiculum on the right) the **Chapel of the Popes**, a place of burial and of worship of the third or fourth century as it was restored after its discovery in 1854, but still retaining remains of the marble slabs with which it was faced by Sixtus III. in the fifth century, and of marble columns, &c., with which it was adorned by S. Leo III. (795–816). Over the entrance is inscribed 'Gerusale(m) civitas et ornamentum martyrum Dni.' The walls are lined with graves of the earliest popes, many of them martyrs—viz., S. Zephyrinus (202–211); S. Pontianus, who died in banishment in Sardinia (231–236); S. Anteros, martyred under Maximian in the second month of his pontificate (236); S. Fabian, martyred under Decius (236–250); S. Lucius, martyred under Valerian (253–255); S. Stephen I. martyred in his episcopal chair, under Valerian (255–257); S. Sixtus II., martyred in the Catacombs of S. Pretextatus (257–260); S. Dionysius (260–271); S. Eutychianus, martyr (275–283); and S. Caius (284–296). Of these, the gravestones of Anteros, Fabianus, Lucius, and Eutychianus have been discovered, with inscriptions in Greek, which is acknowledged to have been the earliest language of the Church—in which S. Paul and S. James wrote, and in which the proceedings of the first twelve Councils were carried on.[2] Though no inscriptions have been found relating to the other popes mentioned, they are known to have been buried here from the earliest authorities. Calixtus,

[1] '*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

who founded the cemetery, and was martyred by being thrown from the window of his house near S. Maria in Trastevere, is not buried here, but in the Catacomb of Calepodius.

Over the site of the altar is one of the beautifully-cut inscriptions of Pope S. Damasus (366–384), 'whose labour of love it was to rediscover the tombs, which had been blocked up for concealment under Diocletian, to remove the earth, widen the passages, adorn the sepulchral chambers with marble, and support the friable tufa walls with arches of brick and stone.'[1]

'Hic congesta jacet quaeris si turba Piorum,
Corpora Sanctorum retinent veneranda sepulchra,
Sublimes animas rapuit sibi Regia Coeli:
Hic comites Xysti portant qui ex hoste tropaea;
Hic numerus procerum servat qui altaria Christi;
Hic positus longâ vixit qui in pace Sacerdos;
Hic Confessores sancti quos Graecia misit;
Hic juvenes puerique, senes castique nepotes,
Quis mage virgineum placuit retinere pudorem.
Hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra,
Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare Piorum.'

Here, if you would know, lie heaped together a number of the holy;
These honoured sepulchres inclose the bodies of the saints,
Their lofty souls the palace of heaven has received.
Here lie the companions of Xystus, who bear away the trophies from the enemy;
Here a tribe of the elders which guard the altars of Christ;
Here is buried the priest who lived long in peace;[2]
Here the holy confessors who came from Greece:[3]
Here lie youths and boys, old men and their chaste descendants,
Who kept their virginity undefiled.
Here I Damasus wished to have laid my limbs,
But feared to disturb the holy ashes of the saints.'[4]

From this chapel we enter the **Cubiculum of S. Cecilia**, where the body of the saint was buried by her friend Urban after her martyrdom in her own house in the Trastevere (see Chap. XVII.), A.D. 224, and where it was discovered in 820 by Pope Paschal I. (to whom its resting-place had been revealed in a dream), 'fresh and perfect as when it was first laid in the tomb, and clad in rich garments mixed with gold, with linen cloths stained with blood rolled up at her feet, lying in a cypress coffin.'[5]

Close to the entrance of the cubiculum, upon the wall, is a painting of Cecilia, 'a woman richly attired, and adorned with bracelets and necklaces.' Near it is a niche for the lamp which burned before the shrine, at the back of which is a large head of

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1 '*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 97.

2 S. Melchiades, buried in another part of the catacomb, who lived long in peace after the persecution had ceased, and who was the last pope to be buried near his predecessors 'in coemeteriis Callisti in cripta.' The succeeding popes were buried in chapels above the Catacombs.

3 Hippolytus, Adrias, Marca, Neo, Paulina, and others.

4 S. Damasus was buried in the chapel above the entrance.

5 'A more striking commentary on the divine promise, "The Lord keepeth all the bones of His servants; He will not lose one of them" (Ps. xxxiii. 24), it would be difficult to conceive.'—'*Roma Sotterranea*.'

our Saviour, 'of the Byzantine type, and with rays of glory behind it in the form of a Greek cross. Side by side with this, but on the flat surface of the wall, is a figure of S. Urban (friend of Cecilia, who laid her body here) in full pontifical robes, with his name inscribed.' Higher on the wall are figures of three saints, 'executed apparently in the fourth, or perhaps even the fifth century'—Polycamus, an unknown martyr, with a palm branch; Sebastianus, and Curinus, a bishop (Quirinus, Bishop of Siscia—buried at S. Sebastiano). In the pavement is a gravestone of Septimus Pretextatus Caecilianus, 'a servant of God, who lived worthy for three-and-thirty years'—considered important as suggesting a connection between the family of Cecilia and that of S. Praetextatus, in whose catacomb on the other side of the Appian Way her husband and brother-in-law were buried, and where her friend S. Urban was concealed. Several Christians of the noblest families in Rome—Caecilii, Cornelii, Aemilii—are buried near Cecilia.

These two chapels are the only ones which it is necessary to dwell upon here in detail. The rest of the catacomb is shown in varying order, and explained in different ways. Three points are of historic interest. 1. The roof-shaped tomb of Pope S. Melchiades, who lived long in peace and died A.D. 313. 2. The Cubiculum of Pope S. Eusebius, in the middle of which is placed an inscription, pagan on one side, on the other a restoration of the fifth century of one of the beautiful inscriptions of Pope Damasus, which is thus translated:—

'Heraclius forbade the lapsed to grieve for their sins. Eusebius taught those unhappy ones to weep for their crimes. The people were rent into parties, and with increasing fury began sedition, slaughter, fighting, discord, and strife. Straightway both (the pope and the heretic) were banished by the cruelty of the tyrant, although the pope was preserving the bonds of peace inviolate. He bore his exile with joy, looking to the Lord as his Judge, and on the shore of Sicily gave up the world and his life.'

At the top and bottom of the tablet is the following title:—

'Damasus Episcopus fecit Eusebio episcopo et martyri,'

and on either side a single file of letters which hands down to us the name of the sculptor who executed the Damasine inscriptions:—

'Furius Dionysius Filocalus scripsit Damasis pappae cultor atque amator.'

3. Near the exit, properly in the Catacomb of S. Lucina, connected with that of Calixtus by a labyrinth of galleries, is the tomb of Pope S. Cornelius (251–252), the only Roman bishop down to the time of S. Sylvester (314) who bore the name of any noble Roman family, and whose epitaph (perhaps in consequence) is in Latin, while those of the other popes are in Greek. The tomb has no chapel of its own, but is a mere grave in a gallery, with a rectangular instead of a circular space above, as in the cubicula. Near the tomb are fragments of one of the commemorative inscriptions of S. Damasus, which has been ingeniously restored by De Rossi thus:—

'Aspice, descensu extructo tenebrisque fugatis,
Corneli monumenta vides tumulumque sacratum.

Hoc opus aegroti Damasi praestantia fecit,
Esset ut accessus melior, populisque paratum
Auxilium sancti, et valeas si fundere puro
Corde preces, Damasus melior consurgere posset,
Quem non lucis amor, tenuit mage cura laboris.'

'Behold, a way down has been constructed and the darkness dispelled; you see the monuments of Cornelius and his sacred tomb. This work the zeal of Damasus has accomplished, sick as he is, in order that the approach might be better, and the aid of the saint might be made convenient for the people; and that, if you will pour forth your prayers from a pure heart, Damasus may rise up better in health, though it has not been love of life, but care for work, that has kept him (here below).'[1]

S. Cornelius was banished under Gallus to Centumcellae—now Civita Vecchia—and was brought back thence to Rome for martyrdom, Sept. 14th, A.D. 252. On the same day of the month, in 258, died his friend and correspondent S. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage,[2] who is consequently commemorated by the Church on the same day with S. Cornelius. Therefore also, on the right of the grave, are two figures of bishops with inscriptions declaring them to be S. Cornelius and S. Cyprian.[3] Each holds the book of the Gospels in his hands, and is clothed in pontifical robes, 'including the pallium, which had not yet been confined as a mark of distinction to metropolitans.[4] Beneath the pictures stands the pillar which held one of the vases of oil which were always kept burning before the shrines of the martyrs. Beyond the tomb, at the end of the gallery, is another painting of two bishops, S. Sistus II., martyred in the Catacomb of Pretextatus, and S. Optatus, who was buried near him.

'The *Liber Pontificalis* says: "The Emperor Decius gave judgment in the case of Cornelius, that he should be taken to the Temple of Mars *extra muros*, and asked to perform an act of adoration; in case of a refusal, that he should be beheaded. This was accordingly done, and Cornelius gave his life for his faith. Lucina, a noble matron, assisted by members of the clergy, collected his remains and buried them in a crypt on her own estate near the cemetery of Calixtus, on the Appian Way; and this happened on Sept. 14 (A.D. 253)." As the Cemetery of Calixtus was the recognised burial-place of the Bishops of Rome, why was this exception made to the rule? The reason is evident: the estate of Lucina contained the family vault of the Cornelii, or at least of a branch of the Cornelian race.'—*Lanciani.*

Rossi, to whom we owe the discovery of the Catacombs as they now are, first saw the broken words, *nelius Martyr*, on the marble support of a wine-cask in a neighbouring osteria, and he at once recognised a memorial of Cornelius martyr. The Pope did not believe in him, but permitted him to have the support he required for his investigations. The world called him *pazzo*, the Pope called him a *sognatore*. It was a triumphant moment when, after he had discovered the chapel with the tombs of the popes, he brought

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1 '*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 180.
2 Alban Butler, viii. 204.
3 The remains of both, Cornelius from Rome, and Cyprian from Carthage, were removed to Compiègne by Charles le Chauve.
4 '*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 182.

Pius IX. to see it, and said, '*Ecco, Santo Padre, il sogno dello sognatore.*'

In going round this catacomb, and in most of the others, the visitor will be shown a number of rude paintings, which will be explained to him in various ways, according to the tendencies of his guide. The paintings may be considered to consist of three classes: symbolical, allegorical and biblical, and liturgical. There is little variety of subject—the same are introduced over and over again.

The symbols most frequently introduced on and over the graves are:—

The Anchor, expressive of hope. Heb. vi. 19.
The Dove, symbolical of the christian soul released from its earthly tabernacle. Ps. lv. 6.
The Sheep, symbolical of the soul still wandering amid the pastures and deserts of earthly life. Ps. cxix. 176; Isa. liii. 6; John x. 14, xxi. 15, 16, 17.
The Phoenix, 'the palm bird,' emblematical of eternity and the resurrection.
The Fish, typical of our Saviour—from the word ἰχθύς, formed by the initial letters of the titles of our Lord—'Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ'—'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour.'
The Ship, representing the Church militant, sometimes seen carried on the back of the fish.
Bread, represented with fish, sometimes carried in a basket on its back, sometimes with it on a table—in allusion to the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. In ancient times a meal was not thought complete without fish, whenever it could be had; 'bread and fish' went together like 'bread and butter' in England.[1]
A Female Figure Praying, an 'Orante'—in allusion to the Church.
A Vine, also in allusion to the Church. Ps. lxxx. 8; Isa. v. 1.
An Olive Branch, as a sign of peace.
A Palm Branch, as a sign of victory and martyrdom. Rev. vii. 9.

Of the *Allegorical and Biblical Representations*, *The Good Shepherd* requires an especial notice from the importance which is given to it and its frequent introduction in Catacomb art, both in sculpture and painting.

'By far the most interesting of the early christian paintings is that of our Saviour as the Good Shepherd, which is almost invariably painted on the central space of the dome or cupola, subjects of minor interest being disposed around it in compartments, precisely in the style, as regards both the arrangement and execution, of the heathen catacombs.

'He is represented as a youth in a shepherd's frock and sandals, carrying the "lost sheep" on his shoulders, or leaning on his staff (the symbol, according to S. Augustine), of the christian hierarchy), while the sheep feed around or look up at him. Sometimes he is represented seated in the midst of his flock, playing on a shepherd's pipe,—in a few instances, in the oldest catacombs, he is introduced in the character of Orpheus, surrounded by wild beasts enrapt by the melody of his lyre—Orpheus being then supposed to have been a prophet or precursor of the Messiah. The background usually exhibits a landscape or meadow, sometimes planted with olive-trees, doves resting in their branches, symbolical of the peace of the faithful; in others, as in a fresco preserved in the Museum Christianum, the palm of victory is introduced,—but such combinations are endless. In one or two instances the surrounding compartments are filled with personifications of the Seasons, apt emblems of human life, whether natural or spiritual.

[1] See Stanley's '*Christian Institutions*,' 50, 51.

'The subject of the Good Shepherd, I am sorry to add, is not of Roman, but Greek origin, and was adapted from a statue of Mercury carrying a goat at Tanagra, mentioned by Pausanias. The christian composition approximates to its original more nearly in the few instances where our Saviour is represented carrying a goat, emblematical of the scapegoat of the wilderness. Singularly enough, though of Greek parentage, and recommended to the Byzantines by Constantine, who erected a statue of the Good Shepherd in the forum of Constantinople, the subject did not become popular among them; they seem, at least, to have tacitly abandoned it to Rome.'—*Lord Lindsay's 'Christian Art.'*

'The Good Shepherd seems to have been quite the favourite subject. We cannot go through any part of the Catacombs, or turn over any collection of ancient christian monuments, without coming across it again and again. We know from Tertullian that it was often designed upon chalices. We find it ourselves painted in fresco upon the roofs and walls of the sepulchral chambers; rudely scratched upon gravestones, or more carefully sculptured on sarcophagi; traced in gold upon glass, moulded on lamps, engraved on rings; and, in a word, represented on every species of christian monument that has come down to us. Of course, amid such a multitude of examples, there is considerable variety of treatment. We cannot, however, appreciate the suggestion of Kugler, that this frequent repetition of the subject is probably to be attributed to the capabilities which it possessed in an artistic point of view. Rather it was selected because it expressed the whole sum and substance of the christian dispensation. In the language even of the Old Testament, the action of Divine Providence upon the world is frequently expressed by images and allegories borrowed from pastoral life; God is the Shepherd, and men are His sheep. But in a still more special way our Divine Redeemer offers Himself to our regards as the Good Shepherd. He came down from His eternal throne into this wilderness of the world to seek the lost sheep of the whole human race, and having brought them together into one fold on earth, thence to transport them into the ever-verdant pastures of Paradise.'—'*Roma Sotterranea.*'

The fact that the Good Shepherd was sometimes represented as bearing a kid, not a lamb; a goat, not a sheep, upon his shoulder, called forth an indignant remonstrance from Tertullian.

'He saves the sheep—the goats He doth not save:
So spake the fierce Tertullian.
But she sigh'd—
The infant Church! of love she felt the tide
Stream on her from her Lord's yet recent grave,
And then she smil'd, and in the Catacombs,
With eyes suffused, but heart inspirèd true,
She her Good Shepherd's hasty image drew,
And on His shoulders not a lamb, but kid.'
—*Matthew Arnold.*

Other biblical subjects are—from the *Old Testament* (those of Noah, Moses, Daniel, and Jonah being the only ones at all common):—

1. The Fall. Adam and Eve on either side of a Tree of Knowledge, round which the serpent is coiled. Sometimes, instead of this, 'Our Saviour (as the representative of the Deity) stands between them, condemning them, and offering a lamb to Eve and a sheaf of corn to Adam, to signify the doom of themselves and their posterity to delve and to spin through all future ages.'
2. The offering of Cain and Abel. They present a lamb and sheaf of corn to a seated figure of the Almighty.
3. Noah in the Ark, represented as a box—a dove, bearing an olive branch, flies towards him. Interpreted to express the doctrine that 'the faithful having obtained remission of their sins through baptism, have received from the Holy Spirit the gift of divine peace, and are saved in

the mystical ark of the Church from the destruction which awaits the world.'[1] (Acts ii. 47.)

4. Sacrifice of Isaac.
5. Passage of the Red Sea.
6. Moses receiving the Law.
7. Moses striking water from the rock (very common).
8. Moses pointing to the pots of manna.
9. Elijah going up to heaven in a chariot of fire.
10. The Three Children in the fiery furnace—very common as symbolical of martyrdom.
11. Daniel in the lions' den; generally a naked figure with hands extended, and a lion on either side (most common—as an encouragement to christian sufferers).
12. Jonah swallowed up by the whale, represented as a strange kind of sea-horse.
13. Jonah disgorged by the whale.
14. Jonah under the gourd; or, according to the Vulgate, under the ivy.
15. Jonah lamenting for the death of the gourd.

These four subjects from the story of Jonah are constantly repeated, perhaps as encouragement to the Christians suffering from the wickedness of Rome—the modern Nineveh, which they were to warn and pray for.

Subjects from the *New Testament* are :—

1. The Nativity—the ox and the ass kneeling.
2. The Adoration of the Magi—repeatedly placed in juxtaposition with the story of the Three Children.
3. Our Saviour turning water into wine.
4. Our Saviour conversing with the woman of Samaria.
5. Our Saviour healing the paralytic man—who takes up his bed. This is very common.
6. Our Saviour healing the woman with the issue of blood.
7. Our Saviour multiplying the loaves and fishes.
8. Our Saviour healing the daughter of the woman of Canaan.
9. Our Saviour healing the blind man.
10. The Raising of Lazarus, who appears at a door in his grave-clothes, while Christ with a wand stands before it. This is the New Testament subject oftenest introduced. It is constantly placed in juxtaposition with a picture of Moses striking the rock. 'The two subjects may be intended to represent the beginning and end of the christian course, "the fountain of water springing up to life everlasting." God's grace and the gift of faith being typified by the water flowing from the rock, "which was Christ," and life everlasting by the victory over death and the second life vouchsafed to Lazarus.'[2]
11. Our Saviour's triumphal entry into Jerusalem.
12. Our Saviour giving the keys to Peter (very rare).
13. Our Saviour predicting the denial of Peter.
14. The denial of Peter.
15. Our Saviour before Pilate.
16. S. Peter taken to prison.

These last six subjects are only represented on tombs.[3]

The class of paintings shown as *Liturgical* are less definite than these. In the Catacombs of Calixtus several obscure paintings are shown (in cubicula anterior to the middle of the third century), which are said to have reference to the sacrament of baptism. Pictures of the paralytic carrying his bed are identified by some Roman Catholic authorities with the sacrament of penance (!).

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[1] '*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 242.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 247.
[3] Lord Lindsay's '*Christian Art*,' i. 46.

Bosio believed that in the Catacomb of S. Priscilla he had found paintings which illustrated the sacrament of ordination. Representations undoubtedly exist which illustrate the *agape* or love-feast of the primitive Church.

On the opposite side of the Via Appia from S. Calixtus (generally entered on the left of the road leading to S. Urbano) is, in a vineyard, the rude entrance to the **Catacomb of S. Pretextatus**, interesting as being the known burial-place of several martyrs. Long galleries, dry and airy, though very narrow, are first lined with rugged tufa, then masonry and brickwork appear, then tombs, inscriptions, and remains of columns, till we reach the large crypt discovered in 1857, built with solid masonry and lined with Greek marble.

'The workmanship points to early date, and specimens of pagan architecture in the same neighbourhood enable us to fix the middle of the latter half of the second century (A.D. 175) as a very probable date for its erection. The Acts of the saints explain to us why it was built with bricks and not hewn out of the rock—viz., because the Christian who made it (S. Marmenia) had caused it to be excavated immediately below her own house; and now that we see it, we understand the precise meaning of the words used by the itineraries describing it—viz., "a large cavern, most firmly built." The vault of the chapel is most elaborately painted, in a style by no means inferior to the best classical productions of the age. It is divided into four bands of wreaths, one of roses, another of corn-sheaves, a third of vine leaves and grapes (and in all these birds are introduced visiting their young in nests), and the last or highest, of leaves of laurel or the bay tree. Of course these severally represent the seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter. The last is a well-known figure or symbol of death; and probably the laurel, as the token of victory, was intended to represent the new and christian idea of the everlasting reward of a blessed immortality. Below these bands is another border, more indistinct, in which reapers are gathering in the corn; and at the back of the arch is a rural scene, of which the central figure is the Good Shepherd carrying a sheep upon His shoulders. This, however, has been destroyed by graves pierced through the wall and the rock behind it, from the eager desire to bury the dead of a later generation as near as possible to the tombs of the martyrs. As De Rossi proceeded to examine these graves in detail, he could hardly believe his eyes when he read around the edge of one of them these words and fragments of words: *Mi Refrigeri Januarius Agapetus Felicissim martyres*—"Januarius, Agapetus, Felicissimus, martyrs, refresh the soul of . . ." The words had been scratched upon the mortar while it was yet fresh, fifteen centuries ago, as the prayer of some bereaved relative for the soul of him whom they were burying here, and now they revealed to the antiquarian of the nineteenth century the secret he was in quest of—viz., the place of burial of the saints whose aid is here invoked; for the numerous examples to be seen in other cemeteries warrant us in concluding that the bodies of the saints, to whose intercession the soul of the deceased is here recommended, were at the time of his burial lying at no great distance.'—'*Roma Sotterranea.*'

The S. Januarius buried here was the eldest of the seven sons of S. Felicitas, martyred July 10, A.D. 162. S. Agapetus and S. Felicissimus were deacons of Pope Sixtus II., who were martyred together with him and S. Pretextatus[1] close to this catacomb in the Schola of S. Fabianus, because Sixtus II. 'had set at nought the commands of the Emperor Valerian.'[2]

[1] Alban Butler, viii. 148.
[2] *Lib. Pont.*

A mutilated inscription of S. Damasus in the Catacomb of Calixtus, near the tomb of Cornelius, thus records the death of Pope Sixtus:—

'Tempore quo gladius secuit pia viscera Matris
Hic positus rector coelestia jussa docebam.
Adveniunt subito, rapiunt qui forte sedentem;
Militibus missis, populi tunc colla dedere.
Mox sibi cognovit senior quis tollere vellet
Palmam, seque suumque caput prior obtulit ipse,
Impatiens feritas posset ne laedere quemquam.
Ostendit Christus reddit qui praemia vitae
Pastoris meritum, numerum gregis ipse tuetur.'

'At the time when the sword pierced the heart of our mother (Church), I, its ruler, buried here, was teaching the things of heaven. Suddenly they came, they seized me seated as I was;—the soldiers being sent in, the people gave their necks (to the slaughter). Soon the old man saw who was willing to bear away the palm from himself, and was the first to offer himself and his own head, fearing lest the blow should fall on any one else. Christ, who awards the rewards of life, recognises the merit of the pastor, He Himself is preserving the number of His flock.'

An adjoining crypt, considered to date from A.D. 130, is believed to be the burial-place of S. Quirinus. Above this catacomb are remains of two basilicas, erected in honour of S. Zeno, and of Tibertius, Valerian, and Maximus, companions of S. Cecilia in martyrdom.

A touching and beautiful service is held here on March 24th, when high mass is celebrated in the subterranean chapel, and the martyr's hymn is sung over their graves.

Behind the Catacomb of S. Calixtus, on the right of the Via Ardeatina, is the **Catacomb of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo.** Close to its entrance is the farm of **Tor Marancia**, where are some ruins, believed to be remains of the Villa Amaranthiana, which belonged to Flavia Domitilla. This celebrated member of the early christian Church was daughter of the Flavia Domitilla who was sister of the Emperor Domitian, and wife of Titus Flavius Clemens, son of the Flavius Sabinus who was brother of the Emperor Vespasian. Her two sons were Vespasian Junior and Domitian Junior, who were intended to succeed to the throne, and to whom Quintilian was appointed as tutor by the emperor. Dion Cassius narrates that 'Domitian put to death several persons, and amongst them Flavius Clemens the consul, although he was his nephew, and although he had Flavia Domitilla for his wife, who was also related to the emperor. They were both accused of atheism, on which charge many others also had been condemned, going after the manners and customs of the Jews: and some of them were put to death, and others had their goods confiscated; but Domitilla was only banished to Pandataria.'[1] This Flavia Domitilla is frequently confused with her niece of the same name,[2] whose banishment is mentioned by Eusebius, when he says: 'The teaching of our faith had

[1] Now Santa Maria, an island near Caëta.
[2] Alban Butler, v. 205.

by this time shone so far and wide, that even pagan historians did not refuse to insert in their narratives some account of the persecution and the martyrdoms that were suffered in it. Some, too, have marked the time accurately, mentioning, amongst many others, in the fifteenth year of Domitian (A.D. 97), Flavia Domitilla, the daughter of a sister of a Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman consuls of those days, who, for her testimony for Christ, was punished by exile to the island of Pontia.' It was this younger Domitilla who was accompanied in her exile by her two christian servants, Nereus and Achilles, whose banishment is spoken of by S. Jerome as 'a lifelong martyrdom'—whose cell was afterwards visited by S. Paula,[1] and who, according to the Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilles, was brought back to the mainland to be burnt alive at Terracina, because she refused to sacrifice to idols. The relics of Domitilla, with those of her servants, were preserved in the catacomb under the villa which had belonged to her christian aunt.

Receiving as evidence the story of S. Domitilla, this catacomb must be looked upon as the oldest christian cemetery in existence. Its galleries were widened and strengthened by John I. (523–526). A chamber near the entrance is pointed out as the burial-place of S. Petronilla, whose body was removed to the Vatican by Paul I.

'The sepulchre of SS. Nereus and Achilles was in all probability in that chapel to which we descend by so magnificent a staircase, and which is illuminated by so fine a *luminare;* for that this is the central point of attraction in the cemetery is clear, both from the staircase and the luminare just mentioned, as also from the greater width of the adjacent galleries and other similar tokens. Here, then, S. Gregory the Great delivered his twenty-eighth homily (which Baronius erroneously supposes to have been delivered in the Church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, to which the bodies of the saints were not yet removed), in which he says: "These saints, before whose tomb we are assembled, despised the world and trampled it under their feet, when peace, plenty, riches, and health gave it charms."

'There is a higher and more ancient *piano* in which coins and medals of the first two centuries and inscriptions of great value have been recently discovered. Some of these inscriptions may still be seen in one of the chambers near the bottom of the staircase; they are both Latin and Greek; sometimes both languages are mixed; and in one or two instances Latin words are written in Greeek characters. Many of these monuments are of the deepest importance from both an antiquarian and a religious point of view; in archaeology, as showing the practice of private Christians in the first ages to make the subterranean chambers at their own expense and for their own use, *e.g.*—"M. Aurelius Restutus made this subterranean for himself and those of his family who believed in the Lord," where both the triple names and the limitation introduced at the end (which shows that many of his family were still pagan) are unquestionably proofs of very high antiquity.'—*Northcote's 'Roman Catacombs,'* p. 103, &c.

Among the most remarkable paintings in this catacomb are, Orpheus with his lyre, surrounded by birds and beasts who are charmed with his music; Elijah ascending to heaven in a chariot drawn by four horses; and the portrait of our Lord.

'The head and bust of our Lord form a medallion, occupying the centre of the roof in the same *cubiculum* where Orpheus is represented. This painting, in consequence of the description given of it by Kugler (who misnamed the catacomb S. Calixtus), is often eagerly sought after by strangers visiting the

[1] Alban Butler, v. 205.

Catacombs. It is only just, however, to add, that they are generally disappointed. Kugler supposed it to be the oldest portrait of our Blessed Saviour in existence, but we doubt if there is sufficient authority for such a statement. He describes it in these words: "The face is oval, with a straight nose, arched eyebrows, a smooth and rather high forehead, the expression serious and mild; the hair, parted on the forehead, flows in long curls down the shoulders; the beard is not thick, but short and divided: the age between thirty and forty." But this description is too minute and precise, too artistic, for the original, as it is now to be seen. A lively imagination may, perhaps, supply the details described by our author, but the eye certainly fails to distinguish them.'—'*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 253.

A rich cubiculum discovered here in 1881 bears the name of Ampliatus, sometimes supposed to be the friend mentioned by S. Paul in Rom. xvi. 8—'Salute Ampliatus, my beloved in the Lord.'

Approached by a separate entrance on the slope of the hillside is a sepulchral chamber, which De Rossi considered to have been the **Burial-place of S. Domitilla.**

'It is certainly one of the most ancient and remarkable christian monuments yet discovered. Its position, close to the highway; its front of fine brickwork, with a cornice of terra-cotta, with the usual space for an inscription (which has now, alas! perished); the spaciousness of its gallery, with its four or five separate niches prepared for as many sarcophagi; the fine stucco on the wall; the eminently classical character of its decorations; all these things make it perfectly clear that it was the monument of a christian family of distinction, excavated at great cost, and without the slightest attempt at concealment. In passing from the vestibule into the catacomb, we recognise the transition from the use of the sarcophagus to that of the common *loculus;* for the first two or three graves on either side, though really mere shelves in the wall, are so disguised by painting on the outside as to present to passers-by the complete outward appearance of a sarcophagus. Some few of these graves are marked with the names of the dead, written in black on the largest tiles, and the inscriptions on the other graves are all of the simplest and oldest form. Lastly, the whole of the vaulted roof is covered with the most exquisitely graceful designs, of branches of the vine (with birds and winged genii among them) trailing with all the freedom of nature over the whole walls, not fearing any interruption by graves, nor confined by any of those lines of geometrical symmetry which characterise similar productions in the next century. Traces also of landscapes may be seen here and there, which are of rare occurrence in the Catacombs, though they may be seen in the chambers assigned by De Rossi to SS. Nereus and Achilles. The Good Shepherd, an *agape*, or the heavenly feast, a man fishing, and Daniel in the lions' den, are the chief historical or allegorical representations of christian mysteries which are painted here. Unfortunately they have been almost destroyed by persons attempting to detach them from the wall.'—'*Roma Sotterranea*,' p. 70.

In 1871 a basilica was discovered here, once divided into nave and aisles by two rows of columns, and on a marble fragment a relief representing the execution of a martyr—a young man bound to a stake (shaped like a cross, and surmounted by a martyr crown) being stabbed by a soldier. The name of the martyr, Acilleus, is engraved above.

A road to the left now leads to the Via Appia Nuova, passing about a quarter of a mile hence, a turn on the left to the ruin generally known as the **Temple of Bacchus**, from an altar dedicated to Bacchus which was found there, but considered by modern anti-

quaries as a temple of Ceres and Proserpine. This building has been comparatively saved from the destruction which has befallen its neighbours, by having been consecrated as a church—S. Urbano alla Caffarella—in A.D. 820 by Pope Paschal I. in honour of his sainted predecessor Urban I., A.D. 226 (whose pontificate was chiefly passed in refuge in the neighbouring Catacomb of S. Calixtus), because of a belief that he was wont to resort hither.

A chapel at a great depth below the church is shown as that in which S. Urban baptized and celebrated mass. A curious fresco here represents the Virgin between S. Urban and S. John.

Around the upper part of the interior are a much injured series of frescoes, given by the same Beno de Rapiza to whom the pictures in the lower church of S. Clemente are due—comprising the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the descent into Hades, and the life of S. Cecilia and her husband Valerian, ending in the burial of Cecilia by Pope Urban in the Catacomb of Calixtus, and the story of the martyred Urban I. In the picture of the Crucifixion, the thieves have their names, 'Calpurnius and Longinus.' The frescoes were altered in the seventeenth century to suit the views of the Roman Church, keys being placed in the hand of Peter, &c. Sets of drawings taken *before* and *after* the alterations, are preserved in the Barberini Library, and curiously show the difference.

A winding path leads from S. Urbano into the valley. Here, beside the Almo rivulet, is a ruined Nymphaeum containing a mutilated statue of a river-god, which was called 'the Grotto of Egeria,' till a few years ago, when the discovery of the true site of the Porta Capena fixed that of the grotto within the walls. The fine grove of old ilex trees on the hillside—il Bosco Sacro—was at the same time pointed out as the sacred grove of Egeria.[1]

'Egeria! sweet creation of some heart
Which found no mortal resting-place so fair
As thine ideal breast; whate'er thou art
Or wert,—a young Aurora of the air;
The nympholepsy of some fond despair;
Or, it might be, a beauty of the earth,
Who found a more than common votary there
Too much adoring; whatsoe'er thy birth,
Thou wert a beautiful thought, and softly bodied forth.

The mosses of thy fountain still are sprinkled
With thine Elysian water-drops; the face
Of thy cave-guarded spring, with years unwrinkled,
Reflects the meek-eyed genius of the place,
Whose green, wild margin now no more erase
Art's works; nor must the delicate waters sleep,
Prisoned in marble, bubbling from the base
Of the cleft statue, with a gentle leap
The rill runs o'er, and round fern, flowers, and ivy creep

Fantastically tangled; the green hills
Are clothed with early blossoms, through the grass
The quick-eyed lizard rustles, and the bills
Of summer-birds sing welcome as ye pass;

[1] It is on the site of a very ancient grove dedicated to the memory of Annia Regilla.

> Flowers fresh in hue, and many in their class,
> Implore the pausing step, and with their dyes
> Dance in the soft breeze in a fairy mass;
> The sweetness of the violet's deep blue eyes,
> Kiss'd by the breath of heaven, seems coloured by its skies.'
> —*Byron, 'Childe Harold.'*

It is now known that this Nymphaeum and the valley in which it stands belonged to the suburban villa called Triopio, of Herodes Atticus, whose romantic story is handed down to us through two Greek inscriptions in the possession of the Borghese family, and is further illustrated by the writings of Philostratus and Pausanias.

A wealthy Greek named Ipparchus offended his Government and lost all his wealth by confiscation, but the family fortunes were redeemed through the discovery by his son Atticus of a vast treasure, concealed in a small piece of ground which remained to them, close to the rock of the Acropolis. Dreading the avarice of his fellow-citizens, Atticus sent at once to Nerva, the then emperor, telling him of the discovery, and requesting his orders as to what he was to do with the treasure. Nerva replied that he was welcome to keep it and use it as he pleased. Not yet satisfied or feeling sufficiently sure of the protection of the emperor, Atticus again applied to him, saying that the treasure was far too vast for the use of a person in a private station of life, and asking how he was to use it. The emperor again replied that the treasure was his own and due to his own good fortune, and that 'what he could not use he might abuse.' Atticus then entered securely into the possession of his wealth, which he bequeathed to his son Herodes, who used his fortune magnificently in his bountiful charities, in the encouragement of literature and art throughout both Greece and Italy, and (best appreciated of all by the Greeks) in the splendour of the public games which he gave.

Early in the reign of Antoninus Pius, Herodes Atticus removed to Rome, where he was appointed professor of rhetoric to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the two adopted sons of the emperor, and where he attained the consulship in A.D. 143. Soon after his arrival he fell in love with Annia Regilla, a beautiful and wealthy heiress, and in spite of the violent opposition of her brother Annius Attilius Braduas, who, belonging to the Julian family, and claiming an imaginary descent from Venus and Anchises, looked upon the marriage as a mésalliance, he succeeded in obtaining her hand. Part of the wealth which Annia Regilla brought to her husband was the Valle Caffarelle and its nymphaeum.

For some years Herodes Atticus and Annia Regilla enjoyed the perfection of married happiness in this beautiful valley; but shortly before the expected birth of her fifth child, she died very suddenly, leaving her husband almost frantic with grief and refusing every consolation. He was roused, however, from his first anguish by his brother-in-law, Annius Braduas, who had never laid aside his resentment at the marriage, and who now accused him of having poisoned his wife. Herodes demanded a public trial, and was acquitted. Philostratus records that the intense grief he showed, and the depth of the mourning he wore were taken as signs of his innocence. Further to clear himself from imputation, Herodes offered all the jewels of Annia Regilla upon the altar of the Eleusinian deities, Ceres and Proserpine, at the same time calling down the vengeance of the outraged gods if he were guilty of sacrilege.

The beloved Regilla was buried in a tomb surrounded by 'a sepulchral field' within the precincts of the villa dedicated to Minerva and Nemesis, and (as recorded in one of the Greek inscriptions) it was made an act of the highest sacrilege for any but her own descendants to be laid within those sacred limits. A statue was also erected to Regilla in the Triopian temple of Ceres and Proserpine, which is now supposed to be the same with that usually called the Temple of Bacchus. Not only did Herodes hang his house with black in his affliction, but all gaily coloured marbles were stripped from the walls, and replaced with the dark grey marble known as 'bardiglio;' and his depth of

woe made him so conspicuous, that a satirical person seeing his cook prepare white beans for dinner, wondered that he could dare to do so in a house so entirely black.[1]

The inscriptions in which this story is related (one of them containing thirty-nine Greek verses) are engraved on slabs of Pentelic marble, and Philostratus and Pausanias narrate that the quarries of this marble were the property of Herodes, and that in his magnificent building he almost exhausted them.

The field-path from the Nymphaeum leads back to the Church of Domine Quo Vadis, passing on the right the beautifully finished **Tomb of Herodes and Regilla**, commonly known as the Temple of Divus Rediculus, and formerly described as having been built to commemorate the retreat of Hannibal, who came thus far in his intended attack upon Rome. The temple erected in memory of this event was really on the right of the Via Appia: it was dedicated to Rediculus, the god of Return. The folly of ciceroni often cites this name as 'Ridiculous.'

'The neighbourhood of the Divus Rediculus (which he, however, places on the *right* of the Via Appia) is described by Pliny in connection with a curious story of imperial times. There was a cobbler who had his stall in the Roman Forum, and who possessed a tame raven, which was a great favourite with the young Romans, to whom he would bid good day as he sate perched upon the rostra. At length he became quite a public character, and the indignation was so great when his master killed him with his hammer in a fit of rage at his spoiling some new leather, that they slew the cobbler, and decreed a public funeral to the bird; who was carried to the grave on a bier adorned with honorary crowns, preceded by a piper, and supported by two negroes in honour of his colour,—and buried—'ad rogum usque, qui constructus dextrâ Viae Appiae ad secundum lapidem in campo Rediculo appellato fuit.'—*Pliny, Nat. Hist.* lib. x. c. 60.

Returning to the Via Appia, we reach, on the right, the **Basilica of S. Sebastiano**, rebuilt in 1611 by Flaminio Ponzio for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on the site of a church which had been founded by Constantine, where once existed the house and garden of the matron Lucina, in which she had buried the body of Sebastian, after his (second) martyrdom under Diocletian. The basilica contains nothing ancient but the six granite columns in the portico. The altar covers the relics of the saint (a Gaul, a native of Narbonne, a christian soldier under Diocletian), and the chapel of S. Sebastian has a statue of him in his youth, designed by Bernini and executed by Antonio Giorgetti.

'The almost colossal form lies dead, the head resting on his helmet and armour. It is evidently modelled from nature, and is perhaps the finest thing ever designed by Bernini. . . . It is probably from the association of arrows with his form and story that S. Sebastian has been regarded from the first ages of Christianity as the protecting saint against plague and pestilence; Apollo was the deity who inflicted plague, and therefore was invoked with prayer and sacrifice against it; and to the honours of Apollo, in this particular character S. Sebastian has succeeded.'—*Jameson's 'Sacred Art.'*

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[1] For these and many other particulars, see an interesting lecture by Mr. Shakespere Wood on *The Fountain of Egeria*, given before the Roman Archaeological Society.

The original of the footprint in the Domine Quo Vadis is said to be preserved here.

On the left of the entrance is the descent into the catacombs, with the inscription :—

'In hoc sacrosancto loco qui dicitur ad Catacumbas, ubi sepulta fuerunt sanctorum martyrum corpora 174,000, ac 46 summorum pontificum pariterque martyrum. In altare in quo corpus divi Sebastiani Christi athletae jacet celebrans summus Pontifex S. Gregorius Magnus vidit angelum Dei candidiorem nive, sibi in tremendo sacrificio ministrantem ac dicentem, "Hic est locus sacratissimus in quo est divina promissio et omnium peccatorum remissio, splendor et lux perpetua, sine fine laetitia, quam Christi martyr Sebastianus habere promeruit." Prout Severanus Tom. P^a. pagina 450, ac etiam antiquissimae lapideae testantur tabulae.

'Ideo in hoc insigni privilegiato altare, tam missae cantatae quam privatae, dum celebrantur, animae quae sunt in purgatorio pro quibus sacrificium offertur plenariam indulgentiam et omnium suorum peccatorum remissionem consequuntur, prout ab angelo dictum fuit, et summi pontifices confirmarunt.'

These are the catacombs originally called Cimiterium ad catacumbas, which have been most frequently visited by strangers, because they could always be seen on application to the monks attached to the church, though they are of greatly inferior interest to those of S. Calixtus. They date, however, from apostolic times, and have probably—as Pope Damasus tells us—protected the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul in the time of the severest christian persecution.

'Though future excavations may bring to light much that is interesting in this cemetery, the small portion now accessible is, as a specimen of the catacombs, utterly without value. Its only interest consists in its religious associations: here S. Bridget was wont to kneel, rapt in contemplation; here S. Charles Borromeo spent whole nights in prayer; and here the heart of S. Philip Neri was so inflamed 'with divine love as to cause his very bodily frame to be changed. —*Northcote's 'Roman Catacombs.*'

'Philip, on thee the glowing ray
Of heaven came down upon thy prayer,
To melt thy heart, and burn away
All that of earthly dross was there.

And so, on Philip when we gaze,
We see the image of his Lord;
The saint dissolves amid the blaze
Which circles round the Living Word.

The meek, the wise, none else is here,
Dispensing light to men below;
His awful accents fill the ear,
Now keen as fire, now soft as snow.'
—*J. H. Newman*, 1850.

Owing to the desire in the early christian Church of saving the graves of their first confessors and martyrs from desecration, almost all the catacombs were gradually blocked up, and by lapse of time their very entrances were forgotten. In the fourteenth century very few were still open. In the fifteenth century none remained except this of S. Sebastian, which continued to be frequented by pilgrims,

and was called in all ancient documents, 'coemeterium ad catacumbas.'

At the back of the high-altar is an interesting half-subterranean building, attributed to Pope Liberius (352–355), and afterwards adorned by Pope Damasus, who briefly tells its history in one of his inscriptions, which may still be seen here :—

'Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.
Discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur;
Sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra sequuti,
Aetherios petiere sinus et regna piorum.
Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.'

'Here you should know that saints dwelt; their names, if you ask them, were Peter and Paul. The East sent disciples, which we freely acknowledge. For the merit of their blood they followed Christ to the stars, and sought the heavenly home and the kingdom of the blest. Rome, however, deserved to defend her own citizens. May Damasus record these things for your praise, O new stars!'

'The two Apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, were originally buried, the one at the Vatican, the other on the Ostian Way, at the spot where their respective basilicas now stand; but as soon as the Oriental Christians had heard of their death, they sent some of their brethren to remove their bodies, and bring them back to the East, where they considered that they had a right to claim them as their fellow-citizens and countrymen. These so far prospered in their mission as to gain a momentary possession of the sacred relics, which they carried off along the Appian Way, as far as the spot where the Church of S. Sebastian was afterwards built. Here they rested for a while, to make all things ready for their journey, or, according to another account, were detained by a thunderstorm of extraordinary violence, which delay, however occasioned, was sufficient to enable the Christians of Rome to overtake them and recover their lost treasure. These Roman Christians then buried the bodies, with the utmost secrecy, in a deep pit, which they dug on the very spot where they were. Soon, indeed, they were restored to their original places of sepulture, as we know from contemporary authorities; and there seems reason to believe the old ecclesiastical tradition to be correct which states them to have only remained in this temporary abode for a year and seven months. The body of S. Peter, however, was destined to revisit it a second time, and for a longer period; for when, at the beginning of the third century, Heliogabalus made his circus at the Vatican, Calixtus, who was then Pope, removed the relics of the Apostle to their former temporary resting-place, the pit on the Appian Way. But in A.D. 257, S. Stephen, the Pope, having been discovered in this very cemetery and having suffered martyrdom there, the body of S. Peter was once more removed, and restored to its original tomb in the Vatican.'—*Northcote's 'Roman Catacombs.'*

In the passages of this catacomb are misguiding inscriptions, placed here in 1409 by William, Archbishop of Bourges, calling upon the faithful to venerate *here* the tombs of S. Cecilia and of many of the martyred popes who are buried elsewhere. The martyr S. Cyrinus is known to have been buried here from very early itineraries, but his grave has not been discovered. A fragment of a marble bust of the Saviour, of the fourth century, was found here in 1891, with hair parted in the middle and falling over the shoulders.

'When I was a boy, being educated at Rome, I used every Sunday, in company with other boys of my own age and tastes, to visit the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, and to go into the crypts excavated there in the bowels of the earth. The walls on either side as you enter are full of the bodies of the dead, and the whole place is so dark that one seems almost to see the fulfilment of those

words of the prophet, "Let them go down alive into Hades." Here and there a little light, admitted from above, suffices to give a momentary relief to the horror of the darkness; but as you go forwards, and find yourself again immersed in the utter blackness of night, the words of the poet come spontaneously to your mind, "The very silence fills the soul with dread."'—*S. Jerome* (A.D. 354), *In Ezek.*, ch. lx.

'A gaunt Franciscan friar, with a wild bright eye, was our only guide down into this profound and dreadful place. The narrow ways and openings hither and thither, coupled with the dead and heavy air, soon blotted out, in all of us, any recollection of the track by which we had come; and I could not help thinking, "Good Heaven, if in a sudden fit of madness he should dash the torches out, or if he should be seized with a fit, what would become of us!" On we wandered, among martyrs' graves; passing great subterranean vaulted roads, diverging in all directions, and choked up with heaps of stones, that thieves and murderers may not take refuge there, and form a population under Rome, even worse than that which lives between it and the sun. Graves, graves, graves; graves of men, of women, of little children, who ran crying to the persecutors, "We are Christians! we are Christians!" that they might be murdered with their parents; graves with the palm of martyrdom roughly cut into their stone boundaries, and little niches made to hold a vessel of the martyr's blood; graves of some who lived down here for years together, ministering to the rest, and preaching truth and hope and comfort from the rude altars, that bear witness to their fortitude at this hour; more roomy graves, but far more terrible, where hundreds, being surprised, were hemmed in and walled up—buried before death, and killed by slow starvation.

'"The triumphs of the Faith are not above ground in our splendid churches," said the friar, looking round upon us, as we stopped to rest in one of the low passages, with bones and dust surrounding us on every side. "They are here! among the martyrs' graves!" He was a gentle, earnest man, and said it from his heart; but when I thought how christian men have dealt with one another; how, perverting our most merciful religion, they have hunted down and tortured, burnt and beheaded, strangled, slaughtered, and oppressed each other: I pictured to myself an agony surpassing any that this dust had suffered with the breath of life yet lingering in it, and how these great and constant hearts would have been shaken—how they would have quailed and drooped—if a foreknowledge of the deeds that professing Christians would commit, in the great name for which they died, could have rent them with its own unutterable anguish, on the cruel wheel, and bitter cross, and in the fearful fire.'—*Dickens.*

'Countless martyrs, they say, rest in these ancient sepulchres. In these dark depths the ancient Church took refuge from persecution; there she laid her martyrs, and there, over their tombs, she chaunted hymns of triumph, and held communion with Him for whom they died. In that church I spend hours. I have no wish to descend into those sacred sepulchres, and pry among the graves the resurrection trump will open soon enough. I like to think of the holy dead, lying undisturbed and quiet there; of their spirits in Paradise; of their faith triumphant in the city that massacred them.

'No doubt they also had their perplexities, and wondered why the wicked triumph, and sighed to God, "How long, O Lord, how long?"'—'*Schönberg-Cotta Family.*'

'And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held: and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them: and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.'—*Rev.* vi. 9–11.

In the Vigna Randanini, almost opposite S. Sebastiano, is the exceedingly curious **Jewish Catacomb**, which can only be visited by especial permission from the proprietor, at whose sole expense it has been excavated. A characteristic of this catacomb is the great

breadth of its passages. At one point is a well. One chapel is adorned with well-executed paintings of peacocks and other birds. The inscriptions found show that this cemetery was exclusively Jewish. They refer to officers of the synagogue, rulers (ἄρχοντες) and scribes (γραμματεῖς), &c. The inscriptions are in great part in Greek letters, expressing Latin words: the monumental slabs are frequently adorned with the seven-branched candlestick. An interesting Museum in the vineyard is filled with relics found in the Catacombs, the most important being a grand marble sarcophagus, which was in 200 pieces when discovered.

In the valley beneath S. Sebastiano are the ruins of the **Circus of Maxentius**, near those of a villa of that emperor. The circus was 1482 feet long, 244 feet broad, and was capable of containing 15,000 spectators, yet it is a miniature compared with the Circus Maximus, though very interesting as retaining in tolerable preservation all the different parts which composed a circus. In the centre of its spina was the obelisk now in the Piazza Navona. The circular ruin near it was a **Temple**, dedicated by Maxentius to his son Romulus.

'Le jeune Romulus, étant mort, fut placé au rang des dieux, dans cet olympe qui s'écroulait. Son père lui éleva un temple dont la partie inférieure se voit encore, et le cirque lui-même fut peut-être une dépendance de ce temple funèbre, car les courses de chars étaient un des honneurs que l'antiquité rendait aux morts, et sont souvent pour cela représentées sur les tombeaux.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 360.

These ruins are very picturesque, backed by the peaks of the Sabine range, which in winter are generally covered with snow.

The opposite hill is crowned by the **Tomb of Cecilia Metella**, daughter of Quintus Metellus Creticus, and wife of Crassus. It is a round tower, seventy feet in diameter. The bulls' heads on the frieze gave it the popular name of Capo di Bove. The marble coating of the basement was carried off by Urban VIII. to make the fountain of Trevi. The battlements were added when the tomb was turned into a fortress by the Caëtani in the thirteenth century.

'About two miles or more from the city gates, and right upon the roadside, is an immense round pile, sepulchral in its original purpose. It is built of great blocks of hewn stone, on a vast, square foundation of rough, agglomerated material, such as composes the mass of all the other ruinous tombs. But, whatever might be the cause, it is in a far better state of preservation than they. On its broad summit rise the battlements of a mediaeval fortress, out of the midst of which (so long since had time begun to crumble the supplemental structure, and cover it with soil, by means of way-side dust) grow trees, bushes, and thick festoons of ivy. This tomb of a woman has become the dungeon-keep of a castle; and all the care that Cecilia Metella's husband could bestow, to secure endless peace for her beloved relics, only sufficed to make that handful of precious ashes the nucleus of battles long ages after her death.'—*Hawthorne.*

'There is a stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress, with its fence of stone,
Such as an army's baffled strength delays,
Standing with half its battlements alone,
And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity, where wave
The green leaves over all by time o'erthrown;—
What was this tower of strength? within its cave
What treasure lay so lock'd, so hid?—A woman's grave.

But who was she, the lady of the dead,
Tomb'd in a palace? Was she chaste and fair?
Worthy a king's—or more—a Roman's bed?
What race of chiefs and heroes did she bear?
What daughter of her beauties was the heir?
How lived—how loved—how died she? Was she not
So honoured—and conspicuously there,
Where meaner relics must not dare to rot,
Placed to commemorate a more than mortal lot?

Perchance she died in youth: it may be, bow'd
With woes far heavier than the ponderous tomb
That weigh'd upon her gentle dust, a cloud
Might gather o'er her beauty, and a gloom
In her dark eye, prophetic of the doom
Heaven gives its favourites—early death; yet shed
A sunset charm around her, and illume
With hectic light, the Hesperus of the dead,
Of her consuming cheek the autumnal leaf-like red.

Perchance she died in age—surviving all,
Charms, kindred, children—with the silver grey
On her long tresses, which might yet recall,
It may be, still a something of the day
When they were braided, and her proud array
And lovely form were envied, praised, and eyed
By Rome—but whither would Conjecture stray?
Thus much alone we know—Metella died,
The wealthiest Roman's wife: behold his love or pride!'

—*Childe Harold.*

Opposite the tomb are the ruins of a gothic church of the Caëtani.

'Le tombeau de Cecilia-Matella était devenu un château fort alors aux mains des Caëtani, et autour du château s'était formé un village avec son église, dont on a récemment retrouvé les restes.'—*Ampère*, '*Voyage Dantesque.*'

The Tomb of Cecilia Metella is situated on the very edge of the great lava stream which, issuing from the Alban Hills, flowed as far as this towards the site afterwards occupied by Rome. It is at the tomb that the beauties of the Via Appia really begin. A very short distance farther, we emerge from the walls which have hitherto shut in the road on either side, and enjoy uninterrupted views over the Latin plain, strewn with its ruined castles and villages, and the long lines of aqueducts, to the Sabine and Alban mountains.

'Appia longarum teritur regina viarum.'

—*Statius, Sylv.* ii. 2, 12.

Under the empire the Appian Way was the fashionable drive of the Roman nobility,[1] but now few, except foreigners, enjoy its beauties.

'The Via Appia is a magnificent promenade, amongst ruinous tombs, the massive remains of which extend for many miles over the Roman Campagna. The powerful families of ancient Rome loved to build monuments to their dead by the side of the public road, probably to exhibit at once their affection for their relations and their own power and affluence. Most of these monuments

[1] Horace, *Epod.* iv. 14; *Epist.* 1, 6, 26.

are now nothing but heaps of ruins, upon which are placed the statues and sculptures which have been found in the earth or amongst the rubbish. Those inscriptions which have been found on the Via Appia bear witness to the grief of the living for the dead, but never to the hope of reunion. On a great number of sarcophagi or the friezes of tombs may be seen the dead sitting or lying as if they were alive; some seem to be praying. Many heads have great individuality of character. Sometimes a white marble figure, beautifully draped, projects from these heaps of ruins, but without head or hands; sometimes a hand is stretched out, or a portion of a figure rises from the tomb. It is a street through monuments of the dead, across an immense churchyard; for the desolate Roman Campagna may be regarded as such. To the left it is scattered with the ruins of colossal aqueducts, which, during the time of the emperors, conveyed lakes and rivers to Rome, and which still, ruinous and destroyed, delight the eye by the beautiful proportions of their arcades. To the right is an immense prairie, without any other limit than that of the ocean, which, however, is not seen from it. The country is desolate, and only here and there are there any huts or trees to be seen.'—*Frederika Bremer.*

'For the space of a mile or two beyond the gate of S. Sebastiano, this ancient and famous road is as desolate and disagreeable as most of the other Roman avenues. It extends over small, uncomfortable paving-stones, between brick and plastered walls, which are very solidly constructed, and so high as almost to exclude a view of the surrounding country. The houses are of the most uninviting aspect, neither picturesque, nor homelike and social; they have seldom or never a door opening on the wayside, but are accessible only from the rear, and frown inhospitably upon the traveller through iron-grated windows. Here and there appears a dreary inn or a wineshop, designated by the withered bush beside the entrance, within which you discover a stone-built and sepulchral interior, where guests refresh themselves with sour bread and goat's-milk cheese, washed down with wine of dolorous acerbity.

'At frequent intervals along the roadside, up rises the ruin of an ancient tomb. As they stand now, these structures are immensely high and broken mounds of conglomerated brick, stone, pebbles, and earth, all molten by time into a mass as solid and indestructible as if each tomb were composed of a single boulder of granite. When first erected, they were cased externally, no doubt, with slabs of polished marble, artfully wrought bas-reliefs, and all such suitable adornments, and were rendered majestically beautiful by grand architectural designs. This antique splendour has long since been stolen from the dead to decorate the palaces and churches of the living. Nothing remains to the dishonoured sepulchres except their massiveness.

'Even the pyramids form hardly a stranger spectacle, or a more alien from human sympathies, than the tombs of the Appian Way, with their gigantic height, breadth, and solidity, defying time and the elements, and far too mighty to be demolished by an ordinary earthquake. Here you may see a modern dwelling, and a garden with its vines and olive-trees, perched on the lofty dilapidation of a tomb, which forms a precipice of fifty feet in depth on each of the four sides. There is a house on that funeral mound, where generations of children have been born, and successive lives have been spent, undisturbed by the ghost of the stern Roman whose ashes were so preposterously burdened. Other sepulchres wear a crown of grass, shrubbery, and forest-trees, which throw out a broad sweep of branches, having had time, twice over, to be a thousand years of age. On one of them stands a tower, which, though immemorially more modern than the tomb, was itself built by immemorial hands, and is now rifted quite from top to bottom by a vast fissure of decay; the tomb-hillock, its foundation, being still as firm as ever, and likely to endure until the last trump shall rend it wide asunder, and summon forth its unknown dead.

'Yes, its unknown dead! For, except in one or two doubtful instances, these mountainous sepulchral edifices have not availed to keep so much as the bare name of an individual or a family from oblivion. Ambitious of everlasting remembrance as they were, the slumberers might just as well have gone quietly to rest, each in his pigeon-hole of a columbarium, or under his little green hillock in a graveyard, without a headstone to mark the spot. It is rather satisfactory than otherwise to think that all these idle pains have turned out so utterly abortive.'—*Hawthorne.*

'The brothers Lugari are carrying on excavations at their farm of the Tor Carbone, at the fourth milestone on the Appian Way, with a view of laying open permanently a district of the ancient Campagna. The work already accomplished is enough to convey to the visitor the true idea of the perfection to which the suburban districts were brought under the empire. The ground is crossed at right angles by roads, as frequent as they would be in the city itself; and these roads are so neatly levelled and paved, and their side-walks so cleverly arranged, that one would scarcely believe them to be country roads. Some cross-lanes were on private property, and were closed accordingly with gates at each end. You still see the very walls, or *materiae*, as they were styled in ancient times, enclosing the fields; and in these fields remains of rustic dwellings, of a modest appearance, but wonderfully well adapted to their purpose. They show what care Roman landlords took of the hygiene and welfare of their peasants. The ground-floor rooms are provided with double pavements, for the circulation of the hot air, or vapour, in the interstices—a precaution most commendable in low, damp lands. Great care was bestowed on the drainage of the house, which was always carried to a great distance, and forced through its channel by a permanent jet of water; which, when not actually needed for drinking, bathing, or irrigating purposes, was stored in huge reservoirs and cisterns, ready for any extraordinary emergency. At the crossing of the roads, or *quadrivia*, there were fountains for the accommodation of travellers and their horses; in fact, the gentleness and kindness of those happy generations went so far as to provide the weary pilgrim with seats, shaded by trees, where he could rest during the hottest hours of the day.' —*Lanciani*, '*Ancient Rome*.'

Near the fourth milestone is the tomb of Marcus Servilius Quartus (with an inscription), restored by Canova in 1808. A bas-relief of the death of Atys, killed by Adrastus, a short distance beyond this, has been suggested as part of the tomb of Seneca, who was put to death 'near the fourth milestone' by order of Nero. An inscribed tomb beyond this is that of Sextus Pompeius Justus.

Near this, in the campagna on the left, are some small remains, supposed to be those of a temple of Juno.

Beyond this a number of tombs can be identified, but none of any importance. Such are the tombs of Plinius Eutychius, erected by Plinius Zosimus, a freedman of Pliny the younger; of Caius Licinius; the doric tomb of the tax-gatherer, Claudius Philippianus, inscribed 'Tito . Claudio . Secundo . Philippiano . Coactori . Flavia . Irene . Vxor . Indulgentissimo;' of Rabinius, with three busts in relief; of Hermodorus; of Elsia Prima, priestess of Isis; of Marcus C. Cerdonus, with the bas-relief of an elephant bearing a burning altar. The marble casing has been plundered from all the tombs, and little remains but brickwork. 'Almost all the houses in the city,' wrote Raffaelle to Leo X., 'have been built with lime made out of the precious marbles that were the glory of Rome.'

'"Brickwork I found thee, and marble I left thee," their emperor vaunted;
"Marble I thought thee, and brickwork I find thee!" the tourist may answer.
—*Clough*.

Most of the tombs, both here and on the other roads round Rome, have an inscription—titulus sepulcralis—stating the amount of frontage and depth behind belonging to the family who owned the monument. Horace gives the usual measurement—

'Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat; heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.'
—*Sat.* i. viii. 12.

Beyond the fifth milestone, two circular mounds with basements of peperino were considered by Canina to be the tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii.

On the opposite side of the road is the exceedingly picturesque mediaeval fortress known as **Torre Mezza Strada**, into which are incorporated the remains of the Church of S. Maria Nuova, or della Gloria. Behind this extend a vast assemblage of ruins which form a splendid foreground to the distant mountain view, and whose size has led to their receiving the popular epithet of **Roma Vecchia**. Here was the favourite villa of the Emperor Commodus, where he was residing when the people, excited by a sudden impulse during the games of the Circus, rose and poured out of Rome against him—as the inhabitants of Paris to Versailles—and refused to depart, till, terrified into action by the entreaties of his concubine Marcia, he tossed the head of the unpopular Cleander to them out of the window, and had the brains of that minister's child dashed out against the stones. The residence of the emperors at some particular villa always drew a number of patrician families to build in the neighbourhood. 'Ubi Caesar, ibi Roma,' was a maxim of Roman jurisprudence. This villa is proved, by the discovery of a number of pipes bearing their names, to have been originally the winter villa[1] of the brothers Condianus and Maximus, of the great family of the Quintilii, which was confiscated by Commodus, and which occupied nearly a square mile.

'L'histoire des deux frères est intéressante et romanesque. Condianus et Maximus Quintilius étaient distingués par la science, les talents militaires, la richesse, et surtout par une tendresse mutuelle qui ne s'était jamais démentie. Servant toujours ensemble, l'un se faisait le lieutenant de l'autre. Bien qu'étrangers à toute conspiration, leur vertu les fit soupçonner d'être peu favorables à Commode; ils furent proscrits et moururent ensemble comme ils avaient vécu. L'un d'eux avait un fils nommé Sextus. Au moment de la mort de son père et de son oncle, ce fils se trouvait en Syrie. Pensant bien que le même sort l'attendait, il feignit de mourir pour sauver sa vie. Sextus, après avoir bu du sang de lièvre, monta à cheval, se laissa tomber, vomit le sang qu'il avait pris et qui parut être son propre sang. On mit dans sa bière le corps d'un bélier qui passa pour son cadavre, et il disparut. Depuis ce temps, il erra sous divers déguisements; mais on sut qu'il avait échappé, et on se mit à sa recherche. Beaucoup furent tués parce qu'ils lui ressemblaient, ou parce qu'ils étaient soupçonnés de lui avoir donné asile. Il n'est pas bien sûr qu'il ait été atteint, que sa tête se trouvât parmi celles qu'on apporta à Rome et qu'on dit être la sienne. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'après la mort de Commode, un aventurier, tenté par la belle villa et par les grandes richesses des Quintilii, se donna pour Sextus et réclama son héritage. Il paraît ne pas avoir manqué d'adresse et avoir connu celui pour lequel il voulait qu'on le prît, car par ses réponses il se tira très bien de toutes les enquêtes. Peut-être s'était-il lié avec Sextus et l'avait-il assassiné ensuite. Cependant l'empereur Pertinax, successeur de Commode, l'ayant fait venir, eut l'idée de lui parler grec. Le vrai Sextus connaissait parfaitement cette langue. Le faux Sextus, qui ne savait pas le grec, répondit tout de travers, et sa fraude fut ainsi découverte.'—*Ampère, Emp.* ii. 253.

The great Torlonia farm of Roma Vecchia is, in its limits, identical with the property which Commodus held here.

[1] Their magnificent summer villa was seven miles off, on the slopes of Tusculum, almost on the site of the Villa Mondragone.

It was near S. Maria Nuova that a great sensation was created in April 1485 by the discovery of the perfect body of a beautiful young woman, with an inscription stating that it was that of Julia Prisca, who 'did no wrong except to die.'

On the left of the Via Appia appears a huge monument on a narrow base, called the Tomb of the Metelli. Beyond this, after the fifth milestone, are the tombs of Sergius Demetrius, a wine merchant; of Lucius Arrius; of Septimia Gallia; and of one of the Caecilii, in whose sepulchre, according to Eutropius, was buried Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, whose daughter Pomponia was the first wife of Agrippa, and whose grand-daughter Vipsania Agrippina was the first wife of Tiberius.

'Par places, l'ancien pavé reparaît, de grandes pierres plates, des morceaux de lave, déjetés par le temps, rudes aux voitures le mieux suspendues. À droit et à gauche filent deux bandes d'herbe, où s'alignent les ruines des tombeaux, d'une herbe abandonnée de cimetière, brûlée par les soleils d'été, semée de gros chardons violâtres et de hauts fenouils jaunes. Un petit mur à hauteur d'appui, bâti en pierres sèches, clôt de chaque côté ces marges roussâtres, pleines d'un crépitement de sauterelles; et, au delà, à perte de vue, la Campagne romaine s'étend, immense et nue. À peine, près des bords, de loin en loin, aperçoit-on un pin parasol, un eucalyptus, des oliviers, des figuiers, blancs de poussière. Sur la gauche, les restes de l'Acqua Claudia détachent dans les prés leurs arcades couleur de rouille, des cultures maigres s'étendent au loin, les vignes avec de petites fermes, jusqu'aux monts de la Sabine et jusqu'aux monts Albains, d'un bleu violâtre, où les taches claires de Frascati, de Rocca di Papa, d'Albano, grandissent et blanchissent, à mesure qu'on approche; tandis que, sur la droite, du côté de la mer, la plaine s'élargit et se prolonge, par vastes ondulations, sans une maison, sans un arbre, d'une grandeur simple extraordinaire, une ligne unique, toute plate, un horizon d'un océan qu'une ligne droite, d'un bout à l'autre, sépare du ciel. Au gros d'été, tout brûle, la prairie illimitée flambe, d'un ton fauve de brasier. Des septembre, cet océan commence à verdir, se perde dans du rose et dans du mauve, jusqu'au bleu éclatant, éclaboussé d'or, des beaux couchers de soleil.'—*Zola.*

Close to the sixth milestone is the mass of masonry sometimes called 'Casale Rotondo,' or 'Cotta's Tomb,' from that name being found there inscribed on a stone, but generally attributed to Messala Corvinus, the poet, and friend of Horace, and believed to have been raised to him by his son Valerius Maximus Cotta, mentioned in Ovid.

> 'Te tamen in turba non ausim, Cotta, silere,
> Pieridum lumen, praesidiumque fori.'
> —*Epist. ex Ponto*, iv. 16, 41.

This tomb was even larger than that of Cecilia Metella, and was turned into a fortress by the Orsini in the fifteenth century.

Beyond this are tombs identified as those of P. Quintius, tribune of the sixteenth legion; Marçus Julius, steward of Claudius; Publius Decumius Philomusus (with appropriate bas-reliefs of two mice nibbling a cake); and of Cedritius Flaccianius.

Passing on the left the **Tor di Selce**, erected upon a huge unknown tomb, are the tombs of Titia Eucharis, and of Atilius Evodus, jeweller (*margaritarius*) on the Via Sacra, with the inscription, 'Hospes resiste—aspice ubi continentur ossa hominis boni misericordis amantis pauperis.' Near the eighth milestone are ruins

attributed to the Temples of Silvanus and of Hercules, of which the latter is mentioned in Martial's Epigrams, beyond which were the villas of Bassus and of Persius. The last tomb identified is that of Quintus Verranius. Near the ninth milestone is a tomb supposed to be that of Gallienus (Imp. 268), who lived close by in a villa, amid the ruins of which the 'Discobolus' was discovered. Many of the tombs are (or were) overgrown with tufts of the *roccella*, or orchil-weed, which yields the famous purple dye, with which, in all likelihood, the robes of the Caesars were coloured, and which gave wealth, rank, and a name to the princely family of the Ruccellai.

From the stream called Pontecello, near the tenth milestone, the road gradually ascends to Albano, passing several large but unnamed tombs. At the Osteria delle Frattocchie it joins the Via Appia Nuova. Close to the gate of Albano, it passes on the left the tall tomb attributed to Pompey the Great, in accordance with the statement of Plutarch, and in spite of the epigram of Varro Atacinus, which says :—

> 'Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet; at Cato parvo;
> Pompeius nullo; quis putet esse Deos?'

Among the many processions which have passed along this road, perhaps the most remarkable have been that bearing back to Rome the dead body of Sulla, who died at Puteoli, 'in a gilt litter, with royal ornaments, trumpets before him, and horsemen behind;[1] and the funeral of Augustus, who, dying at Nola (A.D. 14), was brought to Bovillae, and remained there a month in the sanctuary of the Julian family, after which the knights brought the body in solemn procession to his palace on the Palatine.

But throughout a walk along the Appian Way, the one great christian interest of this world-famous road will, to the christian visitor, overpower all others. It was by this road, over these paving-stones, that S. Paul came to Rome in 56 A.D.

'And so we went toward Rome.

'And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns; whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

'And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him.'—*Acts* xxviii. 14–16.

'It is not without its manifold uses to remember that, amidst the dim and wavering traditions of later times, one figure at least stands out clear and distinct and undoubted, and this figure is the Apostle Paul. He, whatever we may think concerning any other apostle or apostolic man in connection with Rome, he, beyond a shadow of a doubt, appears in the New Testament as her great teacher. No criticism or scepticism of modern times has ever questioned the perfect authenticity of that last chapter of the Acts, which gives the account of his journey, stage by stage, till he set foot within the walls of the city. However much we may be compelled to distrust any particular traditions concerning special localities of his life and death, we cannot doubt for a moment that his eye rested on the same general view of sky and plain and mountain; that his

[1] Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 402.

feet trod the pavement of the same Appian road; that his way lay through the same long avenue of ancient tombs on which we now look and wonder; that he entered (and there we have our last authentic glimpse of his progress) through the arch of Drusus, and then is lost to our view in the great Babylon of Rome.'—*A. P. Stanley's 'Sermons.'*

'When S. Paul was approaching Rome, all the bases of the mountains were (as indeed they are partially now) clustered round with the villas and gardens of wealthy citizens. The Appian Way climbs and then descends along its southern slope. After passing Lanuvium it crossed a crater-like valley on immense substructions, which still remain. Here is Aricia, an easy stage from Rome. The town was above the road, and on the hillside swarms of beggars beset travellers as they passed. On the summit of the next rise, Paul of Tarsus would obtain his first view of Rome. There is no doubt that the prospect was, in many respects, very different from the view which is now obtained from the same spot. It is true that the natural features of the scene are unaltered. The long wall of the blue Sabine mountains, with Soracte in the distance, closed in the Campagna, which stretched far across to the sea and round the base of the Alban hills. But ancient Rome was not, like modern Rome, impressive from its solitude, standing alone, with its one conspicuous cupola, in the midst of a desolate though beautiful waste. S. Paul would see a vast city, covering the Campagna, and almost continuously connected by its suburbs with the villas on the hill where he stood, and with the bright towns which clustered on the sides of the mountains opposite. Over all the intermediate space were the houses and gardens, through which aqueducts and roads might be traced in converging lines towards the confused mass of edifices which formed the city of Rome. Here no conspicuous building, elevated above the rest, attracted the eye or the imagination. Ancient Rome had neither cupola nor campanile, still less had it any of those spires which give life to all the capitals of Northern Christendom. It was a wide-spread aggregate of buildings, which, though separated by narrow streets and open spaces, appeared, when seen from near Aricia, blended into one indiscriminate mass; for distance concealed the contrasts which divided the crowded habitations of the poor and the dark haunts of filth and misery from the theatres and colonnades, the baths, the temples, and palaces with gilded roofs, flashing back the sun.

'The road descended into the plain at Bovillae, six miles from Aricia; and thence it proceeded in a straight line, with the sepulchres of illustrious families on either hand. One of these was the burial-place of the Julian gens, with which the centurion who had charge of the prisoners was in some way connected. As they proceeded over the old pavement, among gardens and modern houses, and approached nearer the busy metropolis—the "conflux issuing forth or entering in" in various costumes and on various errands—vehicles, horsemen and foot-passengers, soldiers and labourers, Romans and foreigners—became more crowded and confusing. The houses grew closer. They were already in Rome. It was impossible to define the commencement of the city. Its populous portions extended far beyond the limits marked out by Servius. The ancient wall, with its once sacred pomoerium, was rather an object for antiquarian interest, like the walls of York or Chester, than any protection against the enemies, who were kept far aloof by the legions on the frontier.

'Yet the Porta Capena is a spot which we can hardly leave without lingering for a moment. Under this arch—which was perpetually dripping with the water of the aqueduct that went over it—had passed all those who, since a remote period of the republic, had travelled by the Appian Way—victorious generals with their legions returning from foreign service—emperors and courtiers, vagrant representatives of every form of heathenism, Greeks and Asiatics, Jews and Christians. From this point entering within the city, Julius and his prisoners moved on, with the Aventine on their left, close round the base of the Coelian, and through the hollow ground which lay between this hill and the Palatine; thence over the low ridge called Velia, where afterwards was built the Arch of Titus, to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem; and then descending by the *Via Sacra* into that space which was the centre of imperial power and imperial magnificence, and associated also with the most glorious recollections of the republic. The Forum was to Rome what the Acropolis was to Athens, the heart of all the characteristic interest of the place. Here was the *Milliarium Aureum*, to which the roads of all the provinces converged.

All around were the stately buildings which were raised in the closing years of the republic and by the early emperors. In front was the Capitoline Hill, illustrious long before the invasion of the Gauls. Close on the left, covering that hill whose name is associated in every modern European language with the notion of imperial splendour, were the vast ranges of the *palace*—the "house of Caesar" (Phil. iv. 22). Here were the household troops quartered in a *praetorium* attached to the palace. And here (unless, indeed, it was in the great Praetorium camp outside the city wall) Julius gave up his prisoner to Burrus, the Praetorium Prefect, whose official duty it was to keep in custody all accused persons who were to be tried before the Emperor.'—*Conybeare and Howson.*

CHAPTER X

THE QUIRINAL AND VIMINAL

Palazzo Barberini—Palazzo Albani—S. Carlo a Quattro Fontane—S. Andrea a Monte Cavallo—Quirinal Palace—Palazzo della Consulta—Palazzo Rospigliosi—Colonna Gardens and Temple of the Sun—S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo—S. Caterina di Siena—SS. Domenico e Sisto—S. Agata dei Goti—S. Maria in Monte—S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna—S. Pudentiana—S. Paolo Primo Eremita—S. Dionisio—S. Vitale.

IT is difficult to determine the exact limits of what in ancient times were regarded as the Quirinal and Viminal hills, which, in ancient times, were called *colles*, in contradistinction to the other five hills, which were called *montes*—the whole *regio* being called *Collina*. These hills, like the Esquiline and Coelian, are in fact merely spurs or tongues of hills, projecting inwards from a common base, the broad table-land which slopes on the other side almost imperceptibly into the Campagna.[1] That which is described in this chapter as belonging to these two hills is chiefly the district to the right of the Via Quattro Fontane, and its continuations, which extend in a straight line to S. Maria Maggiore.

The Quirinal, like all the other hills, except the Palatine and the Coelian, belonged to the Sabines in the earlier period of Roman history, and is full of records of their occupation. They had a capital here which is believed to have been long anterior to that on the Capitoline, and which was crowned by a temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This Sabine capital occupied the site of the present Palazzo Rospigliosi.

The name Quirinal is derived from the Sabine word *Quiris*, signifying a lance, which gave the Sabines their name of Quirites or lance-bearers, and to their god the name Quirinus.[2] After his death Romulus received this title, and an important temple was raised to him on the Quirinal by Numa,[3] under this name, thus identifying him with Janus Quirinus, the national god. This temple was surrounded by a sacred grove mentioned by Ovid.[4] It was rebuilt by the Consul L. Papirius Cursor, to commemorate his triumph after the third Samnite war, B.C. 293, when he adorned it with a sundial (*solarium horologium*), the first set up in Rome, which, however, not being constructed for the right latitude, did

[1] Merivale, '*Romans under the Empire*,' ch. xl.
[2] Ampère, *Hist. Rom.* i. 141.
[3] Dionysius, ii. 63.
[4] Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 452, 453.

not show the time correctly. This defect was not remedied till nearly a century afterwards, when Q. Marcius Philippus set up a correct dial.[1] In front of this temple grew two celebrated myrtle trees, one called *Patricia*, the other *Plebeia*, which shared the fortunes of their respective orders, as the orange tree at S. Sabina now does that of the Dominicans. Thus, up to the fifth century, Patricia flourished gloriously, and Plebeia pined; but from the time when the Plebeians completely gained the upper hand, Patricia withered away.[2] The temple was rebuilt by Augustus, and Dion Cassius states that the number of pillars by which it was surrounded accorded with that of the years of his life.[3]

Adjoining the temple was a portico:—

'Vicini pete porticum Quirini:
Turbam non habet otiosiorem
Pompeius.'
—*Martial, Ep.* xi. i.

'——Officium cras
Primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini.'
—*Juvenal, Sat.* ii. 132.

Hard by was a temple of Fortuna Publica:—

'Qui dicet, Quondam sacrata est colle Quirini
Hac Fortuna die Publica: verus erit.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* iv. 375.

Also an altar to Mamurius, an ancient Sabine divinity, probably identical with Mars, and a Temple of Salus, or Health, which gave a name to the Porta Salutaris, which must have stood nearly on the site of the present Palazzo Barberini, and near which, not inappropriately, was a Temple of Fever, in the Via S. Vitale, where fever is still prevalent.

The site of the Temple of Quirinus, discovered and demolished in 1626, was nearly that now occupied by S. Andrea a Monte Cavallo. On the site of the Convent of S. Silvestro was the Temple of Semo-Sancus, the reputed father of Sabinus. Between these two temples was the house of Pomponius Atticus (the friend and correspondent of Cicero), a situation which gave an opportunity for the witticism of Cicero when he said that he would rather Caesar should dwell with Quirinius than with Salus, meaning that he would rather he should be at war than be in good health.[4]

In the same neighbourhood lived Martial the epigrammatist, 'on the third floor, in a narrow street,' whence he had a view as far as the portico of Agrippa, near the Flaminian Way. Below, probably on the site now occupied by the Piazza Barberini, was a Circus of Flora.

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[1] Dyer's '*Rome*,' p. 95.
[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xv. 35, 2.
[3] Dion Cass. liv.
[4] 'De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te, quia cognoram ex tuis literis: eum σύνναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti.'—*Ad Att.* xii. 45.

'Mater, ades, florum, ludis celebranda jocosis :
Distuleram partes mense priore tuas.
Incipis Aprili : transis in tempora Maii.
Alter te fugiens, quum venit alter, habet.
Quum tua sint, cedantque tibi confinia mensum,
Convenit in laudes ille vel iste tuas.
Circus in hunc exit, clamataque palma theatris :
Hoc quoque cum Circi munere carmen eat.'
—*Ovid, Fast.* v. 183.

Among the great families who lived on the Quirinal were the Cornelii, who had a street of their own, *Vicus Corneliorum*, probably on the slopes behind the present Colonna Palace ; and the Flavii, who were of Sabine origin.[1] Domitian was born here in the house of the Flavii, afterwards consecrated by him as a temple, in which Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian himself were buried, and Julia, the ugly daughter of Titus—well known from her statues in the Vatican.

As some fragments remain of the two buildings erected on the Quirinal during the later empire, Aurelian's Temple of the Sun and the Baths of Constantine, they will be noticed in the regular course.

In the hollow between the Quirinal and the Pincian Hills, where the Via Sistina meets the Via delle Quattro Fontane, is the small *Piazza del Tritone*, with a pretty fountain having the figure of a Triton blowing on a shell, by Bernini. Under the Papal Government no subject was more frequently painted by artists than this ; but the 'subject' is gone now, the pavement has been raised and straightened, the fountain half buried, and the groups of great oxen which used to surround it are a tale of the past.[2]

On the ascent of the hill, just above the Piazza del Tritone, is the noble **Barberini Palace**, built by Urban VIII. from designs of Carlo Maderno, continued by Borromini, and finished by Bernini in 1640. It is screened from the street by a magnificent railing between columns, erected 1865–67 ; and if this railing could be continued, and the block of houses towards the piazza removed, it would be far the most splendid private palace in Rome.

This immense building is a memorial of the magnificence and ambition of Urban VIII. Fearing that the family of Barberini might become absorbed in that of Colonna, he also issued a Bull by which the name, estates, and privileges of his house might pass to any living male descendant, legitimate or illegitimate, whether child of prince or priest.[3] The size of the palace is enormous, the smallest 'apartment' in the building containing forty rooms. The family have usually inhabited the right wing. In the left wing—

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[1] Vespasian had a brother named Sabinus ; his son's name recalls that of Titus Tatius.

[2] Hence the shabby Via del Tritone leads to the Corso. Its lower and wider portion was formerly the Via del Angelo Custode, but Sardinian Rome does not honour any guardian angel.

[3] Silvagni.

occupied in the beginning of this century by the ex-king (Charles VII.) and queen of Spain and the 'Prince of Peace'—is the huge apartment of the late Cardinal Barberini, in which Cardinal Pecci, brother of Leo XIII., recently died. On this side is the grand staircase, upon which is placed a lion in high relief, found on the family property at Palestrina. It is before this lion that Canova is said to have lain for hours upon the pavement, studying for his tomb of Clement XIII. in S. Peter's. The *guarda-roba*, badly kept, contains many curious relics of family grandeur; amongst them is a sedan-chair painted by Titian.

'The Barberini were the last papal nephews who aspired to independent principalities. Urban VIII., though he enriched them enormously, appears to have been but little satisfied with them. He used to complain that he had four relations who were fit for nothing: first, Cardinal Francis, who was a saint, and worked no miracles; secondly, Cardinal Anthony, who was a monk, and had no patience; thirdly, Cardinal Anthony the younger, who was an orator (*i.e.* an ambassador), and did not know how to speak; while the fourth was a general, who did not know how to draw the sword.'—*Goethe*, '*Romische Briefe*.'

The **Library** (open on Thursdays from 9 to 2) contains a most valuable collection of MSS., about 7000 in number, brought together by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII. They include collections of letters of Galileo, Bembo, and Bellarmine; the official reports to Urban VIII. relating to the state of Catholicism in England in the time of Charles I.; a copy of the Bible in the Samaritan character; a Bible of the fourth century; several manuscript copies of Dante; a missal illuminated by Ghirlandajo; and a book of sketches of ancient Roman edifices, of 1465, by Giuliano di Sangallo—most interesting to the antiquarian and architect, as preserving the forms of many public buildings which have disappeared since that date. Among the 50,000 printed books is a Hebrew Bible of 1788, one of the twelve known copies of the complete edition of Soncino; a Latin Plato, by Ficino, with marginal notes by Tasso and his father Bernardo; a Dante of 1477, with notes by Bembo, &c.

In the right wing is a huge *Hall* (adorned with second-rate statues), with a grand ceiling by *Pietro da Cortona* (1596–1699), representing 'Il Trionfo della Gloria,' the Forge of Vulcan, Minerva annihilating the Titans, and other mythological subjects—much admired by Lanzi, and considered by Kugler to be the most important work of the artist. Four vast frescoes of the Fathers of the Church are preserved here, having been removed from the dome of S. Peter's, where they were replaced with mosaics by Urban VIII. Below are other frescoes by *Pietro da Cortona*, a portrait of Urban VIII., and some tapestries illustrative of the events of his reign and of his own intense self-esteem: thus the Virgin and Angels are represented bringing in the ornaments of the papacy at his coronation, &c. But the conceit of Pope Urban reaches its climax in a room at the top of the house, which exhibits a number of the Barberini bees (the family crest) flocking against the sun, and eclipsing it—to typify the splendour of the family. The will

of Pope Urban VIII. is a very curious document, providing against the extinction of the family in every apparent contingency. This, however, now seems likely to take place; the heir is a Sciarra. In the room adjoining the great hall are busts of Urban VIII. and his nephews, and several other fine works of sculpture, including a drunken faun, attributed to Michelangelo, and a veiled statue by a Portuguese artist. The pillars in front of the palace, and all the surrounding buildings, teem with the bees of the Barberini, which may also be seen on the Propaganda and many other great Roman edifices, and which are creeping up the robe of Urban VIII. in S. Peter's. Altogether, the Barberini, more than any other Roman palace, retains a reminiscence of the stately old days before the Sardinian rule, when, instead of a meretricious fountain lighted by electricity, to welcome the visit of a king, torches blazed on every alternate step of the great staircase to receive a cardinal; and when not only the palace, but the houses of the street as far as S. Teresa were hung with splendid old tapestries, when a prince of the house of Barberini was buried.

On the right, on entering the palace, is the small **Collection of Pictures** (open daily from 11 till 4, when the custode chooses to be there), indifferently lodged for a building so magnificent. Most of the pictures are doubtful, but we may notice:—

1st Room:—

5. *Domenichino:* Adam and Eve.

2nd Room:—

65. *Andrea Sacchi:* Urban VIII.
38. *Titian:* Cardinal Pietro Bembo, *c.* 1520; retouched.
72. *Francia:* Madonna and Child, S. John and S. Jerome.
64. *Giovanni Bellini* (?): Madonna and Child.
68. *Mengs:* Daughter of Raphael Mengs.
78. *Masaccio* (?): Portrait of himself.

3rd Room:—

76. *School of Palma Vecchio:* The 'Schiava.'

'This picture, with a totally unmeaning name, taken from the manacles on the hands, is attributed to Titian, but one of the well-known "daughters of Palma Vecchio" was evidently the model.'—*Kugler.*

79. *Claude Lorraine:* Castel Gandolfo.
81. *Bronzino:* Portrait.
82. *Albert Dürer:* Christ among the Doctors—painted in five days, in 1506.

'Affreux docteurs, laids comme leur science, et vieux comme leurs grimoires.'
—*Emile Montégut.*

86. *Raffaelle:* The Fornarina (with the painter's name on the armlet, though many authorities nevertheless attribute the picture to Sebastiano del Piombo).

'The history of this person, to whom Raffaelle was attached even to his death, is obscure, nor are we very clear with regard to her likenesses. In the tribune at Florence there is a portrait, inscribed with the date 1512, of a very beautiful woman holding the fur trimming of her mantle with her right hand, which is said to represent her. The picture is decidedly by Raffaelle, but can hardly represent the Fornarina; at least it has no resemblance to this portrait, which has the name of Raffaelle on the armlet, and of the authenticity of which (par-

ticularly with respect to the subject) there can hardly be a doubt. In this the figure is seated, and is uncovered to the waist; she draws a light drapery around her; a shawl is twisted round her head. The execution is beautiful and delicate, although the lines are sufficiently defined: the forms are fine and not without beauty, but at the same time not free from an expression of coarseness and common life. The eyes are large, dark, and full of fire, and seem to speak of brighter days. There are repetitions of this picture, from the school of Raffaelle, in Roman galleries.'—*Kugler.*

89. *Pontormo:* Pygmalion.
90. *N. Poussin:* Death of Germanicus.
99. *Andrea del Sarto* (?): Holy Family.
97. *School of Botticelli:* Annunciation.

But the interest of this collection centres entirely around two portraits—that (85) of Lucrezia, the unhappy second wife of Francesco Cenci, by *Scipione Caëtani*, and that (88) called Beatrice Cenci, and long supposed to have been by Guido Reni, who was, however, a mere boy at the time of the execution of the Cenci, and was not in Rome at all during their lifetime, and first painted there in 1608.[1]

'The portrait of Beatrice Cenci is most interesting as a just representation of one of the loveliest specimens of the workmanship of nature. There is a fixed and pale composure upon the features; she seems sad and stricken down in spirit, yet the despair thus expressed is lightened by the patience of gentleness. Her head is bound with folds of white drapery, from which the yellow strings of her golden hair escape, and fall about her neck. The moulding of her face is exquisitely delicate; the eyebrows are distinct and arched; the lips have that permanent meaning of imagination and sensibility which suffering has not repressed, and which it seems as if death scarcely could extinguish. Her forehead is large and clear; her eyes, which we are told were remarkable for their vivacity, are swollen with weeping and lustreless, but beautifully tender and serene. In the whole mien there is a simplicity and dignity which, united with her exquisite loveliness and deep sorrow, is inexpressibly pathetic. Beatrice Cenci appears to have been one of those persons in whom energy and gentleness dwell together without destroying one another; her nature simple and profound. The crimes and miseries in which she was an actor and sufferer are as the mask and the mantle in which circumstances clothed her for her impersonation on the scene of the world.'—*Shelley's Preface to 'The Cenci.'*

'The picture of Beatrice Cenci represents simply a female head; a very youthful, girlish, perfectly beautiful face, enveloped in white drapery, from beneath which strays a lock or two of what seems a rich, though hidden, luxuriance of auburn hair. The eyes are large and brown, and meet those of the spectator, evidently with a strange, ineffectual effort to escape. There is a little redness about the eyes, very slightly indicated, so that you would question whether or no the girl had been weeping. The whole face is very quiet; there is no distortion or disturbance of any single feature; nor is it easy to see why the expression is not cheerful, or why a single touch of the artist's pencil should not brighten it into joyousness. But, in fact, it is the very saddest picture ever painted or conceived; it involves an unfathomable depth of sorrow, the sense of which comes to the observer by a sort of intuition. It is a sorrow that removes this beautiful girl out of the sphere of humanity, and sets her in a far-off region, the remoteness of which, while yet her face is so close before us, makes us shiver as at a spectre. You feel all the time you look at Beatrice as if she were trying to escape from your gaze. She knows that her sorrow is so strange and immense that she ought to be solitary for ever both for the world's sake and her own; and this is the reason we feel such a distance between Beatrice and ourselves, even when our eyes meet hers. It is infinitely heart-breaking to meet her glance, and

[1] That this picture was seen and admired by Guido Reni is evident from his introduction of the head, drapery, &c., in his famous fresco at S. Gregorio. The picture is not mentioned in the Barberini catalogues of 1604 and 1623, the former of which was compiled only five years after the death of Beatrice.

to know that nothing can be done to help or comfort her; neither does she ask help or comfort, knowing the hopelessness of her case better than we do. She is a fallen angel--fallen and yet sinless; and it is only this depth of sorrow, with its weight and darkness, that keeps her down to earth, and brings her within our view even while it sets her beyond our reach.'—*Hawthorne.*

'The portrait of Beatrice Cenci is a picture almost impossible to be forgotten. Through the transcendent sweetness and beauty of the face there is a something shining out that haunts me. I see it now, as I see this paper or my pen. The head is loosely draped in white; the light hair falling down below the linen folds. She has turned suddenly towards you; and there is an expression in the eyes—although they are very tender and gentle—as if the wildness of a momentary terror or distraction had been struggled with and overcome that instant; and nothing but a celestial hope, and a beautiful sorrow, and a desolate earthly helplessness remained. Some stories say that Guido painted it the night before her execution; some other stories, that he painted it from memory, after having seen her on her way to the scaffold. I am willing to believe that, as you see her on his canvas, so she turned towards him in the crowd, from the first sight of the axe, and stamped upon his mind a look which he has stamped on mine as though I had stood beside him in the concourse. The guilty palace of the Cenci —blighting a whole quarter of the town, as it stands withering away by grains— had that face, to my fancy, in its dismal porch, and at its black blind windows, and flitting up and down its dreary stairs, and growing out of the darkness of its ghostly galleries. The history is written in the painting; written, in the dying girl's face, by Nature's own hand. And oh! how in that one touch she puts to flight (instead of making kin) the puny world that claims to be related to her, in right of poor conventional forgeries!'—*Dickens.*

Till late years, there was a pretty old-fashioned garden belonging to this palace, at one corner of which—overhanging an old statue—stood the celebrated Barberini Pine, often drawn by artists from the Via Sterrata at the back of the garden, where statue and pine combined well with the Church of S. Caio; but alas! this magnificent tree was cut down in 1872, and the church has since been destroyed.

At the back of the palace-court, behind the arched bridge leading to the garden, is—let into the wall—an inscription which formed part of the dedication of the arch erected to Claudius by the senate and people, in honour of the conquest of Britain. The letters were inlaid with bronze. It was found near the Palazzo Sciarra, where the arch is supposed to have stood. In front of the palace, a statue of Thorwaldsen commemorates the fact of his studio having been in the neighbouring street.

Ascending to the summit of the hill, we find four ugly statues of river-gods lying over the **Quattro Fontane**, from which the street takes its name.

On the left is the **Palazzo Albani del Drago**, restored by the late Queen Christina of Spain. Here on the staircase are two of the curious representations in *opus sectile marmoreum* which formerly existed in the Church of S. Antonio. The site of this palace and the opposite church was probably that of the Flavian house in which Domitian was born, and the mausoleum in which he was buried by the side of Vespasian, Flavius Sabinus his brother, Titus, and Julia daughter of Titus. Ligorio describes the latter structure as a round temple, with a pronaos of six composite columns.

'In one of the palace rooms is a very ancient painting of Jupiter and Ganymede, in a very uncommon style, uniting considerable grandeur of conception, great force and decision, and a deep tone and colour, which produce great effect. It is said to be Grecian.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The opposite church, **S. Carlo a Quattro Fontane**, is worth observing, from the fact that the whole building, church and convent, corresponds with one of the four piers supporting the cupola of S. Peter's. Here was formed the point of attack against the Quirinal Palace, November 16, 1848, which caused the flight of Pius IX. and the downfall of his government. From a window of this convent the shot was fired which killed Monsignor Palma, —one of the pontifical secretaries, and a writer on ecclesiastical history—who had unfortunately exposed himself at one of the windows opposite. The church contains two pictures by *Mignard* relating to the history of S. Carlo.

A steep street, which leads towards the fountain of Trevi from hence, probably crosses the site of the Porta Sangualis.[1] Nearer to the Quattro Fontane was the Porta Salutaris.

Turning (right) down Via del Quirinale, one side of the street is occupied by the immense portion of the Quirinal Palace formerly used for the accommodation of the cardinals collected and imprisoned during the papal conclaves. On the left is **S. Andrea a Monte Cavallo** (on the supposed site of the Temple of Quirinus), erected, as is told by an inscription inside, by Camillo Pamfili, nephew of Innocent X., from designs of Bernini. It has a corinthian façade and a projecting semicircular portico with ionic columns. The interior is oval. It is exceedingly rich, being almost entirely lined with red marble streaked with white (Sicilian jasper), divided by white marble pillars supporting a gilt cupola. The high altar—supposed to cover the body of S. Zeno—between really magnificent pillars, is surmounted by a fine picture, by *Borgognone*, of the crucifixion of S. Andrew. Near this is the tomb, by *Festa*, of Emmanuel IV., king of Sardinia, who abdicated his throne in 1802, to become a Jesuit monk in the adjoining convent, where he died in 1818. On the right is the chapel of Santa Croce, with three pictures of the passion and death of Christ, by *Brandini*; and that of S. Francis Xavier, with three pictures by *Baciccio*, representing the saint preaching—baptizing an Indian queen—and lying dead in the island of Sancian in China. On the left is the chapel of the Virgin, with pictures, by *David*, of the three great Jesuit saints—S. Ignatius Loyola, S. Francis Borgia, and S. Luigi Gonzaga—adoring the Virgin, and, by *Gérard de la Nuit*, of the Adoration of the Shepherds and of the Magi; and lastly the chapel of S. Stanislas Kostka, containing his shrine of gold and lapis-lazuli, under an exceedingly rich altar, which is adorned with a beautiful picture by *Carlo Maratta*, representing the saint receiving the infant Jesus from the arms of His mother. At the sides of the chapel are two

[1] Livy, viii. 20.

other pictures by *Maratta*, one of which represents S. Stanislas 'bathing with water his breast inflamed with divine love,' the other his receiving the host from the hands of an angel. These are the three principal incidents in the story of the young S. Stanislas, who belonged to a noble Polish family and abandoned the world to shut himself up here, saying, 'I am not born for the good things of this world; that which my heart desires is the good things of eternity.'

'I have long ago exhausted all my capacity of admiration for splendid interiors of churches; but methinks this little, little temple (it is not more than fifty or sixty feet across) has a more perfect and gem-like beauty than any other. Its shape is oval, with an oval dome, and above that another little dome, both of which are magnificently frescoed. Around the base of the larger dome is wreathed a flight of angels, and the smaller and upper one is encircled by a garland of cherubs—cherub and angel all of pure white marble. The oval centre of the church is walled round with precious and lustrous marble, of a red-veined variety interspersed with columns and pilasters of white; and there are arches, opening through this rich wall, forming chapels, which the architect seems to have striven hard to make even more gorgeous than the main body of the church. The pavement is one star of various tinted marbles.'—*Hawthorne*, '*Notes on Italy*.'

Pope Leo XIII. (Vincenzo Pecci) said his first mass in this chapel. The early mass in the church is frequently attended by Queen Margherita—'the Pearl of Savoy.'

The adjoining **Convent of the Noviciate of the Order of Jesus** contains the room in which S. Stanislas Kostka died, at the age of eighteen, with his reclining statue by *Le Gros*, the body in white, his dress (that of a novice) in black, and the couch upon which he lies in yellow marble. Beyond his statue is a picture of a celestial vision which consoled him in his last moments. On the day of his death, November 13th, the convent is thrown open, and mass is said without ceasing in this chamber, which is visited by thousands.

'La petite chambre de S. Stanislas Kostka est un de ces lieux où la prière naît spontanément dans le cœur, et s'en échappe comme par un cours naturel.' —*Veuillot*, '*Parfum de Rome*.'[1]

In the neighbouring corridor of the convent, the original doors which led to the cells of S. Francesco Borgia and S. Ignazio della Vigna are preserved. In the convent garden is shown the fountain where 'the angels used to bathe the breast of S. Stanislas burning with the love of Christ.'

Near this church one of the ancient altars erected to demand the divine protection against fire, after the great fire under Nero, was discovered in 1889.

Gardens now take the place of the old Benedictine convent, which had a courtyard containing a sarcophagus as a fountain, and a humble church decorated with rude frescoes of S. Benedict and S. Scholastica; also of a small and popular church, rich in marbles, belonging to the *Perpetue Adoratrici del Divino Sacramento del*

[1] 'Deus, qui inter caetera sapientiae tuae miracula etiam in tenera aetate maturae sanctitatis gratiam contulisti; da, quaesumus, ut beati Stanislai exemplo, tempus, instanter operando, redimentes, in aeternam ingredi requiem festinemus.'—*Collect of SS. Kostka, Roman Vesper-Book.*

Altare, founded by Sister Maddalena of the Incarnation, who died 1829, and was buried on the right of the entrance. Here the low monotonous chant of the perpetual adoration might be constantly heard. These interesting buildings were all destroyed in 1888, to make a garden in front of the rooms which were to be occupied for a few days by the Emperor of Germany! In this hitherto sacred position, a monument to King Charles Albert of Savoy (wholly unconnected with Rome) was erected in 1898.

The Piazza of the Monte Cavallo has in its centre the red granite obelisk (ninety-five feet high with its base) erected here by Antinori in 1781 for Pius VI. It was originally brought from Egypt by Claudius, A.D. 57, together with the obelisk now in front of S. Maria Maggiore, and they were both first placed at the entrance of the mausoleum of Augustus. At its base are the colossal statues found in the Baths of Constantine, of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, reining in their horses. These statues, which, according to an old tradition, were a present to Nero from Tiridates, give a name to the district. Their bases bear the names of Phidias and Praxiteles, and, though they have no claim to be the work of such distinguished sculptors, they are probably copies of bronze originals of Greek origin. The original position of the figures—the men facing the horses and holding them in as they rear—has been learnt from coins, and reproduced in statues on the top of the Museum at Berlin, where they have the nicknames of Gehemmter Fortschritt and Beförderter Rückschritt—Progress checked and Retrogression encouraged.

The story of the horses, as believed in the Middle Ages, is given in the *Mirabilia* :—

'In the time of the Emperor Tiberius there came to Rome two young men that were philosophers, named Praxiteles and Phidias, whom the emperor, observing them to be of so much wisdom, kept nigh unto himself in his palace; and he said to them, "Wherefore do ye go abroad naked?" who answered and said, "Because all things are naked and open to us, and we hold the world of no account, therefore we go naked and possess nothing;" and they said, "Whatsoever thou, most mighty emperor, shalt devise in thy chamber by day or night, albeit we be absent, we will tell it thee every word." "If ye shall do that ye say," said the emperor, "I will give you what thing soever ye shall desire." They answered and said, "We ask no money, but only a memorial of us." And when the next day was come, they showed unto the emperor in order whatsoever he had thought of in that night. Therefore he made them the memorial that he had promised, to wit, the naked horses, which trample on the earth—that is, upon the mighty princes of the world that rule over the men of this world; and there shall come a full mighty king, which shall mount the horses, that is, upon the might of the princes of this world. Meanwhile there be the two men half naked, which stand by the horses, and with arms raised on high and bent fingers tell the things that are to be; and as they be naked, so is all worldly knowledge naked and open to their minds.'—*Trans. by F. M. Nichols.*

'From this fable, wild and absurd as it is, we may nevertheless draw the inference that the statues had been handed down from time immemorial as the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, though those artists had in the lapse of ages been metamorphosed into philosophers. May we not also assume the existence of a tradition that the statues were brought to Rome in the reign of Tiberius? In the Middle Ages the group appears to have been accompanied by a statue of Medusa, sitting at their feet, and having before her a shell. According to the text of the *Mirabilia*, as given by Montfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum*, this figure represented the Church. The snakes which surrounded her typified the

volumes of Scripture, which nobody could approach unless he had first been washed—that is, baptized—in the water of the shell. But the Prague MS. of the *Mirabilia* interprets the female figure to represent Science, and the serpents to typify the disputed questions with which she is concerned.'—*Dyer's 'Hist. of the City of Rome.*'

'L'imitation du grand style de Phidias est visible dans plusieurs sculptures qu'il a inspirées, et surtout dans les colosses de Castor et Pollux, domptant des chevaux, qui ont fait donner à une partie du mont Quirinal le nom de *Monte Cavallo.*

'Il ne faut faire aucune attention aux inscriptions qui attribuent un des deux colosses à Phidias et l'autre à Praxitèle, Praxitèle dont le style n'a rien à faire ici; son nom a été inscrit sur la base de l'une des deux statues, comme Phèdre le reprochait déjà à des faussaires du temps d'Auguste, qui croyaient augmenter le mérite d'un nouvel ouvrage en y mettant le nom de Praxitèle. Quelle que soit l'époque où les colosses de Monte Cavallo ont été exécutés, malgré quelques différences, on doit affirmer que les deux originaux étaient de la même école, de l'école de Phidias.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 252.

'Chacun des deux héros dompte d'une seule main un cheval fougueux qui se cabre. Ces formes colossales, cette lutte de l'homme avec les animaux, donnent, comme tous les ouvrages des anciens, une admirable idée de la puissance physique de la nature humaine.'—*Mad. de Staël.*

'Ye too, marvellous Twain, that erect on the Monte Cavallo
Stand by your rearing steeds in the grace of your motionless movement,
Stand with upstretched arms and tranquil regardant faces,
Stand as instinct with life in the might of immutable manhood,—
O ye mighty and strange, ye ancient divine ones of Hellas.'

—*Clough.*

'Before me were the two Monte Cavallo statues, towering gigantically above the pygmies of the present day, and looking like Titans in the act of threatening heaven. Over my head the stars were just beginning to look out, and might have been taken for guardian angels keeping watch over the temples below. Behind, and on my left, were palaces; on my right, gardens, and hills beyond, with the orange tints of sunset over them still glowing in the distance. Within a stone's throw of me, in the midst of objects thus glorious in themselves, and thus in harmony with each other, was stuck an unplaned post, on which glimmered a paper lantern. Such is Rome.'—'*Guesses at Truth.*'

'Pius VI. changed the position of the statues and turned them round, and the ever-conservative and ever-discontented Roman people were disgusted by the change. On the pedestal of one of them are the words "Opus Phidiae." A punning placard was at once stuck upon the inscription with the legend, "Opus Perfidiae Pii Sexti."'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Close by is a fountain playing into a fine basin of Egyptian granite, brought hither by Pius VII. from the Forum, where it had long been used for watering cattle.

On the left is the **Palace of the Consulta,** built in 1730 by Clement XII. (Corsini), from designs of Fuga. Before its gates, under the popes, some of the Guardia Nobile were always to be seen sunning themselves in a uniform so resplendent that it was scarcely to be believed that the pay of this 'noble guard' of the pope amounted only to £5, 6s. 3d. a month.

On the right is the immense **Palace of the Quirinal,** now the **Royal Palace,** which also extends along one whole side of the street we have been pursuing. It may be visited on Thursday and Sunday from 12 to 3, with a permesso to be obtained between 10 and 12 at the Ministero della Casa Reale, in the Via del Quirinale, near S. Andrea.

'That palace-building, ruin-destroying pope, Paul IV., began to erect the enormous palace on the Quirinal Hill; and the prolongation of his labours, by a long series of successive pontiffs, has made it one of the largest and ugliest buildings extant.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The chief, indeed almost the only, interest of this palace arises from its having been the favourite residence of Pius VII. (Chiaramonte). It was here that he was taken prisoner by the French. General Radet forced his way into the pope's room on the night of June 6th, 1809, and, while excusing himself for being the messenger, hastily intimated to the pontiff, in the name of the emperor, that he must at once abdicate his temporal sovereignty. Pius absolutely refused, upon which he was forced to descend the staircase, and found a coach waiting at the entrance of the palace. Here the pope paused, his face streaming with tears, and, standing in the starlit piazza, solemnly extended his arms in benediction over his sleeping people. Then he entered the carriage, followed by Cardinal Pacca, and was hurried away to exile. . . . 'Whirled away through the heat and dust of an Italian summer's day, without an attendant, without linen, without his spectacles—fevered and wearied, he never for a moment lost his serenity. Cardinal Pacca tells us, that when they had just started on this most dismal of journeys, the pope asked him if he had any money. The secretary of state replied, that he had had no opportunity of providing himself. "We then drew forth our purses," continues the cardinal, "and, notwithstanding the state of affliction we were in at being thus torn away from Rome and all that was dear to us, we could hardly compose our countenances, on finding the contents of each purse to consist—of the pope's, of a papetto (10d.), and of mine, of three grossi (7½d.). We had precisely thirty-five baiocchi between us. The pope, extending his hand, showed his papetto to General Radet, saying, at the same time, "Look here—this is all I possess."'[1] . . . Six years after Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, and Pius VII. returned in triumph to Rome!

It was from this same palace that Pius IX.—who never afterwards inhabited it—made his escape to Gaëta during the Revolution of 1848, when the siege of the Quirinal by the insurgents had succeeded in extorting the appointment of a democratic ministry.

'On the afternoon of November 24th, the Duc d'Harcourt had arrived at the Quirinal in his coach as ambassador of France, and craved an audience of the sovereign. The guards wondered that he stayed so long; but they knew not that he sat reading the newspapers in the papal study, while the pope had retired to his bedroom to change his dress. Here his major-domo, Filippani, had laid out the black cassock and dress of an ordinary priest. The pontiff took off his purple stole and white pontifical robe, and came forth in the simple garb he had worn in his quiet youth. The Duc d'Harcourt threw himself on his knees, exclaiming, "Go forth, holy Father; divine wisdom inspires this counsel, divine power will lead it to a happy end." By secret passages and narrow staircases Pius IX. and his trusty servant passed unseen to a little door, used only occasionally for the Swiss guards, and by which they were to leave the palace. They reached it, and bethought them that the key had been forgotten! Filippani hastened back to the papal apartment to fetch it; and returning unquestioned to the wicket, found the pontiff on his knees, and quite absorbed in prayer. The wards were rusty, and the key turned with difficulty; but the door was opened at last, and the holy fugitive and his servant quickly entered a poor hackney coach that was waiting for them outside. Here again they ran risk of being discovered through the thoughtless adherence to old etiquette of the other servant, who stood by the coach, and who, having let down the steps, knelt, as usual, before he shut the door.

'The pope wore a dark greatcoat over his priest's cassock, a low-crowned round hat, and a broad brown woollen neckcloth outside his straight Roman collar. Filippani had on his usual loose cloak; but under this he carried the three-cornered hat of the pope, a bundle of the most private and secret papers, the

[1] Cardinal Wiseman's '*Life of Pius VII.*'

papal seals, the breviary, the cross-embroidered slippers, a small quantity of linen, and a little box full of gold medals stamped with the likeness of his Holiness. From the inside of the carriage he directed the coachman to follow many winding and diverging streets, in the hope of misleading the spies, who were known to swarm at every corner. Beside the Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, in the deserted quarter beyond the Coliseum, they found the Bavarian minister, Count Spaur, waiting in his own private carriage, and imagining every danger which could have detained them so long. The sovereign pressed the hand of his faithful Filippani and entered the Count's carriage. Silently they drove on through the old gate of Rome—Count Spaur having there shown the passport of the Bavarian minister going to Naples on affairs of state.

'Meanwhile the Duc d'Harcourt grew tired of reading the newspapers in the Pope's study; and when he thought that his Holiness must be far beyond the walls of Rome, he left the palace, and taking post-horses, hastened with all speed to overtake the fugitive on the road to Civita Vecchia, whither he believed him to be flying. As he left the study in the Quirinal, a prelate entered with a large bundle of ecclesiastical papers, on which, he said, he had to confer with the Pope; then his chamberlain went in to read to him his breviary and the office of the day. The rooms were lighted up, and the supper taken in as usual; and at length it was stated that his Holiness, feeling somewhat unwell, had retired to rest; and his attendants and the guard of honour were dismissed for the night. It is true that a certain prelate, who chanced to see the little door by which the fugitive had escaped into the street left open, began to cry out, "The pope has escaped! the pope has escaped!" But Prince Gabrielli was beside him, and clapping his hand upon the mouth of the alarmist, silenced him in time, by whispering, "Be quiet, Monsignore; be quiet, or we shall be cut to pieces!"

'Near La Riccia, the fugitives found Countess Spaur (who had arranged the whole plan of the escape) waiting with a coach and six horses, in which they pursued their journey to Gaëta, reaching the Neapolitan frontier between five and six in the morning. The pope throughout carried with him the sacrament in the pyx which Pius the Seventh carried when he was taken prisoner to France, and which, as if with prescience of what would happen, had been lately sent to him as a memorial by the Bishop of Avignon.'—*Beste.*

On the death of Pius VII. in the Quirinal Palace, the cardinals met here for the election of his successor, in accordance with the law prescribing that a conclave shall meet in the palace where the pope dies. Without warranty of any kind, however, the conclaves which resulted in the elections of Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., also met in the Quirinal Palace, to the desertion of the Vatican.

'In the afternoon of the last day of the novendiali, as they are called, after the death of a pope, the cardinals assemble (at S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo), and walk in procession, accompanied by their conclavisti, a secretary, a chaplain, and a servant or two, to the great gate of the royal residence, in which one will remain as master and supreme lord. Of course the hill is crowded by persons lining the avenue kept open for the procession. Cardinals never before seen by them, or not for many years, pass before them; eager eyes scan and measure them, and try to conjecture, from fancied omens in eye, in figure, or in expression, who will be shortly the sovereign of their fair city; and, what is much more, the head of the Catholic Church, from the rising to the setting sun. They all enter equal over the threshold of that gate: they share together the supreme rule, spiritual and temporal: there is still embosomed in them all the voice, yet silent, that will soon sound from one tongue over all the world, and the dormant germ of that authority which will soon again be concentrated in one man alone. To-day they are all equal; perhaps to-morrow one will sit enthroned, and all the rest will kiss his feet; one will be sovereign, and others his subjects; one the shepherd, and the others his flock. . . .

'From the Quirinal Palace stretches out, the length of a whole street, an immense wing, divided in its two upper floors into a great number of small

but complete suites of apartments, occupied permanently or occasionally by persons attached to the Court. During conclave these are allotted, literally so, to the cardinals, each of whom lives apart with his own attendants. His food is brought daily from his own house, and is overhauled, and delivered to him in the shape of "broken victuals," by the watchful guardians of the *turns* and lattices, through which alone anything, even conversation, can penetrate into the seclusion of that sacred retreat. For a few hours the first evening the doors are left open, and the nobility, the diplomatic body, and, in fact, all presentable persons, may roam from cell to cell, paying a brief compliment to its occupant, perhaps speaking the same good wishes to fifty, which they know can only be accomplished in one. After that, all is closed. A wicket is left accessible for any cardinal to enter who is not yet arrived; but every aperture is jealously guarded by faithful janitors, judges and prelates of various tribunals, who relieve one another. Every letter even is opened and read, that no communication may be held with the outer world. The very street on which the wing of the conclave looks is barricaded and guarded by a picket at each end; and as, fortunately, opposite there are no private residences, and all the buildings have access from the back, no inconvenience is thereby created. . . . In the meantime, within, and unseen from without, *fervet opus*.

'Twice a day the cardinals meet in the chapel belonging to the palace, included in the enclosure, and there, on tickets so arranged that the voter's name cannot be seen, write the name of him for whom they give their suffrage. These papers are examined in their presence, and if the number of votes given to any one do not constitute the majority, they are burnt in such a manner that the smoke (the *spumata*), issuing through a flue, is visible to the crowd usually assembled in the square outside. Some day, instead of this usual signal to disperse, the sound of pick and hammer is heard, a small opening is seen in the wall which had temporarily blocked up the great window over the palace gateway. At last the masons of the conclave have opened a rude door, through which steps out on the balcony the first cardinal deacon, and proclaims to the many, or to the few, who may happen to be in waiting, that they again possess a sovereign and a pontiff.'[1]—*Cardinal Wiseman.*

'Sais-tu ce que c'est qu'un conclave? Une réunion de vieillards, moins occupés du ciel que de la terre, et dont quelques-uns se font plus maladifs, plus goutteux, et plus cacochymes qu'ils ne le sont encore, dans l'espérance d'inspirer un vif intérêt à leurs partisans. Grand nombre d'éminences ne renonçant jamais à la possibilité d'une élection, le rival le plus près de la tombe excite toujours le moins de répugnance. Un rhumatisme est ici un titre à la confiance; l'hydropisie a ses partisans: car l'ambition et la mort comptent sur les mêmes chances. Le cercueil sert comme de marchepied au trône; et il y a tel pieux candidat qui négocierait avec son concurrent, si la durée du nouveau règne pouvait avoir son terme obligatoire comme celui d'un effet de commerce. Eh! ne sais-tu pas toi-même que le pâtre d'Ancône brûla gaiement ses béquilles dès qu'il eut ceint la tiare; et que Léon X., élu à trente-huit ans, avait eu grand soin de ne guérir d'un mal mortel que le lendemain de son couronnement?'—*Lorenzo Ganganelli* (*Clement XIV.*) *à Carlo Bertinazzi*, 16 *Avril* 1769.

The palace was forcibly seized in October 1871 by Victor Emmanuel II. of Sardinia, who died here January 9, 1878, having received in his last hours a sublime message of pardon from the pontiff he had outraged, and who would have come in person to give the deathbed absolution if he had not been forcibly prevented by the Jesuits.

'When the Italians had taken Rome, a detachment of soldiers, accompanied by a smith and his assistants, marched up to the gate of the Quirinal. Not a

[1] The form of the announcement in the case of Pius IX. was: 'Nuntio vobis gaudium magnum: Papam habemus eminentissimum et reverendissimum dominum Joannem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem Mastai-Ferretti, Presbyterum sub titulo Sancti Marcellini et Petri, qui nomen sibi adscivit Pium IX.'

soul was within,' and they had instructions to enter and take possession of the palace. In the presence of a small and silent crowd of sullen-looking men of the people, the doors were forced.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The palace is now the residence of King Umberto, and the popular Queen Margherita, his first cousin, whom he obtained a dispensation to marry, on payment to the pope of 500,000 fr. The interior of the building is little worth seeing. On the landing of the principal staircase, in a bad light, is a very important fresco by *Melozzo da Forli*, a rare master of the Paduan school.[1]

'On the vaulted ceiling of a chapel in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, Melozzo executed a work (1472) which, in those times, can have admitted of comparison with few. When the chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century some fragments were saved. That comprehending the Creator between angels was removed to a staircase in the Quirinal Palace, while single figures of angels were placed in the sacristy of S. Peter's. These detached portions suffice to show a beauty and fulness of form, and a combination of earthly and spiritual grandeur, comparable in their way to the noblest productions of Titian, although in mode of execution rather recalling Correggio. Here, as in the cupola frescoes of Correggio himself, half a century later, we trace that constant effort at true perspective of the figure, hardly in character, perhaps, with high ecclesiastical art; the drapery, also, is of a somewhat formless description; but the grandeur of the principal figure, the grace and freshness of the little adoring cherubs, and the elevated beauty of the angels are expressed with an easy naïveté, to which only the best works of Mantegna and Signorelli can compare.'—*Kugler.*

Beyond a great hall, one hundred and ninety feet long, are a number of rooms which were fitted up by Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. for the papal summer residence. Several apartments have mosaic pavements, brought hither from pagan edifices. In one chamber Pius VII. was taken prisoner; in the next he died. The room, which is decorated with a fine modern tapestry of the martyrdom of S. Stephen, has a plaster frieze, being the original cast of the triumph of Alexander the Great, modelled for Napoleon by *Thorwaldsen.*

The *Private Chapel of the Popes*, opening from the picture-gallery, contains a magnificent picture of the Annunciation by *Guido*, and frescoes of the life of the Virgin by *Albani.*

The *Palazzino* has been erected for the accommodation of the Duchess of Genoa and other members of the royal family during their visits to Rome.

The *Gardens of the Quirinal*, which, under the Papal government, were a delightful resort for strangers, are now usually closed to the public. They are in the stiff style of box hedges and clipped avenues, which seems to belong especially to Rome, and which we know to have been popular here even in imperial times. John Evelyn (1644) found them amongst 'the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome.' Pliny, in his account of his Tusculan villa, describes his gardens decorated with 'figures of different animals, cut in box; evergreens clipped into a thousand different shapes; sometimes into letters forming different names; walls and hedges

[1] By this same master is the interesting fresco of Sixtus IV. and his nephews, now in the Vatican gallery.

of cut box, and trees twisted into a variety of forms. But the Quirinal gardens were also worth visiting, on account of the many pretty glimpses they afford of S. Peter's and other distant buildings, and the oddity of some of the devices—an organ played by water, &c. The Casino, built by Fuga, has frescoes by *Orizonte*, *Pompeo*, *Battoni*, and *Pannini*.

(The *Royal Stables* may be visited with an order from the Palazzo S. Felice, 21 Via della Dateria, from 12 to 3; or, without an order, on Thursday and Sunday from 10 to 12.)

If we turn to the left from the front of the palace, we reach—on the left—the entrance to the courtyard of the vast **Palazzo Rospigliosi**, built by Flaminio Ponzio, in 1603, for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on a portion of the site of the Baths of Constantine. It was inhabited by Cardinal Bentivoglio, and sold by him to Cardinal Mazarin, who enlarged it from designs of Carlo Maderno. His father died there. His niece brought it to the Dukes of Nevers, who (*c.* 1668) sold it to the Prince Rospigliosi, brother of the reigning Pope, Clement X. From the time of Mazarin to 1704 it was inhabited by French ambassadors.

The palace itself is not shown, but the *Casino* is open on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 9 to 3. It is situated at the end of a very small but pretty garden planted with magnolias, and consists of three chambers. On the roof of the central room is the famous Aurora of Guido.

'Guido's Aurora is the very type of haste and impetus; for surely no man ever imagined such hurry and tumult, such sounding and clashing. Painters maintain that it is lighted from two sides—they have my full permission to light *theirs* from three if it will improve them, but the difference lies elsewhere.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters*, p. 91.

'This is the noblest work of Guido. It is embodied poetry. The Hours, that hand in hand encircle the car of Phoebus, advance with rapid pace. The paler, milder forms of those gentle sisters who rule over declining day, and the glowing glance of those who bask in the meridian blaze, resplendent in the hues of heaven, are of no mortal grace and beauty; but they are eclipsed by Aurora herself, who sails on the golden clouds before them, shedding "showers of shadowing roses" on the rejoicing earth; her celestial presence diffusing gladness, and light, and beauty around. Above the heads of the heavenly coursers hovers the morning star, in the form of a youthful cherub, bearing his flaming torch. Nothing is more admirable in this beautiful composition than the motion given to the whole: the smooth and rapid step of the circling Hours as they tread on the fleecy clouds; the fiery steeds; the whirling wheels of the car; the torch of Lucifer, blown back by the velocity of his advance; and the form of Aurora, borne through the ambient air, till you almost fear she should float from your sight.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'The work of Guido is more poetic than that of Guercino, and luminous, and soft, and harmonious. Cupid, Aurora, Phoebus, form a climax of beauty, and the Hours seem as light as the clouds on which they dance.—*Forsyth.*

Lanzi points out that Guido always took the Venus de' Medici and the Niobe as his favourite models, and that there is scarcely one of his large pictures in which the Niobe or one of her sons is not introduced, yet with such dexterity that the theft is scarcely perceptible.

The frescoes of the frieze are by *Tempesta;* the landscape by *Paul Brill.* Two columns, twelve feet high, are, with the steps at

S. Prassede, the finest known specimens of the Greek marble—rosso-antico. In the hall are busts, statues, and a bronze horse found in the ruins of the Baths.

There is a small collection of pictures, but few of real importance. In the room on the left is the beautiful *Daniele di Volterra* of our Saviour bearing His cross. In the same room are two large pictures—(81) David triumphing with the head of Goliath, *Domenichino;* and (64) Perseus rescuing Andromeda, *Guido.* No. 48 is a Holy Family by *Luca Signorelli.* In the room on the right are—Adam gathering fig-leaves for Eve, in a Paradise which is crowded with animals like a menagerie, *Domenichino;* and (35) Samson pulling down the pillars upon the Philistines, *Ludovico Caracci.* Here also is a very remarkable picture (32) of Juno chastising Venus, by *Lorenzo Lotto,* full of life, motion, and fury.

'Mr. Mündler showed his appreciation of this finely conceived and carefully executed painting, and called it "The Victory of Chastity." It might with equal fitness be named Juno taking righteous vengeance on Venus. Juno, wrapped in a green mantle, with a white drapery about her head, brandishes aloft Cupid's broken bow, and seems about to pour forth the vials of her wrath upon Venus. The goddess of love—a violet mantle about her, pearls in her fair hair, a brilliant star glowing on her brow, and gold chains round her neck—seeks to shield Cupid from the fury of the queen of heaven. The little god, with his many-coloured wings, cowers behind her with tearful face. The name Laurentius Lottus is still visible on a "cartellino."'—*Morelli.*

A fine bronze bust represents the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX.

A second small garden belonging to this palace is well worth seeing in May, from the wealth of camellias, azaleas, and roses with which it is filled. In the palace, Benvenuto Cellini's famous salt-cellar is preserved—a shell resting on an enamel dragon.

Opposite the Rospigliosi Palace is the very handsome entrance to the **Colonna Gardens** (which may be seen on Wednesdays by ringing at a bell by a door rather nearer the Quirinal). The gardens are connected with the palace in the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a series of bridges across the intervening street. Here, on a lofty terrace which has a fine view towards the Capitol, and overshadowed by grand cypresses, are the colossal remains long supposed to belong to the Temple of the Sun (huge fragments of corinthian cornice, one of them being the largest block of marble in Rome, and weighing twenty-seven tons), built by Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), but now considered to be part of the decorations of the **Baths of Constantine.** At the other end of the terrace, looking down through two barns into a kind of pit, we can see some remains of the baths—built A.D. 326—and of the great staircase which led up to them from the valley below. The portico of these baths remained erect till the time of Clement XII. (1730–40), and was adorned with four marble statues, of which two—those of the two Constantines—may now be seen on the terrace of the Capitol, and a third in the Portico of the Lateran.

Beneath the magnificent cypress-trees on the slope of the hill are several fine sarcophagi. Only the stem is preserved of the grand historical pine-tree which was planted on the day on which

Cola di Rienzi died, and which was one of the great ornaments of the city till 1848, when it was broken in a storm. These gardens, with their temple ruins, statues, cypresses, birds, and flowers, are the most beautiful spot which the recent changes have spared to us in Rome. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the once noble and historic family of Colonna would have sold the upper part of them for building land, if the Government had not interfered, on account of the two pagan ruins which they contain.

Just beyond the end of the garden is the **Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo**—belonging to the Missionaries of S. Vincent de Paul—in which the cardinals used to meet before going in procession to the conclave. It contains a few rather good pictures. The cupola of the second chapel has frescoes by *Domenichino*, of David dancing before the Ark, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and Esther fainting before Ahasuerus. These are considered by Lanzi as some of the finest frescoes of the master. In the left transept is a chapel containing a picture of the Assumption, painted on slate, considered the masterpiece of *Scipione Caëtani*. The last chapel but one on the left has a ceiling by *Cav. d'Arpino*, and frescoes on the wall by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*. The picture over the altar, representing S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena, is by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. Cardinal Bentivoglio—who wrote the history of the wars in Flanders, and lived in the Rospigliosi Palace—is buried here, with Cardinal Gian Giacopo Pancirelli, the one honest minister of the reign of Alexander VI. The adjoining convent, beneath which remains of a shrine of Semo Sancus were discovered in 1881,[1] is now the headquarters of the Royal Engineers.

We now reach the height of Magnanopoli, from which the isthmus which joined the Quirinal to the Capitoline was cut away by Trajan. Here, beneath the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini, radiant with flowers in spring, is a crossways, in the centre of which a fragment of the ancient wall of the time of the kings is preserved. Another fragment, in the neighbouring **Palazzo Antonelli**, retains a massive stone archway, supposed to be the **Porta Fontinalis**. The foundations under this arch are important as showing the use of concrete as early as the time of the kings. The palace was the favourite private residence of the great cardinal of brigand ancestry, who was long the prime minister of Pius IX.

'Antonelli was the best-hated man of his day, not only in Europe and Italy, but by a large proportion of Churchmen.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Hence the ugly modern Via Nazionale leads east to S. Maria degli Angeli, and west, through what was the garden of Cardinal Antonelli, to the Piazza Colonna. The turn given to the hill near this, and the effect of the lofty Aldobrandini Garden amongst the

[1] The statue of the god and its inscribed pedestal are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican.

houses, is one of the best things done in Rome since the Sardinian rule. A fine house of the first century A.D., with exquisitely painted walls, was discovered near this in June 1884, but its destruction was at once ordered.

Opposite is the **Church of S. Caterina di Siena,** possessing some frescoes attributed, on doubtful grounds, to the rare master *Timoteo della Vite.* Adjoining is a large convent, inclosed within the precincts of which is the tall brick mediaeval tower, sometimes called the Tower of Nero, but generally known as the **Torre del Milizie,** *i.e.* of the Roman Militia. It was erected by the sons of Peter Alexius, a baron attached to the party of Senator Pandolfo de Suburra. The lower part is said to have been built in 1210, the upper in 1294 and 1330.

'People pass through two regular courses of study at Rome—the first in learning, and the second in unlearning.

'"This is the Tower of Nero, from which he saw the city in flames—and this is the Temple of Concord—and this is the Temple of Castor and Pollux—and this is the Temple of Vesta—and these are the Baths of Paulus Aemilius," and so on, says your lacquey.

'"This is not the Tower of Nero—nor that the Temple of Castor and Pollux—nor the other the Temple of Concord—nor are any of these things what they are called," says your antiquary.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The Convent of S. Caterina was built by the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, who requested the advice of Michelangelo on the subject, and was told she had better make the ancient 'Torre' into a belfry. A very curious account of the interview in which this subject was discussed, and which took place in the Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, is left us in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a Portuguese painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

Near this point are two other fine mediaeval towers. One, now engrafted in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent to the Piazza Venezia, is that of the Colonna, now called **Tor di Babele,** and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured frieze, one of them bearing the device of the Colonna, a crowned column rising from a wreath. The other tower, immediately facing us, is called **Torre del Grillo,** from the ancient family of that name.

Opposite S. Caterina is the handsome **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto,** approached by a good double twisted staircase, the effect of which was greatly injured by the changes of 1870–77. Over the second altar on the left is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine by *Allegrani,* and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage (July 19), the dried hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the unspeakable comfort of the faithful.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the palaces of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or reburied) which once lined the Vicus Longus. These included, on the right, the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, Publia Materna, C. Articuleius Germanianus, Tiberius Julius Frugi,

C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus, &c.[1]

We turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into the Via Magnanopoli—formerly Bagnanopoli, a corruption of Balnea Pauli—Baths of Emilius Paulus, a name given to the ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to Naples. On the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The present Prince Aldobrandini is brother of the late Prince Borghese. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, generally known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery furnace ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

In the Via di Mazzarini, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the court-yard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. A tradition declares that this (like S. Sabba on the Aventine) is on the site of a house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, who consecrated the church after it had been plundered by the Goths, and dedicated it to S. Agata. It was rebuilt by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome opus-alexandrinum pavement are the only remaining signs of antiquity. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of Daniel O'Connell, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIII., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born vi. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died xv. May, MDCCCXLVIII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of the left aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had his palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the opposite chapel is a gilt figure of S. Agata carrying her breasts—showing the manner in which she suffered.

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[1] See Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 8, 1884.

'Agatha was a maiden of Catania, in Sicily, whither Decius the emperor sent Quintianus as governor. He, inflamed by the beauty of Agatha, tempted her with rich gifts and promises, but she repulsed him with disdain. Then Quintianus ordered her to be bound and beaten with rods, and sent two of his slaves to tear her bosom with iron shears, and, as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, "O thou cruel tyrant! art thou not ashamed to tear me thus?—hast thou not thyself been fed at thy mother's breasts?" Thus only did she murmur. And in the night a venerable man came to her, bearing a vase of ointment, and before him walked a youth bearing a torch. It was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was an angel; but Agatha knew it not, though such a glorious light filled the prison, that the guards fled in terror. . . . Then S. Peter made himself known and ministered to her, restoring with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus, infuriated, demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire, but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.'—*From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.'*

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great *Convent of S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via dei Serpenti*, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ veniebat Julius Albâ;
Lunaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistrae:
Retulit ille gradus; horrueruntque comae.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in mediâ visus adesse viâ.'

—*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died ; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux ; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe ; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts ; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive.* No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior ; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed : 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate ;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering-pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then veiled from head to foot in heavy folds of thick serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'è vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street—the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red-hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

'Blessed Laurentius as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."'—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head is at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. Maria Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

. . . . . .

[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

'Je n'oublierai jamais le soir où, après avoir longtemps cherché le lieu qui vit la mort de Servius et le crime de Tullie, tout à coup je découvris clairement que j'y étais arrivé, et m'arrêtant plein d'horreur, comme le cocher de la parricide, plongeant dans l'ombre un regard qui, malgré moi, y cherchait le cadavre du vieux roi, je me dis : "C'était là!"'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 153.

Turning to the left, at the foot of the Esquiline, we find the interesting **Church of S. Pudentiana**—Ecclesia Pudentiana[1]—supposed to be the most ancient of all the Roman churches ('omnium ecclesiarum urbis vetustissima'). Cardinal Wiseman, who took his title from this church, considered it was the principal place of worship in Rome after apostolic times, being founded on the site of the house where S. Paul lodged, A.D. 41 to 50, with the senator Pudens, whose family were his first converts, and who is said to have himself suffered martyrdom under Nero. On this ancient place of worship an oratory was engrafted by Pius I. (*c.* A.D. 145), in memory of the younger daughter of Pudens, Pudentiana, perhaps at the request of her sister Prassede, who is believed to have survived till that time. In very early times two small churches existed here, known as 'Titulus Pudentis' and 'Titulus Pastoris,' the latter in memory of the brother of Pius I.

The church, which has been successively altered by Adrian I. in the eighth century, by Gregory VII., and by Innocent II., was finally modernised by Cardinal Caëtani in 1597. Little remains of ancient external work except the graceful brick campanile (*c.* 1130), with triple arcades of open arches on every side, separated by bands of terra-cotta moulding; and the door adorned with low reliefs of the Lamb bearing a cross, and of S. Prassede and S. Pudentiana, with the vases in which they collected the blood of the martyrs, and two other figures, probably S. Pudens and S. Pastor.

The chapel on the left of the tribune, which is regarded as the 'Titulus Pudentis,' has an old mosaic pavement, said to have belonged to the house of Pudens. Here is a bas-relief by Giacomo della Porta, representing our Saviour delivering the keys to S. Peter; and here is preserved part of the altar at which S. Peter is said to have celebrated mass (the rest is at the Lateran), and which was used by all the early popes till the time of Sylvester. Among early christian inscriptions let into the walls, is one to a Cornelia, of the family of the Pudentiani, with a rude portrait.

Opening from the left aisle is the chapel of the Caëtani family, with tombs of the seventeenth century. Over the altar is a bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi, by *Paolo Olivieri*. On each side are fine columns of Lumachella marble. Over the entrance from the nave are ancient mosaics—of the Evangelists and of S. Pudentiana collecting the blood of the martyrs. Beneath is a gloomy and neglected vault, in which all the sarcophagi and coffins of the dead Caëtani are shown by torchlight.

[1] The Church of Pudens, and the early christian buildings of Rome were never named from a saint, but from their founders, or the owners of the site on which they were built.

In the tribune are magnificent mosaics, ascribed to the fourth century, and considered by Poussin and afterwards by De Rossi[1] as the best of all ancient christian mosaics, as they are the oldest, dating from A.D. 398. They were mutilated by Cardinal Enrico Caëtani in 1588.

'In conception and treatment this work is indeed classic: seated on a rich throne in the centre is the Saviour with one arm extended, and in the other holding a book open at the words, *Conservator Ecclesiae Pudentianae;* laterally stand SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana with leafy crowns in their hands; and at a lower level, but more in front, SS. Peter and Paul with eight other male figures, all in the amply-flowing costume of ancient Romans; while in the background are seen, beyond a portico with arcades, various stately buildings, one a rotunda, another a parallelogram with a gable-headed front, recognisable as a baptistery and basilica, here, we may believe, in authentic copy from the earliest types of the period of the first christian emperors. Above the group and hovering in the air, a large cross, studded with gems, surmounts the head of our Saviour, between the four symbols of the Evangelists, of which one has been entirely, and another in the greater part, sacrificed to some wretched accessories in wood-work actually allowed to conceal portions of this most interesting mosaic. As to expression, a severe solemnity is that prevailing, especially in the principal head, which *alone* is crowned with the nimbus—one among other proofs, if but negative, of its high antiquity.'—*Hemans' 'Ancient Christian Art.'*

Besides S. Pudentiana and S. Pudens, S. Novatus and S. Siricius are said to be buried there. Those who visit this sanctuary every day obtain an indulgence of three thousand years, with remission of a third part of their sins! Excavations made by Mr. J. H. Parker, in 1865, laid bare some interesting constructions beneath the church—supposed to be those of the house of Pudens—a part of the public baths of Novatus, the son of Pudens, which were in use for some centuries after his time, and a chamber in which is supposed to have been the oratory dedicated by Pius I. in A.D. 145.

'Eubulus greeteth thee, and *Pudens*, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.'—2 *Timothy* iv. 21.

'Here the first converts met for prayers; here Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, obtained from Pius I. the institution of a regular parish-assembly (*titulus*) provided with a baptismal font; and here, for a long time, were preserved some pieces of household furniture which had been used by S. Peter. The tradition deserves attention because it was openly accepted at the beginning of the fourth century.'—*Lanciani.*

The following account of the family of Pudens is received as the legacy of Pastor to the Christian Church:—

'Pudens went to his Saviour, leaving his daughters strengthened with chastity, and learned in all the divine law. These sold their goods, and distributed the produce to the poor, and persevered strictly in the love of Christ, guarding intact the flower of their virginity, and only seeking for glory in vigils, fastings, and prayer. They desired to have a baptistery in their house, to which the blessed Pius not only consented, but with his own hand drew the plan of the fountain. Then calling in their slaves, both from town and country, the two virgins gave liberty to those who were Christians, and urged belief in the faith upon those who had not yet received it. By the advice of the blessed Pius, the affranchisement was declared, with all the ancient usages, in the oratory founded by Pudens; then, at the festival of Easter, ninety-six neophytes were baptized; so

[1] *Roma Cristiana.*

that henceforth assemblies were constantly held in the said oratory, which night and day resounded with hymns of praise. Many pagans gladly came thither to find the faith and receive baptism.

'Meanwhile the Emperor Antonine, being informed of what was taking place, issued an edict commanding all Christians to dwell apart in their own houses, without mixing with the rest of the people, and that they should neither go to the public shops nor to the baths. Praxedis and Pudentiana then assembled those whom they had led to the faith, and housed them. They nourished them for many days, watching and praying. The blessed bishop Pius himself frequently visited us with joy, and offered the sacrifice for us to the Saviour.

'Then Pudentiana went to God. Her sister and I wrapped her in perfumes and kept her concealed in the oratory. Then, at the end of twenty-eight days, we carried her to the cemetery of Priscilla, and laid her near her father Pudens.

'Eleven months after, Novatus died in his turn. He bequeathed his goods to Praxedis, and she then begged of S. Pius to erect a titular [a church] in the baths of Novatus, which were no longer used, and where there was a large and spacious hall. The bishop made the dedication in the name of the blessed virgin Praxedis. In the same place he consecrated a baptistery.

'But at the end of two years a great persecution was declared against the Christians, and many of them received the crown of martyrdom. Praxedis concealed a great number of them in her oratory, and nourished them at once with the food of this world and with the Word of God. But the Emperor Antonine, having learnt that these meetings took place in the oratory of Praxedis, caused it to be searched, and many Christians were taken, especially the priest Simetrius and twenty-two others; and the blessed Praxedis collected their bodies by night, and buried them in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the seventh day of the calends of June. Then the virgin of the Saviour, worn out with sorrow, only asked for death. Her tears and her prayers reached to heaven, and fifty-four days after her brethren had suffered she passed to God; and I, Pastor, the priest, have buried her body near that of her father Pudens.'—*From the Narration of Pastor.*

Returning by the main line of streets to the Quattro Fontane, we pass, on the left, the **Church of S. Paolo Primo Eremita**, rebuilt by Pius VI. in 1765. The strange-looking palm tree over the door, with a raven perched upon it and two lions below, commemorates the story of the saint, who, retiring to the desert at the age of 22, lived there till he was 112, eating nothing but the dates of his tree for twenty-two years, after which bread was daily brought to him by a raven. In his last hours S. Anthony came to visit him, and was present at his burial, when two lions, his companions, came to dig his grave. The sustaining palm tree and the three animals who loved S. Paolo were again represented over the altar. In 1884 this church was converted by the Ministry of Public Instruction into a hall of physiological anatomy! Farther on the left we pass the Via S. Vitale, occupying part of the site of the Vicus Longus, considered by Dyer to have been the longest street in the ancient city. Here stood the Temples of Sylvanus and of Fever, with that of Pudicitia Plebeia, founded *c.* B.C. 297, by Virginia the patrician, wife of Volumnius, when excluded from the patrician Temple of Pudicitia in the Forum Boarium, on account of her plebeian marriage. 'At its altar none but plebeian matrons of unimpeachable chastity, and who had been married to only one husband, were allowed to sacrifice.'[1]

The **Church of S. Vitale**, on the Viminal, which now stands here,

[1] Dyer, p. 94.

facing the Via Nazionale, was founded by Innocent I. in A.D. 416. The interior is covered with frescoes of martyrdoms. It is seldom open except early on Sunday mornings. S. Vitale, father of S. Gervasius and S. Protasius, was the martyr and patron saint of Ravenna, who was buried alive under Nero. The modern Via Nazionale leads from S. Maria degli Angeli to the Corso—passing across the end of the Piazza SS. Apostoli—and contains the **American Church**, a gothic building by *Street*, utterly unsuited to Rome, and the *Galleria d'Arte Moderna* (admission 1 fr.). Continuing the Via delle Quattro Fontane, on the left is the **Church of S. Dionisio**, belonging to the Basilican nuns, called Apostoline di S. Basilio. It contains an Ecce Homo of *Luca Giordano*, and the gaudy shrine of the virgin martyr S. Coraola.

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END OF VOL. I.

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'Agatha was a maiden of Catania, in Sicily, whither Decius the emperor sent Quintianus as governor. He, inflamed by the beauty of Agatha, tempted her with rich gifts and promises, but she repulsed him with disdain. Then Quintianus ordered her to be bound and beaten with rods, and sent two of his slaves to tear her bosom with iron shears, and, as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, "O thou cruel tyrant! art thou not ashamed to tear me thus?—hast thou not thyself been fed at thy mother's breasts?" Thus only did she murmur. And in the night a venerable man came to her, bearing a vase of ointment, and before him walked a youth bearing a torch. It was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was an angel; but Agatha knew it not, though such a glorious light filled the prison, that the guards fled in terror. . . . Then S. Peter made himself known and ministered to her, restoring with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus, infuriated, demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire, but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.'—*From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.'*

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great *Convent of S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via dei Serpenti*, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ veniebat Julius Albâ;
Lunaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistrae:
Retulit ille gradus; horrueruntque comae.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in mediâ visus adesse viâ.'

—*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive*. No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed: 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering-pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then veiled from head to foot in heavy folds of thick serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'è vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street—the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red-hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

'Blessed Laurentius as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."'—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head is at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
>
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. María Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

. . . . . .

[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

'Je n'oublierai jamais le soir où, après avoir longtemps cherché le lieu qui vit la mort de Servius et le crime de Tullie, tout à coup je découvris clairement que j'y étais arrivé, et m'arrêtant plein d'horreur, comme le cocher de la parricide, plongeant dans l'ombre un regard qui, malgré moi, y cherchait le cadavre du vieux roi, je me dis: "C'était là!"'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 153.

Turning to the left, at the foot of the Esquiline, we find the interesting **Church of S. Pudentiana**—Ecclesia Pudentiana[1]—supposed to be the most ancient of all the Roman churches ('omnium ecclesiarum urbis vetustissima'). Cardinal Wiseman, who took his title from this church, considered it was the principal place of worship in Rome after apostolic times, being founded on the site of the house where S. Paul lodged, A.D. 41 to 50, with the senator Pudens, whose family were his first converts, and who is said to have himself suffered martyrdom under Nero. On this ancient place of worship an oratory was engrafted by Pius I. (*c.* A.D. 145), in memory of the younger daughter of Pudens, Pudentiana, perhaps at the request of her sister Prassede, who is believed to have survived till that time. In very early times two small churches existed here, known as 'Titulus Pudentis' and 'Titulus Pastoris,' the latter in memory of the brother of Pius I.

The church, which has been successively altered by Adrian I. in the eighth century, by Gregory VII., and by Innocent II., was finally modernised by Cardinal Caëtani in 1597. Little remains of ancient external work except the graceful brick campanile (*c.* 1130), with triple arcades of open arches on every side, separated by bands of terra-cotta moulding; and the door adorned with low reliefs of the Lamb bearing a cross, and of S. Prassede and S. Pudentiana, with the vases in which they collected the blood of the martyrs, and two other figures, probably S. Pudens and S. Pastor.

The chapel on the left of the tribune, which is regarded as the 'Titulus Pudentis,' has an old mosaic pavement, said to have belonged to the house of Pudens. Here is a bas-relief by Giacomo della Porta, representing our Saviour delivering the keys to S. Peter; and here is preserved part of the altar at which S. Peter is said to have celebrated mass (the rest is at the Lateran), and which was used by all the early popes till the time of Sylvester. Among early christian inscriptions let into the walls, is one to a Cornelia, of the family of the Pudentiani, with a rude portrait.

Opening from the left aisle is the chapel of the Caëtani family, with tombs of the seventeenth century. Over the altar is a bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi, by *Paolo Olivieri*. On each side are fine columns of Lumachella marble. Over the entrance from the nave are ancient mosaics—of the Evangelists and of S. Pudentiana collecting the blood of the martyrs. Beneath is a gloomy and neglected vault, in which all the sarcophagi and coffins of the dead Caëtani are shown by torchlight.

[1] The Church of Pudens, and the early christian buildings of Rome were never named from a saint, but from their founders, or the owners of the site on which they were built.

In the tribune are magnificent mosaics, ascribed to the fourth century, and considered by Poussin and afterwards by De Rossi[1] as the best of all ancient christian mosaics, as they are the oldest, dating from A.D. 398. They were mutilated by Cardinal Enrico Caëtani in 1588.

'In conception and treatment this work is indeed classic: seated on a rich throne in the centre is the Saviour with one arm extended, and in the other holding a book open at the words, *Conservator Ecclesiae Pudentianae;* laterally stand SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana with leafy crowns in their hands; and at a lower level, but more in front, SS. Peter and Paul with eight other male figures, all in the amply-flowing costume of ancient Romans; while in the background are seen, beyond a portico with arcades, various stately buildings, one a rotunda, another a parallelogram with a gable-headed front, recognisable as a baptistery and basilica, here, we may believe, in authentic copy from the earliest types of the period of the first christian emperors. Above the group and hovering in the air, a large cross, studded with gems, surmounts the head of our Saviour, between the four symbols of the Evangelists, of which one has been entirely, and another in the greater part, sacrificed to some wretched accessories in woodwork actually allowed to conceal portions of this most interesting mosaic. As to expression, a severe solemnity is that prevailing, especially in the principal head, which *alone* is crowned with the nimbus—one among other proofs, if but negative, of its high antiquity.'—*Hemans' 'Ancient Christian Art.'*

Besides S. Pudentiana and S. Pudens, S. Novatus and S. Siricius are said to be buried there. Those who visit this sanctuary every day obtain an indulgence of three thousand years, with remission of a third part of their sins! Excavations made by Mr. J. H. Parker, in 1865, laid bare some interesting constructions beneath the church—supposed to be those of the house of Pudens—a part of the public baths of Novatus, the son of Pudens, which were in use for some centuries after his time, and a chamber in which is supposed to have been the oratory dedicated by Pius I. in A.D. 145.

'Eubulus greeteth thee, and *Pudens,* and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.'—2 *Timothy* iv. 21.

'Here the first converts met for prayers; here Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, obtained from Pius I. the institution of a regular parish-assembly (*titulus*) provided with a baptismal font; and here, for a long time, were preserved some pieces of household furniture which had been used by S. Peter. The tradition deserves attention because it was openly accepted at the beginning of the fourth century.'—*Lanciani.*

The following account of the family of Pudens is received as the legacy of Pastor to the Christian Church:—

'Pudens went to his Saviour, leaving his daughters strengthened with chastity, and learned in all the divine law. These sold their goods, and distributed the produce to the poor, and persevered strictly in the love of Christ, guarding intact the flower of their virginity, and only seeking for glory in vigils, fastings, and prayer. They desired to have a baptistery in their house, to which the blessed Pius not only consented, but with his own hand drew the plan of the fountain. Then calling in their slaves, both from town and country, the two virgins gave liberty to those who were Christians, and urged belief in the faith upon those who had not yet received it. By the advice of the blessed Pius, the affranchisement was declared, with all the ancient usages, in the oratory founded by Pudens; then, at the festival of Easter, ninety-six neophytes were baptized; so

[1] *Roma Cristiana.*

that henceforth assemblies were constantly held in the said oratory, which night and day resounded with hymns of praise. Many pagans gladly came thither to find the faith and receive baptism.

'Meanwhile the Emperor Antonine, being informed of what was taking place, issued an edict commanding all Christians to dwell apart in their own houses, without mixing with the rest of the people, and that they should neither go to the public shops nor to the baths. Praxedis and Pudentiana then assembled those whom they had led to the faith, and housed them. They nourished them for many days, watching and praying. The blessed bishop Pius himself frequently visited us with joy, and offered the sacrifice for us to the Saviour.

'Then Pudentiana went to God. Her sister and I wrapped her in perfumes and kept her concealed in the oratory. Then, at the end of twenty-eight days, we carried her to the cemetery of Priscilla, and laid her near her father Pudens.

'Eleven months after, Novatus died in his turn. He bequeathed his goods to Praxedis, and she then begged of S. Pius to erect a titular [a church] in the baths of Novatus, which were no longer used, and where there was a large and spacious hall. The bishop made the dedication in the name of the blessed virgin Praxedis. In the same place he consecrated a baptistery.

'But at the end of two years a great persecution was declared against the Christians, and many of them received the crown of martyrdom. Praxedis concealed a great number of them in her oratory, and nourished them at once with the food of this world and with the Word of God. But the Emperor Antonine, having learnt that these meetings took place in the oratory of Praxedis, caused it to be searched, and many Christians were taken, especially the priest Simetrius and twenty-two others; and the blessed Praxedis collected their bodies by night, and buried them in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the seventh day of the calends of June. Then the virgin of the Saviour, worn out with sorrow, only asked for death. Her tears and her prayers reached to heaven, and fifty-four days after her brethren had suffered she passed to God; and I, Pastor, the priest, have buried her body near that of her father Pudens.'—*From the Narration of Pastor.*

Returning by the main line of streets to the Quattro Fontane, we pass, on the left, the **Church of S. Paolo Primo Eremita**, rebuilt by Pius VI. in 1765. The strange-looking palm tree over the door, with a raven perched upon it and two lions below, commemorates the story of the saint, who, retiring to the desert at the age of 22, lived there till he was 113, eating nothing but the dates of his tree for twenty-two years, after which bread was daily brought to him by a raven. In his last hours S. Anthony came to visit him, and was present at his burial, when two lions, his companions, came to dig his grave. The sustaining palm tree and the three animals who loved S. Paolo were again represented over the altar. In 1884 this church was converted by the Ministry of Public Instruction into a hall of physiological anatomy! Farther on the left we pass the Via S. Vitale, occupying part of the site of the Vicus Longus, considered by Dyer to have been the longest street in the ancient city. Here stood the Temples of Sylvanus and of Fever, with that of Pudicitia Plebeia, founded c. B.C. 297, by Virginia the patrician, wife of Volumnius, when excluded from the patrician Temple of Pudicitia in the Forum Boarium, on account of her plebeian marriage. 'At its altar none but plebeian matrons of unimpeachable chastity, and who had been married to only one husband, were allowed to sacrifice.'[1]

The **Church of S. Vitale**, on the Viminal, which now stands here,

[1] Dyer, p. 94.

facing the Via Nazionale, was founded by Innocent I. in A.D. 416. The interior is covered with frescoes of martyrdoms. It is seldom open except early on Sunday mornings. S. Vitale, father of S. Gervasius and S. Protasius, was the martyr and patron saint of Ravenna, who was buried alive under Nero. The modern Via Nazionale leads from S. Maria degli Angeli to the Corso—passing across the end of the Piazza SS. Apostoli—and contains the **American Church**, a gothic building by *Street*, utterly unsuited to Rome, and the *Galleria d'Arte Moderna* (admission 1 fr.). Continuing the Via delle Quattro Fontane, on the left is the **Church of S. Dionisio**, belonging to the Basilican nuns, called Apostoline di S. Basilio. It contains an Ecce Homo of *Luca Giordano*, and the gaudy shrine of the virgin martyr S. Coraola.

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'Agatha was a maiden of Catania, in Sicily, whither Decius the emperor sent Quintianus as governor. He, inflamed by the beauty of Agatha, tempted her with rich gifts and promises, but she repulsed him with disdain. Then Quintianus ordered her to be bound and beaten with rods, and sent two of his slaves to tear her bosom with iron shears, and, as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, "O thou cruel tyrant! art thou not ashamed to tear me thus?—hast thou not thyself been fed at thy mother's breasts?" Thus only did she murmur. And in the night a venerable man came to her, bearing a vase of ointment, and before him walked a youth bearing a torch. It was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was an angel; but Agatha knew it not, though such a glorious light filled the prison, that the guards fled in terror. . . . Then S. Peter made himself known and ministered to her, restoring with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus, infuriated, demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire, but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.'—*From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.*'

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great *Convent of S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via dei Serpenti*, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ veniebat Julius Albâ;
Lunaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistrae:
Retulit ille gradus; horrueruntque comae.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in mediâ visus adesse viâ.'

—*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died ; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux ; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe ; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts ; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive.* No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior ; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed : 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate ;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering-pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then veiled from head to foot in heavy folds of thick serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'è vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street—the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red-hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

'Blessed Laurentius as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."'—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. María Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

. . . . . .

[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

'Le Viminal prenoit le nom de cette source longtemps cherchée le lieu qui vit le meurtre de Remus et la retraite de Tarquin, le tombeau de Servius, enfermé dans l'enceinte de Rome, les sept collines et la république, tout enfin, jusqu'au nom de Rome, tout cherchait le cadavre du fondateur, jusqu'au nom de Quirinal.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 152.

Turning to the left, at the foot of the Esquiline, we find the interesting **Church of S. Pudentiana**—Ecclesia Pudentiana[1]—supposed to be the most ancient of all the Roman churches ('omnium ecclesiarum urbis vetustissima'). Cardinal Wiseman, who took his title from this church, considered it was the principal place of worship in Rome after apostolic times, being founded on the site of the house where S. Paul lodged, A.D. 41 to 50, with the senator Pudens, whose family were his first converts, and who is said to have himself suffered martyrdom under Nero. On this ancient place of worship an oratory was engrafted by Pius I. (*c.* A.D. 145), in memory of the younger daughter of Pudens, Pudentiana, perhaps at the request of her sister Prassede, who is believed to have survived till that time. In very early times two small churches existed here, known as 'Titulus Pudentis' and 'Titulus Pastoris,' the latter in memory of the brother of Pius I.

The church, which has been successively altered by Adrian I. in the eighth century, by Gregory VII., and by Innocent II., was finally modernised by Cardinal Caëtani in 1597. Little remains of ancient external work except the graceful brick campanile (*c.* 1130), with triple arcades of open arches on every side, separated by bands of terra cotta moulding; and the door adorned with low reliefs of the Lamb bearing a cross, and of S. Prassede and S. Pudentiana, with the vases in which they collected the blood of the martyrs, and two other figures, probably S. Pudens and S. Pastor.

The chapel on the left of the tribune, which is regarded as the 'Titulus Pudentis,' has an old mosaic pavement, said to have belonged to the house of Pudens. Here is a bas-relief by Giacomo della Porta, representing our Saviour delivering the keys to S. Peter; and here is preserved part of the altar at which S. Peter is said to have celebrated mass (the rest is at the Lateran), and which was used by all the early popes till the time of Sylvester. Among early christian inscriptions let into the walls, is one to a Cornelia, of the family of the Pudentiani, with a rude portrait.

Opening from the left aisle is the chapel of the Caëtani family, with tombs of the seventeenth century. Over the altar is a bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi, by *Paolo Olivieri*. On each side are fine columns of Lumachella marble. Over the entrance from the nave are ancient mosaics of the Evangelists and of S. Pudentiana collecting the blood of the martyrs. Beneath is a gloomy and neglected vault, in which all the sarcophagi and coffins of the dead Caëtani are shown by torchlight.

[1] The church of Pudens, one of the early christian buildings of Rome were never known by a name but from their founders, or the owners of the site on which they were built.

In the tribune are magnificent mosaics, ascribed to the fourth century, and considered by Poussin and afterwards by De Rossi[1] as the best of all ancient christian mosaics, as they are the oldest, dating from A.D. 398. They were mutilated by Cardinal Enrico Caëtani in 1588.

'In conception and treatment this work is indeed classic: seated on a rich throne in the centre is the Saviour with one arm extended, and in the other holding a book open at the words, *Conservator Ecclesiae Pudentianae;* laterally stand SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana with leafy crowns in their hands; and at a lower level, but more in front, SS. Peter and Paul with eight other male figures, all in the amply-flowing costume of ancient Romans; while in the background are seen, beyond a portico with arcades, various stately buildings, one a rotunda, another a parallelogram with a gable-headed front, recognisable as a baptistery and basilica, here, we may believe, in authentic copy from the earliest types of the period of the first christian emperors. Above the group and hovering in the air, a large cross, studded with gems, surmounts the head of our Saviour, between the four symbols of the Evangelists, of which one has been entirely, and another in the greater part, sacrificed to some wretched accessories in woodwork actually allowed to conceal portions of this most interesting mosaic. As to expression, a severe solemnity is that prevailing, especially in the principal head, which *alone* is crowned with the nimbus—one among other proofs, if but negative, of its high antiquity.'—*Hemans*' '*Ancient Christian Art.*'

Besides S. Pudentiana and S. Pudens, S. Novatus and S. Siricius are said to be buried there. Those who visit this sanctuary every day obtain an indulgence of three thousand years, with remission of a third part of their sins! Excavations made by Mr. J. H. Parker, in 1865, laid bare some interesting constructions beneath the church—supposed to be those of the house of Pudens—a part of the public baths of Novatus, the son of Pudens, which were in use for some centuries after his time, and a chamber in which is supposed to have been the oratory dedicated by Pius I. in A.D. 145.

'Eubulus greeteth thee, and *Pudens*, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.'—2 *Timothy* iv. 21.

'Here the first converts met for prayers; here Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, obtained from Pius I. the institution of a regular parish-assembly (*titulus*) provided with a baptismal font; and here, for a long time, were preserved some pieces of household furniture which had been used by S. Peter. The tradition deserves attention because it was openly accepted at the beginning of the fourth century.'—*Lanciani.*

The following account of the family of Pudens is received as the legacy of Pastor to the Christian Church:—

'Pudens went to his Saviour, leaving his daughters strengthened with chastity, and learned in all the divine law. These sold their goods, and distributed the produce to the poor, and persevered strictly in the love of Christ, guarding intact the flower of their virginity, and only seeking for glory in vigils, fastings, and prayer. They desired to have a baptistery in their house, to which the blessed Pius not only consented, but with his own hand drew the plan of the fountain. Then calling in their slaves, both from town and country, the two virgins gave liberty to those who were Christians, and urged belief in the faith upon those who had not yet received it. By the advice of the blessed Pius, the affranchisement was declared, with all the ancient usages, in the oratory founded by Pudens; then, at the festival of Easter, ninety-six neophytes were baptized; so

[1] *Roma Cristiana.*

> [illegible] with a [illegible] and [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] many pagans gladly came hither to [illegible].
>
> [illegible] being informed of what was taking place, [illegible] in their own houses. [illegible] and neither go [illegible] Praxedis and Pudentiana then assembled [illegible] and [illegible] them. They nourished them [illegible] Pius himself [illegible] the [illegible].
>
> [illegible] Her sister and I wrapped her in perfumes [illegible] Then at the end of twenty-eight days, [illegible] and laid her near her father Pudens.
>
> [illegible] He bequeathed his goods to [illegible] a church, in the baths [illegible] and where there was a large and spacious [illegible] in the name of the blessed virgin Praxedis. [illegible]
>
> [illegible] a great persecution was declared against the [illegible] the crown of martyrdom. Praxedis concealed a great number of them in her oratory, and nourished them at once with the food of this world and with the Word of God. But the Emperor Antonine, [illegible] that these meetings took place in the oratory of Praxedis, caused [illegible] Christians were taken, especially the priest Simetrius [illegible] and the blessed Praxedis collected their bodies by night, and buried them in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the seventh day of the calends of [illegible] Then the virgin of the Saviour, worn out with sorrow, only asked for death. Her tears and her prayers reached to heaven, and fifty-four days after her [illegible] she passed to God; and I, Pastor, the priest, have buried her body near that of her father Pudens.' *From the Narration of Pastor.*

Returning by the main line of streets to the Quattro Fontane, we pass, on the left, the **Church of S. Paolo Primo Eremita**, rebuilt by Pius VI. in 1775. The strange looking palm tree over the door, with a raven perched upon it and two lions below, commemorates the story of the saint, who, retiring to the desert at the age of 22, lived there till he was 113, eating nothing but the dates of his tree for [illegible] years, after which bread was daily brought to him by a raven. In his last hours S. Anthony came to visit him, and was present at his burial, when two lions, his companions, came to dig his grave. The sustaining palm tree and the three animals who loved S. Paolo were again represented over the altar. In 1884 this church was converted by the Ministry of Public Instruction into a hall of [illegible] anatomy! Farther on the left we pass the Via S. Vitale occupying part of the site of the Vicus Longus, considered [illegible] to have been the longest street in the ancient city. Here stood the Temples of Sylvanus and of Fever, with that of [illegible] by Virginia the patrician wife [illegible] the patrician Temple of Pudicitia [illegible] marriage. [illegible] chastity, and [illegible] were allowed to [illegible]

[illegible] S. Vitale [illegible] which now stands here.

facing the Via Nazionale, was founded by Innocent I. in A.D. 416. The interior is covered with frescoes of martyrdoms. It is seldom open except early on Sunday mornings. S. Vitale, father of S. Gervasius and S. Protasius, was the martyr and patron saint of Ravenna, who was buried alive under Nero. The modern Via Nazionale leads from S. Maria degli Angeli to the Corso—passing across the end of the Piazza SS. Apostoli—and contains the **American Church**, a gothic building by *Street*, utterly unsuited to Rome, and the *Galleria d'Arte Moderna* (admission 1 fr.). Continuing the Via delle Quattro Fontane, on the left is the **Church of S. Dionisio**, belonging to the Basilican nuns, called Apostoline di S. Basilio. It contains an Ecce Homo of *Luca Giordano*, and the gaudy shrine of the virgin martyr S. Coraola.

houses, is one of the best things done in Rome since the Sardinian rule. A fine house of the first century A.D., with exquisitely painted walls, was discovered near this in June 1884, but its destruction was at once ordered.

Opposite is the **Church of S. Caterina di Siena**, possessing some frescoes attributed, on doubtful grounds, to the rare master *Timoteo della Vite*. Adjoining is a large convent, inclosed within the precincts of which is the tall brick mediaeval tower, sometimes called the Tower of Nero, but generally known as the **Torre del Milizie**, *i.e.* of the Roman Militia. It was erected by the sons of Peter Alexius, a baron attached to the party of Senator Pandolfo de Suburra. The lower part is said to have been built in 1210, the upper in 1294 and 1330.

'People pass through two regular courses of study at Rome—the first in learning, and the second in unlearning.

'"This is the Tower of Nero, from which he saw the city in flames—and this is the Temple of Concord—and this is the Temple of Castor and Pollux—and this is the Temple of Vesta—and these are the Baths of Paulus Aemilius," and so on, says your lacquey.

'"This is not the Tower of Nero—nor that the Temple of Castor and Pollux—nor the other the Temple of Concord—nor are any of these things what they are called," says your antiquary.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The Convent of S. Caterina was built by the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, who requested the advice of Michelangelo on the subject, and was told she had better make the ancient 'Torre' into a belfry. A very curious account of the interview in which this subject was discussed, and which took place in the Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, is left us in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a Portuguese painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

Near this point are two other fine mediaeval towers. One, now engrafted in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent to the Piazza Venezia, is that of the Colonna, now called **Tor di Babele**, and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured frieze, one of them bearing the device of the Colonna, a crowned column rising from a wreath. The other tower, immediately facing us, is called **Torre del Grillo**, from the ancient family of that name.

Opposite S. Caterina is the handsome **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto**, approached by a good double twisted staircase, the effect of which was greatly injured by the changes of 1870–77. Over the second altar on the left is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine by *Allegrani*, and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage (July 19), the dried hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the unspeakable comfort of the faithful.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the palaces of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or reburied) which once lined the Vicus Longus. These included, on the right, the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, Publia Materna, C. Articuleius Germanianus, Tiberius Julius Frugi,

C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus, &c.[1]

We turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into the Via Magnanopoli—formerly Bagnanopoli, a corruption of Balnea Pauli—Baths of Emilius Paulus, a name given to the ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to Naples. On the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The present Prince Aldobrandini is brother of the late Prince Borghese. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, generally known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery furnace ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

In the Via di Mazzarini, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the court-yard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. A tradition declares that this (like S. Sabba on the Aventine) is on the site of a house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, who consecrated the church after it had been plundered by the Goths, and dedicated it to S. Agata. It was rebuilt by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome opus-alexandrinum pavement are the only remaining signs of antiquity. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of Daniel O'Connell, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIII., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born vi. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died xv. May, MDCCCXLVIII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of the left aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had his palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the opposite chapel is a gilt figure of S. Agata carrying her breasts—showing the manner in which she suffered.

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[1] See Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 8, 1884.

volumes of Scripture, which nobody could approach unless he had first been washed—that is, baptized—in the water of the shell. But the Prague MS. of the *Mirabilia* interprets the female figure to represent Science, and the serpents to typify the disputed questions with which she is concerned.'—*Dyer's 'Hist. of the City of Rome.'*

'L'imitation du grand style de Phidias est visible dans plusieurs sculptures qu'il a inspirées, et surtout dans les colosses de Castor et Pollux, domptant des chevaux, qui ont fait donner à une partie du mont Quirinal le nom de *Monte Cavallo*.

'Il ne faut faire aucune attention aux inscriptions qui attribuent un des deux colosses à Phidias et l'autre à Praxitèle, Praxitèle dont le style n'a rien à faire ici; son nom a été inscrit sur la base de l'une des deux statues, comme Phèdre le reprochait déjà à des faussaires du temps d'Auguste, qui croyaient augmenter le mérite d'un nouvel ouvrage en y mettant le nom de Praxitèle. Quelle que soit l'époque où les colosses de Monte Cavallo ont été exécutés, malgré quelques différences, on doit affirmer que les deux originaux étaient de la même école, de l'école de Phidias.'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* iii. 252.

'Chacun des deux héros dompte d'une seule main un cheval fougueux qui se cabre. Ces formes colossales, cette lutte de l'homme avec les animaux, donnent, comme tous les ouvrages des anciens, une admirable idée de la puissance physique de la nature humaine.'—*Mad. de Staël.*

> 'Ye too, marvellous Twain, that erect on the Monte Cavallo
> Stand by your rearing steeds in the grace of your motionless movement,
> Stand with upstretched arms and tranquil regardant faces,
> Stand as instinct with life in the might of immutable manhood,—
> O ye mighty and strange, ye ancient divine ones of Hellas.'
>
> —*Clough.*

'Before me were the two Monte Cavallo statues, towering gigantically above the pygmies of the present day, and looking like Titans in the act of threatening heaven. Over my head the stars were just beginning to look out, and might have been taken for guardian angels keeping watch over the temples below. Behind, and on my left, were palaces; on my right, gardens, and hills beyond, with the orange tints of sunset over them still glowing in the distance. Within a stone's throw of me, in the midst of objects thus glorious in themselves, and thus in harmony with each other, was stuck an unplaned post, on which glimmered a paper lantern. Such is Rome.'—'*Guesses at Truth.*'

'Pius VI. changed the position of the statues and turned them round, and the ever-conservative and ever-discontented Roman people were disgusted by the change. On the pedestal of one of them are the words "Opus Phidiae." A punning placard was at once stuck upon the inscription with the legend, "Opus Perfidiae Pii Sexti."'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Close by is a fountain playing into a fine basin of Egyptian granite, brought hither by Pius VII. from the Forum, where it had long been used for watering cattle.

On the left is the **Palace of the Consulta,** built in 1730 by Clement XII. (Corsini), from designs of Fuga. Before its gates, under the popes, some of the Guardia Nobile were always to be seen sunning themselves in a uniform so resplendent that it was scarcely to be believed that the pay of this 'noble guard' of the pope amounted only to £5, 6s. 3d. a month.

On the right is the immense **Palace of the Quirinal,** now the **Royal Palace,** which also extends along one whole side of the street we have been pursuing. It may be visited on Thursday and Sunday from 12 to 3, with a permesso to be obtained between 10 and 12 at the Ministero della Casa Reale, in the Via del Quirinale, near S. Andrea.

'That palace-building, ruin-destroying pope, Paul IV., began to erect the enormous palace on the Quirinal Hill; and the prolongation of his labours, by a long series of successive pontiffs, has made it one of the largest and ugliest buildings extant.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The chief, indeed almost the only, interest of this palace arises from its having been the favourite residence of Pius VII. (Chiaramonte). It was here that he was taken prisoner by the French. General Radet forced his way into the pope's room on the night of June 6th, 1809, and, while excusing himself for being the messenger, hastily intimated to the pontiff, in the name of the emperor, that he must at once abdicate his temporal sovereignty. Pius absolutely refused, upon which he was forced to descend the staircase, and found a coach waiting at the entrance of the palace. Here the pope paused, his face streaming with tears, and, standing in the starlit piazza, solemnly extended his arms in benediction over his sleeping people. Then he entered the carriage, followed by Cardinal Pacca, and was hurried away to exile. . . . 'Whirled away through the heat and dust of an Italian summer's day, without an attendant, without linen, without his spectacles—fevered and wearied, he never for a moment lost his serenity. Cardinal Pacca tells us, that when they had just started on this most dismal of journeys, the pope asked him if he had any money. The secretary of state replied, that he had had no opportunity of providing himself. "We then drew forth our purses," continues the cardinal, "and, notwithstanding the state of affliction we were in at being thus torn away from Rome and all that was dear to us, we could hardly compose our countenances, on finding the contents of each purse to consist—of the pope's, of a papetto (10d.), and of mine, of three grossi (7½d.). We had precisely thirty-five baiocchi between us. The pope, extending his hand, showed his papetto to General Radet, saying, at the same time, "Look here—this is all I possess."'[1] . . . Six years after Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, and Pius VII. returned in triumph to Rome!

It was from this same palace that Pius IX.—who never afterwards inhabited it—made his escape to Gaëta during the Revolution of 1848, when the siege of the Quirinal by the insurgents had succeeded in extorting the appointment of a democratic ministry.

'On the afternoon of November 24th, the Duc d'Harcourt had arrived at the Quirinal in his coach as ambassador of France, and craved an audience of the sovereign. The guards wondered that he stayed so long; but they knew not that he sat reading the newspapers in the papal study, while the pope had retired to his bedroom to change his dress. Here his major-domo, Filippani, had laid out the black cassock and dress of an ordinary priest. The pontiff took off his purple stole and white pontifical robe, and came forth in the simple garb he had worn in his quiet youth. The Duc d'Harcourt threw himself on his knees, exclaiming, "Go forth, holy Father; divine wisdom inspires this counsel, divine power will lead it to a happy end." By secret passages and narrow staircases Pius IX. and his trusty servant passed unseen to a little door, used only occasionally for the Swiss guards, and by which they were to leave the palace. They reached it, and bethought them that the key had been forgotten! Filippani hastened back to the papal apartment to fetch it; and returning unquestioned to the wicket, found the pontiff on his knees, and quite absorbed in prayer. The wards were rusty, and the key turned with difficulty; but the door was opened at last, and the holy fugitive and his servant quickly entered a poor hackney coach that was waiting for them outside. Here again they ran risk of being discovered through the thoughtless adherence to old etiquette of the other servant, who stood by the coach, and who, having let down the steps, knelt, as usual, before he shut the door.

'The pope wore a dark greatcoat over his priest's cassock, a low-crowned round hat, and a broad brown woollen neckcloth outside his straight Roman collar. Filippani had on his usual loose cloak; but under this he carried the three-cornered hat of the pope, a bundle of the most private and secret papers, the

[1] Cardinal Wiseman's '*Life of Pius VII.*'

papal seals, the breviary, the cross-embroidered slippers, a small quantity of linen, and a little box full of gold medals stamped with the likeness of his Holiness. From the inside of the carriage he directed the coachman to follow many winding and diverging streets, in the hope of misleading the spies, who were known to swarm at every corner. Beside the Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, in the deserted quarter beyond the Coliseum, they found the Bavarian minister, Count Spaur, waiting in his own private carriage, and imagining every danger which could have detained them so long. The sovereign pressed the hand of his faithful Filippani and entered the Count's carriage. Silently they drove on through the old gate of Rome—Count Spaur having there shown the passport of the Bavarian minister going to Naples on affairs of state.

'Meanwhile the Duc d'Harcourt grew tired of reading the newspapers in the Pope's study; and when he thought that his Holiness must be far beyond the walls of Rome, he left the palace, and taking post-horses, hastened with all speed to overtake the fugitive on the road to Civita Vecchia, whither he believed him to be flying. As he left the study in the Quirinal, a prelate entered with a large bundle of ecclesiastical papers, on which, he said, he had to confer with the Pope; then his chamberlain went in to read to him his breviary and the office of the day. The rooms were lighted up, and the supper taken in as usual; and at length it was stated that his Holiness, feeling somewhat unwell, had retired to rest; and his attendants and the guard of honour were dismissed for the night. It is true that a certain prelate, who chanced to see the little door by which the fugitive had escaped into the street left open, began to cry out, "The pope has escaped! the pope has escaped!" But Prince Gabrielli was beside him, and clapping his hand upon the mouth of the alarmist, silenced him in time, by whispering, "Be quiet, Monsignore; be quiet, or we shall be cut to pieces!"

'Near La Riccia, the fugitives found Countess Spaur (who had arranged the whole plan of the escape) waiting with a coach and six horses, in which they pursued their journey to Gaëta, reaching the Neapolitan frontier between five and six in the morning. The pope throughout carried with him the sacrament in the pyx which Pius the Seventh carried when he was taken prisoner to France, and which, as if with prescience of what would happen, had been lately sent to him as a memorial by the Bishop of Avignon.'—*Beste.*

On the death of Pius VII. in the Quirinal Palace, the cardinals met here for the election of his successor, in accordance with the law prescribing that a conclave shall meet in the palace where the pope dies. Without warranty of any kind, however, the conclaves which resulted in the elections of Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., also met in the Quirinal Palace, to the desertion of the Vatican.

'In the afternoon of the last day of the novendiali, as they are called, after the death of a pope, the cardinals assemble (at S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo), and walk in procession, accompanied by their conclavisti, a secretary, a chaplain, and a servant or two, to the great gate of the royal residence, in which one will remain as master and supreme lord. Of course the hill is crowded by persons lining the avenue kept open for the procession. Cardinals never before seen by them, or not for many years, pass before them; eager eyes scan and measure them, and try to conjecture, from fancied omens in eye, in figure, or in expression, who will be shortly the sovereign of their fair city; and, what is much more, the head of the Catholic Church, from the rising to the setting sun. They all enter equal over the threshold of that gate: they share together the supreme rule, spiritual and temporal: there is still embosomed in them all the voice, yet silent, that will soon sound from one tongue over all the world, and the dormant germ of that authority which will soon again be concentrated in one man alone. To-day they are all equal; perhaps to-morrow one will sit enthroned, and all the rest will kiss his feet; one will be sovereign, and others his subjects; one the shepherd, and the others his flock. . . .

'From the Quirinal Palace stretches out, the length of a whole street, an immense wing, divided in its two upper floors into a great number of small

but complete suites of apartments, occupied permanently or occasionally by persons attached to the Court. During conclave these are allotted, literally so, to the cardinals, each of whom lives apart with his own attendants. His food is brought daily from his own house, and is overhauled, and delivered to him in the shape of "broken victuals," by the watchful guardians of the *turns* and lattices, through which alone anything, even conversation, can penetrate into the seclusion of that sacred retreat. For a few hours the first evening the doors are left open, and the nobility, the diplomatic body, and, in fact, all presentable persons, may roam from cell to cell, paying a brief compliment to its occupant, perhaps speaking the same good wishes to fifty, which they know can only be accomplished in one. After that, all is closed. A wicket is left accessible for any cardinal to enter who is not yet arrived; but every aperture is jealously guarded by faithful janitors, judges and prelates of various tribunals, who relieve one another. Every letter even is opened and read, that no communication may be held with the outer world. The very street on which the wing of the conclave looks is barricaded and guarded by a picket at each end; and as, fortunately, opposite there are no private residences, and all the buildings have access from the back, no inconvenience is thereby created. . . . In the meantime, within, and unseen from without, *fervet opus*.

'Twice a day the cardinals meet in the chapel belonging to the palace, included in the enclosure, and there, on tickets so arranged that the voter's name cannot be seen, write the name of him for whom they give their suffrage. These papers are examined in their presence, and if the number of votes given to any one do not constitute the majority, they are burnt in such a manner that the smoke (the *spumata*), issuing through a flue, is visible to the crowd usually assembled in the square outside. Some day, instead of this usual signal to disperse, the sound of pick and hammer is heard, a small opening is seen in the wall which had temporarily blocked up the great window over the palace gateway. At last the masons of the conclave have opened a rude door, through which steps out on the balcony the first cardinal deacon, and proclaims to the many, or to the few, who may happen to be in waiting, that they again possess a sovereign and a pontiff.'[1]—*Cardinal Wiseman*.

'Sais-tu ce que c'est qu'un conclave? Une réunion de vieillards, moins occupés du ciel que de la terre, et dont quelques-uns se font plus maladifs, plus goutteux, et plus cacochymes qu'ils ne le sont encore, dans l'espérance d'inspirer un vif intérêt à leurs partisans. Grand nombre d'éminences ne renonçant jamais à la possibilité d'une élection, le rival le plus près de la tombe excite toujours le moins de répugnance. Un rhumatisme est ici un titre à la confiance; l'hydropisie a ses partisans: car l'ambition et la mort comptent sur les mêmes chances. Le cercueil sert comme de marchepied au trône; et il y a tel pieux candidat qui négocierait avec son concurrent, si la durée du nouveau règne pouvait avoir son terme obligatoire comme celui d'un effet de commerce. Eh! ne sais-tu pas toi-même que le pâtre d'Ancône brûla gaiement ses béquilles dès qu'il eut ceint la tiare; et que Léon X., élu à trente-huit ans, avait eu grand soin de ne guérir d'un mal mortel que le lendemain de son couronnement?'—*Lorenzo Ganganelli* (*Clement XIV.*) *à Carlo Bertinazzi*, 16 *Avril* 1769.

The palace was forcibly seized in October 1871 by Victor Emmanuel II. of Sardinia, who died here January 9, 1878, having received in his last hours a sublime message of pardon from the pontiff he had outraged, and who would have come in person to give the deathbed absolution if he had not been forcibly prevented by the Jesuits.

'When the Italians had taken Rome, a detachment of soldiers, accompanied by a smith and his assistants, marched up to the gate of the Quirinal. Not a

[1] The form of the announcement in the case of Pius IX. was: 'Nuntio vobis gaudium magnum: Papam habemus eminentissimum et reverendissimum dominum Joannem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem Mastai-Ferretti, Presbyterum sub titulo Sancti Marcellini et Petri, qui nomen sibi adscivit Pium IX.'

soul was within,' and they had instructions to enter and take possession of the palace. In the presence of a small and silent crowd of sullen-looking men of the people, the doors were forced.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The palace is now the residence of King Umberto, and the popular Queen Margherita, his first cousin, whom he obtained a dispensation to marry, on payment to the pope of 500,000 fr. The interior of the building is little worth seeing. On the landing of the principal staircase, in a bad light, is a very important fresco by *Melozzo da Forli*, a rare master of the Paduan school.[1]

'On the vaulted ceiling of a chapel in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, Melozzo executed a work (1472) which, in those times, can have admitted of comparison with few. When the chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century some fragments were saved. That comprehending the Creator between angels was removed to a staircase in the Quirinal Palace, while single figures of angels were placed in the sacristy of S. Peter's. These detached portions suffice to show a beauty and fulness of form, and a combination of earthly and spiritual grandeur, comparable in their way to the noblest productions of Titian, although in mode of execution rather recalling Correggio. Here, as in the cupola frescoes of Correggio himself, half a century later, we trace that constant effort at true perspective of the figure, hardly in character, perhaps, with high ecclesiastical art; the drapery, also, is of a somewhat formless description; but the grandeur of the principal figure, the grace and freshness of the little adoring cherubs, and the elevated beauty of the angels are expressed with an easy naïveté, to which only the best works of Mantegna and Signorelli can compare.'—*Kugler.*

Beyond a great hall, one hundred and ninety feet long, are a number of rooms which were fitted up by Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. for the papal summer residence. Several apartments have mosaic pavements, brought hither from pagan edifices. In one chamber Pius VII. was taken prisoner; in the next he died. The room, which is decorated with a fine modern tapestry of the martyrdom of S. Stephen, has a plaster frieze, being the original cast of the triumph of Alexander the Great, modelled for Napoleon by *Thorwaldsen.*

The *Private Chapel of the Popes*, opening from the picture-gallery, contains a magnificent picture of the Annunciation by *Guido*, and frescoes of the life of the Virgin by *Albani.*

The *Palazzino* has been erected for the accommodation of the Duchess of Genoa and other members of the royal family during their visits to Rome.

The *Gardens of the Quirinal*, which, under the Papal government, were a delightful resort for strangers, are now usually closed to the public. They are in the stiff style of box hedges and clipped avenues, which seems to belong especially to Rome, and which we know to have been popular here even in imperial times. John Evelyn (1644) found them amongst 'the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome.' Pliny, in his account of his Tusculan villa, describes his gardens decorated with 'figures of different animals, cut in box; evergreens clipped into a thousand different shapes; sometimes into letters forming different names; walls and hedges

[1] By this same master is the interesting fresco of Sixtus IV. and his nephews, now in the Vatican gallery.

of cut box, and trees twisted into a variety of forms. But the Quirinal gardens were also worth visiting, on account of the many pretty glimpses they afford of S. Peter's and other distant buildings, and the oddity of some of the devices—an organ played by water, &c. The Casino, built by Fuga, has frescoes by *Orizonte*, *Pompeo*, *Battoni*, and *Pannini*.

(The *Royal Stables* may be visited with an order from the Palazzo S. Felice, 21 Via della Dateria, from 12 to 3; or, without an order, on Thursday and Sunday from 10 to 12.)

If we turn to the left from the front of the palace, we reach—on the left—the entrance to the courtyard of the vast **Palazzo Rospigliosi**, built by Flaminio Ponzio, in 1603, for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on a portion of the site of the Baths of Constantine. It was inhabited by Cardinal Bentivoglio, and sold by him to Cardinal Mazarin, who enlarged it from designs of Carlo Maderno. His father died there. His niece brought it to the Dukes of Nevers, who (*c.* 1668) sold it to the Prince Rospigliosi, brother of the reigning Pope, Clement X. From the time of Mazarin to 1704 it was inhabited by French ambassadors.

The palace itself is not shown, but the *Casino* is open on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 9 to 3. It is situated at the end of a very small but pretty garden planted with magnolias, and consists of three chambers. On the roof of the central room is the famous Aurora of Guido.

'Guido's Aurora is the very type of haste and impetus; for surely no man ever imagined such hurry and tumult, such sounding and clashing. Painters maintain that it is lighted from two sides—they have my full permission to light *theirs* from three if it will improve them, but the difference lies elsewhere.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters*, p. 91.

'This is the noblest work of Guido. It is embodied poetry. The Hours, that hand in hand encircle the car of Phoebus, advance with rapid pace. The paler, milder forms of those gentle sisters who rule over declining day, and the glowing glance of those who bask in the meridian blaze, resplendent in the hues of heaven, are of no mortal grace and beauty; but they are eclipsed by Aurora herself, who sails on the golden clouds before them, shedding "showers of shadowing roses" on the rejoicing earth; her celestial presence diffusing gladness, and light, and beauty around. Above the heads of the heavenly coursers hovers the morning star, in the form of a youthful cherub, bearing his flaming torch. Nothing is more admirable in this beautiful composition than the motion given to the whole: the smooth and rapid step of the circling Hours as they tread on the fleecy clouds; the fiery steeds; the whirling wheels of the car; the torch of Lucifer, blown back by the velocity of his advance; and the form of Aurora, borne through the ambient air, till you almost fear she should float from your sight.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'The work of Guido is more poetic than that of Guercino, and luminous, and soft, and harmonious. Cupid, Aurora, Phoebus, form a climax of beauty, and the Hours seem as light as the clouds on which they dance.—*Forsyth.*

Lanzi points out that Guido always took the Venus de' Medici and the Niobe as his favourite models, and that there is scarcely one of his large pictures in which the Niobe or one of her sons is not introduced, yet with such dexterity that the theft is scarcely perceptible.

The frescoes of the frieze are by *Tempesta;* the landscape by *Paul Brill.* Two columns, twelve feet high, are, with the steps at

A Pyramid, the tomb known as Remus, a statue of the Greek marble—[illegible] in the [illegible] and a bronze horse [illegible]

There is also a [illegible] of pictures [illegible] of real importance. In the room on the left are two [illegible] Guercino di Cento of [illegible]. In the same room are two large pictures [illegible] with the seal of Grimani. Domenichino; and (34) Portrait [illegible] Agostino Carracci. No. 48 is a Holy Family by Luca Signorelli. In the room on the right are—Adam and Eve by Guercino, in a Paradise which is crowded with animals, like a menagerie, Domenichino; and (35) Samson pouring down the pillars upon the Philistines, Ludovico Carracci. Here also is a very remarkable picture (32) of Juno chastising Venus, by Lorenzo Lotti, full of life, motion, and fury.

'We willingly shared his appreciation of this finely conceived and carefully executed painting, and called it "The Victory of Chastity." It might with equal fitness be named Juno taking righteous vengeance on Venus. Juno, wrapped in a green mantle with a white drapery about her head, brandishes aloft Cupid's broken bow, and seems about to pour forth the vials of her wrath upon Venus. The goddess of love, a violet mantle about her, pearls in her fair hair, a brilliant star glowing on her brow, and gold chains round her neck—seeks to shield Cupid from the fury of the queen of heaven. The little god, with his many-coloured wings, cowers behind her with tearful face. The name Laurentius Lottus is still visible on a "cartellino."' *Morelli.*

A fine bronze bust represents the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX.

A second small garden belonging to this palace is well worth seeing in May, from the wealth of camellias, azaleas, and roses with which it is filled. In the palace, Benvenuto Cellini's famous salt cellar is preserved—a shell resting on an enamel dragon.

Opposite the Rospigliosi Palace is the very handsome entrance to the **Colonna Gardens** (which may be seen on Wednesdays by ringing at a bell by a door rather nearer the Quirinal). The gardens are connected with the palace in the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a series of bridges across the intervening street. Here, on a lofty terrace which has a fine view towards the Capitol, and overshadowed by grand cypresses, are the colossal remains long supposed to belong to the Temple of the Sun (huge fragments of corinthian cornice, one of them being the largest block of marble in Rome, and weighing twenty-seven tons), built by Aurelian (A.D. 270-275), but now considered to be part of the decorations of the **Baths of Constantine**. At the other end of the terrace, looking down through two barns into a kind of pit, we can see some remains of the baths—built A.D. 326—and of the great staircase which led up to them from the valley below. The portico of these baths remained erect till the time of Clement XII. (1730-40), and was adorned with four marble statues, of which two—those of the two Constantines—may now be seen on the terrace of the Capitol, and a third in the Portico of the Lateran.

Beneath the magnificent cypress-trees on the slope of the hill are several fine sarcophagi. Only the stem is preserved of the grand historical pine-tree which was planted on the day on which

Cola di Rienzi died, and which was one of the great ornaments of the city till 1848, when it was broken in a storm. These gardens, with their temple ruins, statues, cypresses, birds, and flowers, are the most beautiful spot which the recent changes have spared to us in Rome. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the once noble and historic family of Colonna would have sold the upper part of them for building land, if the Government had not interfered, on account of the two pagan ruins which they contain.

Just beyond the end of the garden is the **Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo**—belonging to the Missionaries of S. Vincent de Paul—in which the cardinals used to meet before going in procession to the conclave. It contains a few rather good pictures. The cupola of the second chapel has frescoes by *Domenichino*, of David dancing before the Ark, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and Esther fainting before Ahasuerus. These are considered by Lanzi as some of the finest frescoes of the master. In the left transept is a chapel containing a picture of the Assumption, painted on slate, considered the masterpiece of *Scipione Caëtani*. The last chapel but one on the left has a ceiling by *Cav. d'Arpino*, and frescoes on the wall by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*. The picture over the altar, representing S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena, is by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. Cardinal Bentivoglio—who wrote the history of the wars in Flanders, and lived in the Rospigliosi Palace—is buried here, with Cardinal Gian Giacopo Pancirelli, the one honest minister of the reign of Alexander VI. The adjoining convent, beneath which remains of a shrine of Semo Sancus were discovered in 1881,[1] is now the headquarters of the Royal Engineers.

We now reach the height of Magnanopoli, from which the isthmus which joined the Quirinal to the Capitoline was cut away by Trajan. Here, beneath the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini, radiant with flowers in spring, is a crossways, in the centre of which a fragment of the ancient wall of the time of the kings is preserved. Another fragment, in the neighbouring **Palazzo Antonelli**, retains a massive stone archway, supposed to be the **Porta Fontinalis**. The foundations under this arch are important as showing the use of concrete as early as the time of the kings. The palace was the favourite private residence of the great cardinal of brigand ancestry, who was long the prime minister of Pius IX.

'Antonelli was the best-hated man of his day, not only in Europe and Italy, but by a large proportion of Churchmen.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Hence the ugly modern Via Nazionale leads east to S. Maria degli Angeli, and west, through what was the garden of Cardinal Antonelli, to the Piazza Colonna. The turn given to the hill near this, and the effect of the lofty Aldobrandini Garden amongst the

[1] The statue of the god and its inscribed pedestal are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican.

houses, is one of the best things done in Rome since the Sardinian rule. A fine house of the first century A.D., with exquisitely painted walls, was discovered near this in June 1884, but its destruction was at once ordered.

Opposite is the **Church of S. Caterina di Siena**, possessing some frescoes attributed, on doubtful grounds, to the rare master *Timoteo della Vite*. Adjoining is a large convent, inclosed within the precincts of which is the tall brick mediaeval tower, sometimes called the Tower of Nero, but generally known as the **Torre del Milizie**, *i.e.* of the Roman Militia. It was erected by the sons of Peter Alexius, a baron attached to the party of Senator Pandolfo de Suburra. The lower part is said to have been built in 1210, the upper in 1294 and 1330.

'People pass through two regular courses of study at Rome—the first in learning, and the second in unlearning.

'"This is the Tower of Nero, from which he saw the city in flames—and this is the Temple of Concord—and this is the Temple of Castor and Pollux—and this is the Temple of Vesta—and these are the Baths of Paulus Aemilius," and so on, says your lacquey.

'"This is not the Tower of Nero—nor that the Temple of Castor and Pollux—nor the other the Temple of Concord—nor are any of these things what they are called," says your antiquary.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The Convent of S. Caterina was built by the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, who requested the advice of Michelangelo on the subject, and was told she had better make the ancient 'Torre' into a belfry. A very curious account of the interview in which this subject was discussed, and which took place in the Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, is left us in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a Portuguese painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

Near this point are two other fine mediaeval towers. One, now engrafted in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent to the Piazza Venezia, is that of the Colonna, now called **Tor di Babele**, and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured frieze, one of them bearing the device of the Colonna, a crowned column rising from a wreath. The other tower, immediately facing us, is called **Torre del Grillo**, from the ancient family of that name.

Opposite S. Caterina is the handsome **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto**, approached by a good double twisted staircase, the effect of which was greatly injured by the changes of 1870–77. Over the second altar on the left is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine by *Allegrani*, and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage (July 19), the dried hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the unspeakable comfort of the faithful.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the palaces of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or reburied) which once lined the Vicus Longus. These included, on the right, the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, Publia Materna, C. Articuleius Germanianus, Tiberius Julius Frugi,

C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus, &c.[1]

We turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into the Via Magnanopoli—formerly Bagnanopoli, a corruption of Balnea Pauli—Baths of Emilius Paulus, a name given to the ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to Naples. On the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The present Prince Aldobrandini is brother of the late Prince Borghese. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, generally known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery furnace ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

In the Via di Mazzarini, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the court-yard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. A tradition declares that this (like S. Sabba on the Aventine) is on the site of a house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, who consecrated the church after it had been plundered by the Goths, and dedicated it to S. Agata. It was rebuilt by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome opus-alexandrinum pavement are the only remaining signs of antiquity. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of Daniel O'Connell, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIII., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born VI. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died XV. May, MDCCCXLVIII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of the left aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had his palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the opposite chapel is a gilt figure of S. Agata carrying her breasts—showing the manner in which she suffered.

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[1] See Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 8, 1884.

[illegible] was a maiden of Catania in Sicily whither [illegible] the emperor sent [illegible] Quintianus. He [illegible] Agatha tempted her with [illegible] gifts and promises, but in vain. Then (provoked [illegible] at her constancy) he [illegible] gave her over to the hands of [illegible] women and panders, that they might lead her to the worst form of [illegible] to tear [illegible] her virginity from her. But [illegible] the Lord strengthened her, so that she remained unconquered. Then said Quintianus to her mockingly: 'What shame is it for a noble maiden to live with slaves!' Agatha answered: 'I am not afraid of shame for the sake of my Lord Jesus Christ.' Then Quintianus commanded that she should be stretched upon the rack, and while she was being tortured, and before him who sat as judge, she spoke these words to him: 'Cruel tyrant, dost thou not blush to torture in me that which thou thyself hast formed in thy mother's womb?' Then Quintianus commanded that she should be taken back to her cell, and the youth was led away. But Agatha knew in her strength that a glorious fight filled the [illegible] with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus in his mockery demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire; but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.' *From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.'*

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless Thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has in Greek the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great Convent of *S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the Via del Serpenti, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ veniebat Julius Albâ;
Umaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistræ:
Retulit ille gradus; horruerunt que comæ.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in medio visus adesse via.'

—*Ovid. Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive.* No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed: 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then, relied from head to foot in heavy folds of thick serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'e vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

'Blessed Laurentius as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."' *Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

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[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head is at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. Maria Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

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[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

soul was within,' and they had instructions to enter and take possession of the palace. In the presence of a small and silent crowd of sullen-looking men of the people, the doors were forced.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The palace is now the residence of King Umberto, and the popular Queen Margherita, his first cousin, whom he obtained a dispensation to marry, on payment to the pope of 500,000 fr. The interior of the building is little worth seeing. On the landing of the principal staircase, in a bad light, is a very important fresco by *Melozzo da Forli*, a rare master of the Paduan school.[1]

'On the vaulted ceiling of a chapel in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, Melozzo executed a work (1472) which, in those times, can have admitted of comparison with few. When the chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century some fragments were saved. That comprehending the Creator between angels was removed to a staircase in the Quirinal Palace, while single figures of angels were placed in the sacristy of S. Peter's. These detached portions suffice to show a beauty and fulness of form, and a combination of earthly and spiritual grandeur, comparable in their way to the noblest productions of Titian, although in mode of execution rather recalling Correggio. Here, as in the cupola frescoes of Correggio himself, half a century later, we trace that constant effort at true perspective of the figure, hardly in character, perhaps, with high ecclesiastical art; the drapery, also, is of a somewhat formless description; but the grandeur of the principal figure, the grace and freshness of the little adoring cherubs, and the elevated beauty of the angels are expressed with an easy naïveté, to which only the best works of Mantegna and Signorelli can compare.'—*Kugler.*

Beyond a great hall, one hundred and ninety feet long, are a number of rooms which were fitted up by Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. for the papal summer residence. Several apartments have mosaic pavements, brought hither from pagan edifices. In one chamber Pius VII. was taken prisoner; in the next he died. The room, which is decorated with a fine modern tapestry of the martyrdom of S. Stephen, has a plaster frieze, being the original cast of the triumph of Alexander the Great, modelled for Napoleon by *Thorwaldsen.*

The *Private Chapel of the Popes*, opening from the picture-gallery, contains a magnificent picture of the Annunciation by *Guido*, and frescoes of the life of the Virgin by *Albani.*

The *Palazzino* has been erected for the accommodation of the Duchess of Genoa and other members of the royal family during their visits to Rome.

The *Gardens of the Quirinal*, which, under the Papal government, were a delightful resort for strangers, are now usually closed to the public. They are in the stiff style of box hedges and clipped avenues, which seems to belong especially to Rome, and which we know to have been popular here even in imperial times. John Evelyn (1644) found them amongst 'the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome.' Pliny, in his account of his Tusculan villa, describes his gardens decorated with 'figures of different animals, cut in box; evergreens clipped into a thousand different shapes; sometimes into letters forming different names; walls and hedges

[1] By this same master is the interesting fresco of Sixtus IV. and his nephews, now in the Vatican gallery.

of cut box, and trees twisted into a variety of forms. But the Quirinal gardens were also worth visiting, on account of the many pretty glimpses they afford of S. Peter's and other distant buildings, and the oddity of some of the devices—an organ played by water, &c. The Casino, built by Fuga, has frescoes by *Orizonte*, *Pompeo*, *Battoni*, and *Pannini*.

(The *Royal Stables* may be visited with an order from the Palazzo S. Felice, 21 Via della Dateria, from 12 to 3; or, without an order, on Thursday and Sunday from 10 to 12.)

If we turn to the left from the front of the palace, we reach—on the left—the entrance to the courtyard of the vast **Palazzo Rospigliosi**, built by Flaminio Ponzio, in 1603, for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on a portion of the site of the Baths of Constantine. It was inhabited by Cardinal Bentivoglio, and sold by him to Cardinal Mazarin, who enlarged it from designs of Carlo Maderno. His father died there. His niece brought it to the Dukes of Nevers, who (*c.* 1668) sold it to the Prince Rospigliosi, brother of the reigning Pope, Clement X. From the time of Mazarin to 1704 it was inhabited by French ambassadors.

The palace itself is not shown, but the *Casino* is open on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 9 to 3. It is situated at the end of a very small but pretty garden planted with magnolias, and consists of three chambers. On the roof of the central room is the famous Aurora of Guido.

'Guido's Aurora is the very type of haste and impetus; for surely no man ever imagined such hurry and tumult, such sounding and clashing. Painters maintain that it is lighted from two sides—they have my full permission to light *theirs* from three if it will improve them, but the difference lies elsewhere.'—*—Mendelssohn's Letters*, p. 91.

'This is the noblest work of Guido. It is embodied poetry. The Hours, that hand in hand encircle the car of Phoebus, advance with rapid pace. The paler, milder forms of those gentle sisters who rule over declining day, and the glowing glance of those who bask in the meridian blaze, resplendent in the hues of heaven, are of no mortal grace and beauty; but they are eclipsed by Aurora herself, who sails on the golden clouds before them, shedding "showers of shadowing roses" on the rejoicing earth; her celestial presence diffusing gladness, and light, and beauty around. Above the heads of the heavenly coursers hovers the morning star, in the form of a youthful cherub, bearing his flaming torch. Nothing is more admirable in this beautiful composition than the motion given to the whole: the smooth and rapid step of the circling Hours as they tread on the fleecy clouds; the fiery steeds; the whirling wheels of the car; the torch of Lucifer, blown back by the velocity of his advance; and the form of Aurora, borne through the ambient air, till you almost fear she should float from your sight.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'The work of Guido is more poetic than that of Guercino, and luminous, and soft, and harmonious. Cupid, Aurora, Phoebus, form a climax of beauty, and the Hours seem as light as the clouds on which they dance.—*Forsyth.*

Lanzi points out that Guido always took the Venus de' Medici and the Niobe as his favourite models, and that there is scarcely one of his large pictures in which the Niobe or one of her sons is not introduced, yet with such dexterity that the theft is scarcely perceptible.

The frescoes of the frieze are by *Tempesta;* the landscape by *Paul Brill.* Two columns, twelve feet high, are, with the steps at

S. Francis, one of the best known specimens of the Greek marble—*verde antico*. In the hall are busts, statues, and a bronze horse found in the ruins of the Forum.

There is a small collection of pictures, but few of real importance. In the room on the left is the beautiful *Deposition* of *Volterra* of great power and pathos. In the same room are two large pictures (31) by *Paolo Veronese*, one with the head of Goliath, *Domenichino*; and (34) *Perseus rescuing Andromeda*, *Guido*. No. 48 is a *Holy Family* by *Luca Signorelli*. In the room on the right are—*Adam gathering fig-leaves for Eve*, in a Paradise which is crowded with animals like a menagerie, *Domenichino*; and (35) *Samson pulling down the pillars upon the Philistines*, *Ludovico Caracci*. Here also is a very remarkable picture (32) of Juno chastising Venus, by *Lorenzo Lotti*, full of life, motion, and fury.

'Mr. Mozley showed his appreciation of this finely conceived and carefully executed painting and called it "The Victory of Chastity." It might with equal fitness be named Juno taking righteous vengeance on Venus. Juno, wrapped in a green mantle, with a white drapery about her head, brandishes aloft Cupid's broken bow, and seems about to pour forth the vials of her wrath upon Venus. The goddess of love, a violet mantle about her, pearls in her fair hair, a brilliant star glowing on her brow, and gold chains round her neck—seeks to shield Cupid from the fury of the queen of heaven. The little god, with his many-coloured wings, cowers behind her with tearful face. The name Laurentius Lottus is still visible on a "cartellino."'—*Morelli*.

A fine bronze bust represents the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX.

A second small garden belonging to this palace is well worth seeing in May, from the wealth of camellias, azaleas, and roses with which it is filled. In the palace, Benvenuto Cellini's famous salt-cellar is preserved—a shell resting on an enamel dragon.

Opposite the Rospigliosi Palace is the very handsome entrance to the **Colonna Gardens** (which may be seen on Wednesdays by ringing at a bell by a door rather nearer the Quirinal). The gardens are connected with the palace in the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a series of bridges across the intervening street. Here, on a lofty terrace which has a fine view towards the Capitol, and overshadowed by grand cypresses, are the colossal remains long supposed to belong to the Temple of the Sun (huge fragments of corinthian cornice, one of them being the largest block of marble in Rome, and weighing twenty-seven tons), built by Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), but now considered to be part of the decorations of the **Baths of Constantine**. At the other end of the terrace, looking down through two barns into a kind of pit, we can see some remains of the baths—built A.D. 326—and of the great staircase which led up to them from the valley below. The portico of these baths remained erect till the time of Clement XII. (1730–40), and was adorned with four marble statues, of which two—those of the two Constantines—may now be seen on the terrace of the Capitol, and a third in the Portico of the Lateran.

Beneath the magnificent cypress-trees on the slope of the hill are several fine sarcophagi. Only the stem is preserved of the grand historical pine-tree which was planted on the day on which

Cola di Rienzi died, and which was one of the great ornaments of the city till 1848, when it was broken in a storm. These gardens, with their temple ruins, statues, cypresses, birds, and flowers, are the most beautiful spot which the recent changes have spared to us in Rome. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the once noble and historic family of Colonna would have sold the upper part of them for building land, if the Government had not interfered, on account of the two pagan ruins which they contain.

Just beyond the end of the garden is the **Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo**—belonging to the Missionaries of S. Vincent de Paul—in which the cardinals used to meet before going in procession to the conclave. It contains a few rather good pictures. The cupola of the second chapel has frescoes by *Domenichino*, of David dancing before the Ark, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and Esther fainting before Ahasuerus. These are considered by Lanzi as some of the finest frescoes of the master. In the left transept is a chapel containing a picture of the Assumption, painted on slate, considered the masterpiece of *Scipione Caëtani*. The last chapel but one on the left has a ceiling by *Cav. d'Arpino*, and frescoes on the wall by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*. The picture over the altar, representing S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena, is by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. Cardinal Bentivoglio—who wrote the history of the wars in Flanders, and lived in the Rospigliosi Palace—is buried here, with Cardinal Gian Giacopo Pancirelli, the one honest minister of the reign of Alexander VI. The adjoining convent, beneath which remains of a shrine of Semo Sancus were discovered in 1881,[1] is now the headquarters of the Royal Engineers.

We now reach the height of Magnanopoli, from which the isthmus which joined the Quirinal to the Capitoline was cut away by Trajan. Here, beneath the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini, radiant with flowers in spring, is a crossways, in the centre of which a fragment of the ancient wall of the time of the kings is preserved. Another fragment, in the neighbouring **Palazzo Antonelli**, retains a massive stone archway, supposed to be the **Porta Fontinalis**. The foundations under this arch are important as showing the use of concrete as early as the time of the kings. The palace was the favourite private residence of the great cardinal of brigand ancestry, who was long the prime minister of Pius IX.

'Antonelli was the best-hated man of his day, not only in Europe and Italy, but by a large proportion of Churchmen.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Hence the ugly modern Via Nazionale leads east to S. Maria degli Angeli, and west, through what was the garden of Cardinal Antonelli, to the Piazza Colonna. The turn given to the hill near this, and the effect of the lofty Aldobrandini Garden amongst the

[1] The statue of the god and its inscribed pedestal are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican.

houses, is one of the best things done in Rome since the Sardinian rule. A fine house of the first century A.D., *with exquisitely painted walls, was discovered near this in June 1884, but its destruction was at once ordered.*

Opposite is the **Church of S. Caterina di Siena,** possessing some *frescoes* attributed, on doubtful grounds, to the rare master *Timoteo della Vite.* Adjoining is a large convent, inclosed within the precincts of which is the tall brick mediæval tower, sometimes called the *Tower of Nero,* but generally known as the **Torre del Milizie,** *i.e.* of the *Roman Militia.* It was erected by the sons of Peter Alexius, a baron attached to the party of Senator Pandolfo de Suburra. The lower part is said to have been built in 1210, the upper in 1294 and 1330.

'People pass through two regular courses of study at Rome—the first in learning, and the second in unlearning.

'"This is the *Tower of Nero,* from which he saw the city in flames—and this is the *Temple of Concord*—and this is the Temple of Castor and Pollux—and this is the *Temple of Vesta*—and these are the Baths of Paulus Æmilius," and so on, says your inquisy.

'"This is not the *Tower of Nero*—nor that the Temple of Castor and Pollux—nor the other the Temple of Concord—nor are any of these things what they are called," says your antiquary.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The Convent of S. Caterina was built by the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, who requested the advice of Michelangelo on the subject, and was told she had better make the ancient 'Torre' into a belfry. A very curious account of the interview in which this subject was discussed, and which took place in the Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, is left us in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a Portuguese painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

Near this point are two other fine mediæval towers. One, now engrafted in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent to the Piazza Venezia, is that of the Colonna, now called **Tor di Babele,** and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured friese, one of them bearing the device of the Colonna, a crowned column rising from a wreath. The other tower, immediately facing us, is called **Torre del Grillo,** from the ancient family of that name.

Opposite S. Caterina is the handsome **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto,** approached by a good double twisted staircase, the effect of which was greatly injured by the changes of 1870–77. Over the second altar on the left is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine by *Allegrandi,* and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage (July 10), the dried hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the unspeakable comfort of the faithful.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the palaces of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or reburied) which once lined the Vicus Longus. These included, on the right, the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, Publia Materna, C. Articuleius Germanianus, Tiberius Julius Fragi,

C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus, &c.[1]

We turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into the Via Magnanopoli—formerly Bagnanopoli, a corruption of Balnea Pauli—Baths of Emilius Paulus, a name given to the ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to Naples. On the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The present Prince Aldobrandini is brother of the late Prince Borghese. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, generally known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery furnace ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

In the Via di Mazzarini, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the court-yard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. A tradition declares that this (like S. Sabba on the Aventine) is on the site of a house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, who consecrated the church after it had been plundered by the Goths, and dedicated it to S. Agata. It was rebuilt by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome opus-alexandrinum pavement are the only remaining signs of antiquity. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of Daniel O'Connell, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIII., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born vi. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died xv. May, MDCCCXLVIII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of the left aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had his palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the opposite chapel is a gilt figure of S. Agata carrying her breasts—showing the manner in which she suffered.

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[1] See Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 8, 1884.

'Agatha was a maiden of Catania in Sicily, whither Decius the emperor sent [illegible] governor. He inflamed by the beauty of Agatha, tempted her with [illegible] and promises; but she regarded him with disdain. Then Quintianus [illegible] her to the rack and beaten with rods, and sent two of his slaves to tear her breasts with iron shears, and as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, "O [illegible] tyrant, art thou not ashamed to tear me thus?—hast thou not thyself been fed at thy mother's breasts?" Thus only did she murmur. And in the night a venerable man came to her, bearing a vase of ointment, and before him walked a youth bearing a torch. It was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was an angel; but Agatha knew it not, though such a glorious light filled the prison, that the guards fled in terror. . . . Then S. Peter made himself known and ministered to her, restoring with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus, infuriated, demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire, but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.' *From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.'*

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless Thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which faileth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great Convent of *S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via del Serpenti*, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ remeabat Julius Albâ:
Transque fidem bat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito medio nubes crepuere sinistræ:
Romulus ille gradus, horrorumque rogo comes.
Pallidior, et humano major, trahebat decores.
Romule, in arcani verus adesse vii.'

—*Ovid. Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive.* No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed: 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering-pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then veiled from head to foot in heavy folds of thick serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'è vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street—the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red-hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

'Blessed Laurentius as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."'—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head is at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
>
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. María Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

. . . . . .

[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

soul was within, and they had instructions to enter and take possession of the palace. In the presence of a small and silent crowd of sullen-looking men of the people, the doors were forced.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The palace is now the residence of King Umberto, and the popular Queen Margherita, his first cousin, whom he obtained a dispensation to marry, on payment to the pope of 500,000 fr. The interior of the building is little worth seeing. On the landing of the principal staircase, in a bad light, is a very important fresco by *Melozzo da Forli*, a rare master of the Paduan school.[1]

'On the vaulted ceiling of a chapel in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, Melozzo executed a work (1472) which, in those times, can have admitted of comparison with few. When the chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century some fragments were saved. That comprehending the Creator between angels was removed to a staircase in the Quirinal Palace, while single figures of angels were placed in the sacristy of S. Peter's. These detached portions suffice to show a beauty and fulness of form, and a combination of earthly and spiritual grandeur, comparable in their way to the noblest productions of Titian, although in mode of execution rather recalling Correggio. Here, as in the cupola frescoes of Correggio himself, half a century later, we trace that constant effort at true perspective of the figure, hardly in character, perhaps, with high ecclesiastical art; the drapery, also, is of a somewhat formless description; but the grandeur of the principal figure, the grace and freshness of the little adoring cherubs, and the elevated beauty of the angels are expressed with an easy naïveté, to which only the best works of Mantegna and Signorelli can compare.'—*Kugler.*

Beyond a great hall, one hundred and ninety feet long, are a number of rooms which were fitted up by Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. for the papal summer residence. Several apartments have mosaic pavements, brought hither from pagan edifices. In one chamber Pius VII. was taken prisoner; in the next he died. The room, which is decorated with a fine modern tapestry of the martyrdom of S. Stephen, has a plaster frieze, being the original cast of the triumph of Alexander the Great, modelled for Napoleon by *Thorwaldsen.*

The *Private Chapel of the Popes*, opening from the picture-gallery, contains a magnificent picture of the Annunciation by *Guido*, and frescoes of the life of the Virgin by *Albani.*

The *Palazzino* has been erected for the accommodation of the Duchess of Genoa and other members of the royal family during their visits to Rome.

The *Gardens of the Quirinal*, which, under the Papal government, were a delightful resort for strangers, are now usually closed to the public. They are in the stiff style of box hedges and clipped avenues, which seems to belong especially to Rome, and which we know to have been popular here even in imperial times. John Evelyn (1644) found them amongst 'the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome.' Pliny, in his account of his Tusculan villa, describes his gardens decorated with 'figures of different animals, cut in box; evergreens clipped into a thousand different shapes; sometimes into letters forming different names; walls and hedges

[1] By this same master is the interesting fresco of Sixtus IV. and his nephews, now in the Vatican gallery.

of cut box, and trees twisted into a variety of forms. But the Quirinal gardens were also worth visiting, on account of the many pretty glimpses they afford of S. Peter's and other distant buildings, and the oddity of some of the devices—an organ played by water, &c. The Casino, built by Fuga, has frescoes by *Orizonte*, *Pompeo*, *Battoni*, and *Pannini*.

(The *Royal Stables* may be visited with an order from the Palazzo S. Felice, 21 Via della Dateria, from 12 to 3; or, without an order, on Thursday and Sunday from 10 to 12.)

If we turn to the left from the front of the palace, we reach—on the left—the entrance to the courtyard of the vast **Palazzo Rospigliosi**, built by Flaminio Ponzio, in 1603, for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on a portion of the site of the Baths of Constantine. It was inhabited by Cardinal Bentivoglio, and sold by him to Cardinal Mazarin, who enlarged it from designs of Carlo Maderno. His father died there. His niece brought it to the Dukes of Nevers, who (*c.* 1668) sold it to the Prince Rospigliosi, brother of the reigning Pope, Clement X. From the time of Mazarin to 1704 it was inhabited by French ambassadors.

The palace itself is not shown, but the *Casino* is open on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 9 to 3. It is situated at the end of a very small but pretty garden planted with magnolias, and consists of three chambers. On the roof of the central room is the famous Aurora of Guido.

'Guido's Aurora is the very type of haste and impetus; for surely no man ever imagined such hurry and tumult, such sounding and clashing. Painters maintain that it is lighted from two sides—they have my full permission to light *theirs* from three if it will improve them, but the difference lies elsewhere.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters*, p. 91.

'This is the noblest work of Guido. It is embodied poetry. The Hours, that hand in hand encircle the car of Phoebus, advance with rapid pace. The paler, milder forms of those gentle sisters who rule over declining day, and the glowing glance of those who bask in the meridian blaze, resplendent in the hues of heaven, are of no mortal grace and beauty; but they are eclipsed by Aurora herself, who sails on the golden clouds before them, shedding "showers of shadowing roses" on the rejoicing earth; her celestial presence diffusing gladness, and light, and beauty around. Above the heads of the heavenly coursers hovers the morning star, in the form of a youthful cherub, bearing his flaming torch. Nothing is more admirable in this beautiful composition than the motion given to the whole: the smooth and rapid step of the circling Hours as they tread on the fleecy clouds; the fiery steeds; the whirling wheels of the car; the torch of Lucifer, blown back by the velocity of his advance; and the form of Aurora, borne through the ambient air, till you almost fear she should float from your sight.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'The work of Guido is more poetic than that of Guercino, and luminous, and soft, and harmonious. Cupid, Aurora, Phoebus, form a climax of beauty, and the Hours seem as light as the clouds on which they dance.—*Forsyth.*

Lanzi points out that Guido always took the Venus de' Medici and the Niobe as his favourite models, and that there is scarcely one of his large pictures in which the Niobe or one of her sons is not introduced, yet with such dexterity that the theft is scarcely perceptible.

The frescoes of the frieze are by *Tempesta;* the landscape by *Paul Brill.* Two columns, twelve feet high, are, with the steps at

a Pomona, two busts known specimens of the Greek marble—*one of Jupiter Ammon, the other unknown, and a bronze horse found in the ruins of the Forum.*

There are a number of pictures but few of real importance. In the room on the left is the beautiful Lucida di Volterra of the Farnese heating His arms. In the same room are two large pictures (24), *Jael with the head of Goliath, Domenichino; and* (26) *Perseus rescuing* Andromeda, *Guido.* No. 48 is *a Holy Family by Luca Signorelli.* In the room on the right are—*Adam gathering fig-leaves for Eve,* in a Paradise which is crowded with animals like a menagerie, *Domenichino;* and (35) Samson *pulling down the pillars upon the Philistines, Ludovico Caracci. Here also is a very remarkable picture* (32) of Juno chastising Venus, *by Lorenzo Lotti,* full of life, motion, and fury.

'Mr. Mundler showed his appreciation of this finely conceived and carefully executed painting, and called it "The Victory of Chastity." It might with equal fitness be named Juno taking righteous vengeance on Venus. Juno, wrapped in a green mantle, with a white drapery about her head, brandishes aloft Cupid's broken bow, and seems about to pour forth the vials of her wrath upon Venus. The goddess of love, a violet mantle about her, pearls in her fair hair, a brilliant star glowing on her brow, and gold chains round her neck—seeks to shield Cupid from the fury of the queen of heaven. The little god, with his many-coloured wings, cowers behind her with tearful face. The name Laurentius Lottus is still visible on a "cartellino."' *Morelli.*

A fine bronze bust represents the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX.

A second small garden belonging to this palace is well worth seeing in May, from the wealth of camellias, azaleas, and roses with which it is filled. In the palace, Benvenuto Cellini's famous salt-cellar is preserved—a shell resting on an enamel dragon.

Opposite the Rospigliosi Palace is the very handsome entrance to the **Colonna Gardens** (which may be seen on Wednesdays by ringing at a bell by a door rather nearer the Quirinal). The gardens are connected with the palace in the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a series of bridges across the intervening street. Here, on a lofty terrace which has a fine view towards the Capitol, and over-shadowed by grand cypresses, are the colossal remains long supposed to belong to the Temple of the Sun (huge fragments of corinthian cornice, one of them being the largest block of marble in Rome, and weighing twenty-seven tons), built by Aurelian (A.D. 270-275), but now considered to be part of the decorations of the **Baths of Constantine.** At the other end of the terrace, looking down through two barns into a kind of pit, we can see some remains of the baths—built A.D. 326—and of the great staircase which led up to them from the valley below. The portico of these baths remained erect till the time of Clement XII. (1730-40), and was adorned with four marble statues, of which two—those of the two Constantines—may now be seen on the terrace of the Capitol, and a third in the Portico of the Lateran.

Beneath the magnificent cypress-trees on the slope of the hill are several fine sarcophagi. Only the stem is preserved of the grand historical pine-tree which was planted on the day on which

Cola di Rienzi died, and which was one of the great ornaments of the city till 1848, when it was broken in a storm. These gardens, with their temple ruins, statues, cypresses, birds, and flowers, are the most beautiful spot which the recent changes have spared to us in Rome. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the once noble and historic family of Colonna would have sold the upper part of them for building land, if the Government had not interfered, on account of the two pagan ruins which they contain.

Just beyond the end of the garden is the **Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo**—belonging to the Missionaries of S. Vincent de Paul—in which the cardinals used to meet before going in procession to the conclave. It contains a few rather good pictures. The cupola of the second chapel has frescoes by *Domenichino*, of David dancing before the Ark, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and Esther fainting before Ahasuerus. These are considered by Lanzi as some of the finest frescoes of the master. In the left transept is a chapel containing a picture of the Assumption, painted on slate, considered the masterpiece of *Scipione Caëtani*. The last chapel but one on the left has a ceiling by *Cav. d'Arpino*, and frescoes on the wall by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*. The picture over the altar, representing S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena, is by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. Cardinal Bentivoglio—who wrote the history of the wars in Flanders, and lived in the Rospigliosi Palace—is buried here, with Cardinal Gian Giacopo Pancirelli, the one honest minister of the reign of Alexander VI. The adjoining convent, beneath which remains of a shrine of Semo Sancus were discovered in 1881,[1] is now the headquarters of the Royal Engineers.

We now reach the height of Magnanopoli, from which the isthmus which joined the Quirinal to the Capitoline was cut away by Trajan. Here, beneath the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini, radiant with flowers in spring, is a crossways, in the centre of which a fragment of the ancient wall of the time of the kings is preserved. Another fragment, in the neighbouring **Palazzo Antonelli**, retains a massive stone archway, supposed to be the **Porta Fontinalis**. The foundations under this arch are important as showing the use of concrete as early as the time of the kings. The palace was the favourite private residence of the great cardinal of brigand ancestry, who was long the prime minister of Pius IX.

'Antonelli was the best-hated man of his day, not only in Europe and Italy, but by a large proportion of Churchmen.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Hence the ugly modern Via Nazionale leads east to S. Maria degli Angeli, and west, through what was the garden of Cardinal Antonelli, to the Piazza Colonna. The turn given to the hill near this, and the effect of the lofty Aldobrandini Garden amongst the

[1] The statue of the god and its inscribed pedestal are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican.

Roman, is one of the best things done in Rome since the Sardinian rule. A fine house of the first century A.D., with exquisitely painted walls, was discovered near this in June 1884, but its destruction was at once ordered.

Opposite is the **Church of S. Caterina di Siena**, possessing some frescoes attributed, on doubtful grounds, to the rare master *Timoteo della Vite*. Adjoining is a large convent, inclosed within the precincts of which is the tall brick mediaeval tower, sometimes called the *Tower of Nero*, but generally known as the **Torre del Milizie**, i.e. of the Roman Militia. It was erected by the sons of Peter Alexius, a baron attached to the party of Senator Pandolfo de Suburra. The lower part is said to have been built in 1210, the upper in 1294 and 1330.

'People pass through two regular courses of study at Rome—the first in learning, and the second in unlearning.

"This is the *Tower of Nero*, from which he saw the city in flames—and this is the *Temple of Concord*—and this is the Temple of Castor and Pollux—and this is the *Temple of Vesta*—and these are the Baths of Paulus Aemilius," and so on, says your lacquey.

"This is not the *Tower of Nero*—nor that the Temple of Castor and Pollux—nor the other the *Temple of Concord*—nor are any of these things what they are called," says your antiquary.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The Convent of S. Caterina was built by the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, who requested the advice of Michelangelo on the subject, and was told she had better make the ancient 'Torre' into a belfry. A very curious account of the interview in which this subject was discussed, and which took place in the Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, is left us in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a Portuguese painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

Near this point are two other fine mediaeval towers. One, now engrafted in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent to the Piazza Venezia, is that of the Colonna, now called **Tor di Babele**, and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured frieze, one of them bearing the device of the Colonna, a crowned column rising from a wreath. The other tower, immediately facing us, is called **Torre del Grillo**, from the ancient family of that name.

Opposite S. Caterina is the handsome **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto**, approached by a good double twisted staircase, the effect of which was greatly injured by the changes of 1870–77. Over the second altar on the left is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine by *Allegrini*, and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage (July 19), the dried hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the unspeakable comfort of the faithful.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the palaces of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or reburied) which once lined the Vicus Longus. These included, on the right, the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, Publia Materna, C. Articuleius Germanianus, Tiberius Julius Frugi,

C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus, &c.[1]

We turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into the Via Magnanopoli—formerly Bagnanopoli, a corruption of Balnea Pauli—Baths of Emilius Paulus, a name given to the ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to Naples. On the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The present Prince Aldobrandini is brother of the late Prince Borghese. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, generally known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery furnace ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

In the Via di Mazzarini, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the court-yard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. A tradition declares that this (like S. Sabba on the Aventine) is on the site of a house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, who consecrated the church after it had been plundered by the Goths, and dedicated it to S. Agata. It was rebuilt by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome opus-alexandrinum pavement are the only remaining signs of antiquity. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of Daniel O'Connell, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIII., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born vi. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died xv. May, MDCCCXLVIII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of the left aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had his palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the opposite chapel is a gilt figure of S. Agata carrying her breasts—showing the manner in which she suffered.

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[1] See Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 8, 1884.

'Agatha was a maiden of Catania in Sicily, whither Decius the emperor sent Quintianus as governor. He inflamed by the beauty of Agatha, tempted her with rich gifts and promises, but she repulsed him with disdain. Then Quintianus ordered her to be bound and beaten with rods, and sent two of his slaves to tear her bosom with iron shears, and, as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, "O thou cruel tyrant, art thou not ashamed to tear me thus?—hast thou not thyself been fed at thy mother's breasts?" Thus only did she murmur. And in the night a venerable man came to her, bearing a vase of ointment, and before him walked a youth bearing a torch. It was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was an angel; but Agatha knew it not, though such a glorious light filled the prison that the guards fled in terror. . . . Then S. Peter made himself known and ministered to her, restoring with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus, infuriated, demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire, but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.'—*From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.'*

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great *Convent of S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via dei Serpenti*, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ veniebat Julius Albâ;
Lunaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistrae:
Retulit ille gradus; horrueruntque comae.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in mediâ visus adesse viâ.'

—*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive.* No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed: 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering-pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then veiled from head to foot in heavy folds of thick serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'è vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street—the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red-hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

'Blessed Laurentius as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."'—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head is at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. Maria Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

. . . . . .

[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

soul was within, and they had instructions to enter and take possession of the palace. In the presence of a small and silent crowd of sullen-looking men of the people, the doors were forced.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The palace is now the residence of King Umberto, and the popular Queen Margherita, his first cousin, whom he obtained a dispensation to marry, on payment to the pope of 500,000 fr. The interior of the building is little worth seeing. On the landing of the principal staircase, in a bad light, is a very important fresco by *Melozzo da Forli*, a rare master of the Paduan school.[1]

'On the vaulted ceiling of a chapel in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, Melozzo executed a work (1472) which, in those times, can have admitted of comparison with few. When the chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century some fragments were saved. That comprehending the Creator between angels was removed to a staircase in the Quirinal Palace, while single figures of angels were placed in the sacristy of S. Peter's. These detached portions suffice to show a beauty and fulness of form, and a combination of earthly and spiritual grandeur, comparable in their way to the noblest productions of Titian, although in mode of execution rather recalling Correggio. Here, as in the cupola frescoes of Correggio himself, half a century later, we trace that constant effort at true perspective of the figure, hardly in character, perhaps, with high ecclesiastical art; the drapery, also, is of a somewhat formless description; but the grandeur of the principal figure, the grace and freshness of the little adoring cherubs, and the elevated beauty of the angels are expressed with an easy naïveté, to which only the best works of Mantegna and Signorelli can compare.'—*Kugler.*

Beyond a great hall, one hundred and ninety feet long, are a number of rooms which were fitted up by Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. for the papal summer residence. Several apartments have mosaic pavements, brought hither from pagan edifices. In one chamber Pius VII. was taken prisoner; in the next he died. The room, which is decorated with a fine modern tapestry of the martyrdom of S. Stephen, has a plaster frieze, being the original cast of the triumph of Alexander the Great, modelled for Napoleon by *Thorwaldsen.*

The *Private Chapel of the Popes*, opening from the picture-gallery, contains a magnificent picture of the Annunciation by *Guido*, and frescoes of the life of the Virgin by *Albani.*

The *Palazzino* has been erected for the accommodation of the Duchess of Genoa and other members of the royal family during their visits to Rome.

The *Gardens of the Quirinal*, which, under the Papal government, were a delightful resort for strangers, are now usually closed to the public. They are in the stiff style of box hedges and clipped avenues, which seems to belong especially to Rome, and which we know to have been popular here even in imperial times. John Evelyn (1644) found them amongst 'the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome.' Pliny, in his account of his Tusculan villa, describes his gardens decorated with 'figures of different animals, cut in box; evergreens clipped into a thousand different shapes; sometimes into letters forming different names; walls and hedges

[1] By this same master is the interesting fresco of Sixtus IV. and his nephews, now in the Vatican gallery.

of cut box, and trees twisted into a variety of forms. But the Quirinal gardens were also worth visiting, on account of the many pretty glimpses they afford of S. Peter's and other distant buildings, and the oddity of some of the devices—an organ played by water, &c. The Casino, built by Fuga, has frescoes by *Orizonte*, *Pompeo*, *Battoni*, and *Pannini*.

(The *Royal Stables* may be visited with an order from the Palazzo S. Felice, 21 Via della Dateria, from 12 to 3; or, without an order, on Thursday and Sunday from 10 to 12.)

If we turn to the left from the front of the palace, we reach—on the left—the entrance to the courtyard of the vast **Palazzo Rospigliosi**, built by Flaminio Ponzio, in 1603, for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on a portion of the site of the Baths of Constantine. It was inhabited by Cardinal Bentivoglio, and sold by him to Cardinal Mazarin, who enlarged it from designs of Carlo Maderno. His father died there. His niece brought it to the Dukes of Nevers, who (*c.* 1668) sold it to the Prince Rospigliosi, brother of the reigning Pope, Clement X. From the time of Mazarin to 1704 it was inhabited by French ambassadors.

The palace itself is not shown, but the *Casino* is open on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 9 to 3. It is situated at the end of a very small but pretty garden planted with magnolias, and consists of three chambers. On the roof of the central room is the famous Aurora of Guido.

'Guido's Aurora is the very type of haste and impetus; for surely no man ever imagined such hurry and tumult, such sounding and clashing. Painters maintain that it is lighted from two sides—they have my full permission to light *theirs* from three if it will improve them, but the difference lies elsewhere.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters*, p. 91.

'This is the noblest work of Guido. It is embodied poetry. The Hours, that hand in hand encircle the car of Phoebus, advance with rapid pace. The paler, milder forms of those gentle sisters who rule over declining day, and the glowing glance of those who bask in the meridian blaze, resplendent in the hues of heaven, are of no mortal grace and beauty; but they are eclipsed by Aurora herself, who sails on the golden clouds before them, shedding "showers of shadowing roses" on the rejoicing earth; her celestial presence diffusing gladness, and light, and beauty around. Above the heads of the heavenly coursers hovers the morning star, in the form of a youthful cherub, bearing his flaming torch. Nothing is more admirable in this beautiful composition than the motion given to the whole: the smooth and rapid step of the circling Hours as they tread on the fleecy clouds; the fiery steeds; the whirling wheels of the car; the torch of Lucifer, blown back by the velocity of his advance; and the form of Aurora, borne through the ambient air, till you almost fear she should float from your sight.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'The work of Guido is more poetic than that of Guercino, and luminous, and soft, and harmonious. Cupid, Aurora, Phoebus, form a climax of beauty, and the Hours seem as light as the clouds on which they dance.—*Forsyth.*

Lanzi points out that Guido always took the Venus de' Medici and the Niobe as his favourite models, and that there is scarcely one of his large pictures in which the Niobe or one of her sons is not introduced, yet with such dexterity that the theft is scarcely perceptible.

The frescoes of the frieze are by *Tempesta;* the landscape by *Paul Brill.* Two columns, twelve feet high, are, with the steps at

a Venus, the finest known specimen of the Greek marble—*Parian*. In the same room are three statues and a bronze horse found in the ruins of the Forum.

There is a small collection of pictures, but few of real importance. In the room on the left is the beautiful Fornarina of Raffaelle, by his own hand. In the same room are two large pictures of Jacob wrestling with the angel of Goliath, *Domenichino*; and *St Peter* healing Æneas, *Guido*. No. 48 is a Holy Family, by Luca Signorelli. In the room on the right are—*Adam* gathering fig-leaves for Eve, in a Paradise which is crowded with animals, like a menagerie, *Bonemichiano*; and (35) Samson pulling down the pillars upon the Philistines, *Ludovico Caracci*. Here also is a very remarkable picture (32), of Juno chastising Venus, by *Lorenzo Lotti*, full of life, motion, and fury.

"Mr. Mozley showed his appreciation of this finely conceived and carefully executed painting and called it 'The Victory of Chastity.' It might with equal reason be named Juno taking righteous vengeance on Venus. Juno, wrapped in a green mantle, with a white drapery about her head, brandishes aloft Cupid's golden bow, and seems about to pour forth the vials of her wrath upon Venus. The goddess of love, a violet mantle about her, pearls in her fair hair, a brilliant star glowing on her brow, and gold chains round her neck—seeks to shield Cupid from the fury of the queen of heaven. The little god, with his many-coloured wings, cowers behind her with tearful face. The name Laurentius Lottus is still visible on a 'cartellino.'"—*Morelli*.

A fine bronze bust represents the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX.

A second small garden belonging to this palace is well worth seeing in May, from the wealth of camellias, azaleas, and roses with which it is filled. In the palace, Benvenuto Cellini's famous salt-cellar is preserved—a shell resting on an enamel dragon.

Opposite the Rospigliosi Palace is the very handsome entrance to the **Colonna Gardens** (which may be seen on Wednesdays by ringing at a bell by a door rather nearer the Quirinal). The gardens are connected with the palace in the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a series of bridges across the intervening street. Here, on a lofty terrace which has a fine view towards the Capitol, and overshadowed by grand cypresses, are the colossal remains long supposed to belong to the Temple of the Sun (huge fragments of corinthian cornice, one of them being the largest block of marble in Rome, and weighing twenty-seven tons), built by Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), but now considered to be part of the decorations of the **Baths of Constantine**. At the other end of the terrace, looking down through two barns into a kind of pit, we can see some remains of the baths—built A.D. 326—and of the great staircase which led up to them from the valley below. The portico of these baths remained erect till the time of Clement XII. (1730–40), and was adorned with four marble statues, of which two—those of the two Constantines—may now be seen on the terrace of the Capitol, and a third in the Portico of the Lateran.

Beneath the magnificent cypress-trees on the slope of the hill are several fine sarcophagi. Only the stem is preserved of the grand historical pine-tree which was planted on the day on which

Cola di Rienzi died, and which was one of the great ornaments of the city till 1848, when it was broken in a storm. These gardens, with their temple ruins, statues, cypresses, birds, and flowers, are the most beautiful spot which the recent changes have spared to us in Rome. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the once noble and historic family of Colonna would have sold the upper part of them for building land, if the Government had not interfered, on account of the two pagan ruins which they contain.

Just beyond the end of the garden is the **Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo**—belonging to the Missionaries of S. Vincent de Paul—in which the cardinals used to meet before going in procession to the conclave. It contains a few rather good pictures. The cupola of the second chapel has frescoes by *Domenichino*, of David dancing before the Ark, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and Esther fainting before Ahasuerus. These are considered by Lanzi as some of the finest frescoes of the master. In the left transept is a chapel containing a picture of the Assumption, painted on slate, considered the masterpiece of *Scipione Caëtani*. The last chapel but one on the left has a ceiling by *Cav. d'Arpino*, and frescoes on the wall by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*. The picture over the altar, representing S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena, is by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. Cardinal Bentivoglio—who wrote the history of the wars in Flanders, and lived in the Rospigliosi Palace—is buried here, with Cardinal Gian Giacopo Pancirelli, the one honest minister of the reign of Alexander VI. The adjoining convent, beneath which remains of a shrine of Semo Sancus were discovered in 1881,[1] is now the headquarters of the Royal Engineers.

We now reach the height of Magnanopoli, from which the isthmus which joined the Quirinal to the Capitoline was cut away by Trajan. Here, beneath the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini, radiant with flowers in spring, is a crossways, in the centre of which a fragment of the ancient wall of the time of the kings is preserved. Another fragment, in the neighbouring **Palazzo Antonelli**, retains a massive stone archway, supposed to be the **Porta Fontinalis**. The foundations under this arch are important as showing the use of concrete as early as the time of the kings. The palace was the favourite private residence of the great cardinal of brigand ancestry, who was long the prime minister of Pius IX.

'Antonelli was the best-hated man of his day, not only in Europe and Italy, but by a large proportion of Churchmen.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Hence the ugly modern Via Nazionale leads east to S. Maria degli Angeli, and west, through what was the garden of Cardinal Antonelli, to the Piazza Colonna. The turn given to the hill near this, and the effect of the lofty Aldobrandini Garden amongst the

[1] The statue of the god and its inscribed pedestal are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican.

[illegible] a visit of the very unique cave in Rome since the Basilica [illegible] it was [illegible] A.D., with exquisitely [illegible] was [illegible] June 1894, but its de- [illegible]

[illegible] the Church of S. Caterina di Siena, possessing some [illegible] to the rare master Vincenzo [illegible] a large cortile, beyond which the pre- [illegible] mediæval tower, sometimes called [illegible] known as the Torre del Millizia, i.e. [illegible] It was erected by the sons of Peter Alexius, a Roman nobleman of the party of Senator Pandolfo de Suburra. The lower part is said to have been built in 1216, the upper in 1294 and 1410.

[illegible] from two regular courses of study at Rome—the first in learn- [illegible] and the second in understanding.

"This is the Tower of Nero, from which he saw the city in flames—and this is the Temple of Concord—and this is the Temple of Castor and Pollux—and this is the Temple of Vesta—and these are the Baths of Paulus Æmilius," and so on, says your lecturer.

"This is not the Tower of Nero—nor that the Temple of Castor and Pollux—nor this either the Temple of Concord—nor are any of these things what they are called," says your antiquary.' *Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The Convent of S. Caterina was built by the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, who requested the advice of Michelangelo on the subject, and was told she had better make the ancient 'Torre' into a belfry. A very curious account of the interview in which this subject was discussed, and which took place in the Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, is left us in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a Portuguese painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

Near this point are two other fine mediæval towers. One, now engrafted in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent to the Piazza Venezia, is that of the Colonna, now called Tor di Babele, and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured friese, one of them bearing the device of the Colonna, a crowned column rising from a wreath. The other tower, immediately facing us, is called **Torre del Grillo**, from the ancient family of that name.

Opposite S. Caterina is the handsome **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto**, approached by a good double twisted staircase, the effect of which was greatly injured by the changes of 1870–77. Over the second altar on the left is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine by *Allegrossi*, and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage (July 10), the dried hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the unspeakable comfort of the faithful.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the palaces of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or reburied) which once lined the Vicus Longus. These included, on the right, the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, Publia Materna, C. Articuleius Germanianus, Tiberius Julius Frugi,

C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus, &c.[1]

We turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into the Via Magnanopoli—formerly Bagnanopoli, a corruption of Balnea Pauli—Baths of Emilius Paulus, a name given to the ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to Naples. On the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The present Prince Aldobrandini is brother of the late Prince Borghese. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, generally known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery furnace ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

In the Via di Mazzarini, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the court-yard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. A tradition declares that this (like S. Sabba on the Aventine) is on the site of a house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, who consecrated the church after it had been plundered by the Goths, and dedicated it to S. Agata. It was rebuilt by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome opus-alexandrinum pavement are the only remaining signs of antiquity. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of Daniel O'Connell, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIII., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born vi. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died xv. May, MDCCCXLVIII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of the left aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had his palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the opposite chapel is a gilt figure of S. Agata carrying her breasts—showing the manner in which she suffered.

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[1] See Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 8, 1884.

[illegible] Whither Jesus the [illegible] Agatha, tempting her with [illegible] Then [illegible] of his slaves to tear [illegible] her. [illegible] and [illegible] she [illegible] in him. [illegible] that thou art [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]. And in the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] Peter and the youth [illegible] such a glorious light filled the [illegible] Peter made himself known and [illegible] healed her wounded breasts. [illegible] who had healed her. She replied,—He [illegible] and [illegible] He hath sent His apostle, who [illegible] wound upon a great [illegible] the people in terror cried,—'This [illegible] the maiden Agatha.' So he caused [illegible] where she prayed aloud [illegible] be freed from pain and see the [illegible] her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed [illegible].—*From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.'*

Agatha (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced *by the Roman people.* On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great *Convent of S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via dei Serpenti*, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longa veniebat Julius Alba;
Lunaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistrae:
Rettulit ille gradus; horrueruntque comae.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeaque decorus,
Romulus in media visus adesse via.'

—*Ovid. Fast.* ii. 495.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive.* No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed: 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

[illegible] vesting [illegible] grille. Beyond [illegible] like the tomb of a [illegible] and behind this grille there [illegible] was ever [illegible] Gregory [illegible] and who [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] are never seen again after they [illegible] they are allowed [illegible] the [illegible] They never hear anything of the outer world, [illegible] Daily they dig their [illegible] and their remaining hours are [illegible] adoration of the Blessed [illegible]

[illegible] as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanapoli), we ascend the slope of the Viminal Hill, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from vimina, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, where a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street, the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint stretched upon a red hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

[1] "Blessed Laurentius, as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, 'The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury.'"—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, "two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. María Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

. . . . . .

[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

soul was within, and they had instructions to enter and take possession of the palace. In the presence of a small and silent crowd of sullen-looking men of the people, the doors were forced.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

The palace is now the residence of King Umberto, and the popular Queen Margherita, his first cousin, whom he obtained a dispensation to marry, on payment to the pope of 500,000 fr. The interior of the building is little worth seeing. On the landing of the principal staircase, in a bad light, is a very important fresco by *Melozzo da Forli*, a rare master of the Paduan school.[1]

'On the vaulted ceiling of a chapel in the Church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome, Melozzo executed a work (1472) which, in those times, can have admitted of comparison with few. When the chapel was rebuilt in the eighteenth century some fragments were saved. That comprehending the Creator between angels was removed to a staircase in the Quirinal Palace, while single figures of angels were placed in the sacristy of S. Peter's. These detached portions suffice to show a beauty and fulness of form, and a combination of earthly and spiritual grandeur, comparable in their way to the noblest productions of Titian, although in mode of execution rather recalling Correggio. Here, as in the cupola frescoes of Correggio himself, half a century later, we trace that constant effort at true perspective of the figure, hardly in character, perhaps, with high ecclesiastical art; the drapery, also, is of a somewhat formless description; but the grandeur of the principal figure, the grace and freshness of the little adoring cherubs, and the elevated beauty of the angels are expressed with an easy naïveté, to which only the best works of Mantegna and Signorelli can compare.'—*Kugler.*

Beyond a great hall, one hundred and ninety feet long, are a number of rooms which were fitted up by Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. for the papal summer residence. Several apartments have mosaic pavements, brought hither from pagan edifices. In one chamber Pius VII. was taken prisoner; in the next he died. The room, which is decorated with a fine modern tapestry of the martyrdom of S. Stephen, has a plaster frieze, being the original cast of the triumph of Alexander the Great, modelled for Napoleon by *Thorwaldsen.*

The *Private Chapel of the Popes*, opening from the picture-gallery, contains a magnificent picture of the Annunciation by *Guido*, and frescoes of the life of the Virgin by *Albani.*

The *Palazzino* has been erected for the accommodation of the Duchess of Genoa and other members of the royal family during their visits to Rome.

The *Gardens of the Quirinal*, which, under the Papal government, were a delightful resort for strangers, are now usually closed to the public. They are in the stiff style of box hedges and clipped avenues, which seems to belong especially to Rome, and which we know to have been popular here even in imperial times. John Evelyn (1644) found them amongst 'the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome.' Pliny, in his account of his Tusculan villa, describes his gardens decorated with 'figures of different animals, cut in box; evergreens clipped into a thousand different shapes; sometimes into letters forming different names; walls and hedges

[1] By this same master is the interesting fresco of Sixtus IV. and his nephews, now in the Vatican gallery.

of cut box, and trees twisted into a variety of forms. But the Quirinal gardens were also worth visiting, on account of the many pretty glimpses they afford of S. Peter's and other distant buildings, and the oddity of some of the devices—an organ played by water, &c. The Casino, built by Fuga, has frescoes by *Orizonte*, *Pompeo*, *Battoni*, and *Pannini*.

(The *Royal Stables* may be visited with an order from the Palazzo S. Felice, 21 Via della Dateria, from 12 to 3; or, without an order, on Thursday and Sunday from 10 to 12.)

If we turn to the left from the front of the palace, we reach—on the left—the entrance to the courtyard of the vast **Palazzo Rospigliosi**, built by Flaminio Ponzio, in 1603, for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on a portion of the site of the Baths of Constantine. It was inhabited by Cardinal Bentivoglio, and sold by him to Cardinal Mazarin, who enlarged it from designs of Carlo Maderno. His father died there. His niece brought it to the Dukes of Nevers, who (*c.* 1668) sold it to the Prince Rospigliosi, brother of the reigning Pope, Clement X. From the time of Mazarin to 1704 it was inhabited by French ambassadors.

The palace itself is not shown, but the *Casino* is open on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 9 to 3. It is situated at the end of a very small but pretty garden planted with magnolias, and consists of three chambers. On the roof of the central room is the famous Aurora of Guido.

'Guido's Aurora is the very type of haste and impetus; for surely no man ever imagined such hurry and tumult, such sounding and clashing. Painters maintain that it is lighted from two sides—they have my full permission to light *theirs* from three if it will improve them, but the difference lies elsewhere.'—*Mendelssohn's Letters*, p. 91.

'This is the noblest work of Guido. It is embodied poetry. The Hours, that hand in hand encircle the car of Phoebus, advance with rapid pace. The paler, milder forms of those gentle sisters who rule over declining day, and the glowing glance of those who bask in the meridian blaze, resplendent in the hues of heaven, are of no mortal grace and beauty; but they are eclipsed by Aurora herself, who sails on the golden clouds before them, shedding "showers of shadowing roses" on the rejoicing earth; her celestial presence diffusing gladness, and light, and beauty around. Above the heads of the heavenly coursers hovers the morning star, in the form of a youthful cherub, bearing his flaming torch. Nothing is more admirable in this beautiful composition than the motion given to the whole: the smooth and rapid step of the circling Hours as they tread on the fleecy clouds; the fiery steeds; the whirling wheels of the car; the torch of Lucifer, blown back by the velocity of his advance; and the form of Aurora, borne through the ambient air, till you almost fear she should float from your sight.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

'The work of Guido is more poetic than that of Guercino, and luminous, and soft, and harmonious. Cupid, Aurora, Phoebus, form a climax of beauty, and the Hours seem as light as the clouds on which they dance.—*Forsyth.*

Lanzi points out that Guido always took the Venus de' Medici and the Niobe as his favourite models, and that there is scarcely one of his large pictures in which the Niobe or one of her sons is not introduced, yet with such dexterity that the theft is scarcely perceptible.

The frescoes of the frieze are by *Tempesta;* the landscape by *Paul Brill.* Two columns, twelve feet high, are, with the steps at

S. Prassede, the finest known specimens of the Greek marble—*rosso-antico*. In the hall are busts, statues, and a bronze horse found in the ruins of the Baths.

There is a small collection of pictures, but few of real importance. In the room on the left is the beautiful *Daniele di Volterra* of our Saviour bearing His cross. In the same room are two large pictures—(81) David triumphing with the head of Goliath, *Domenichino;* and (64) Perseus rescuing Andromeda, *Guido*. No. 48 is a Holy Family by *Luca Signorelli*. In the room on the right are—Adam gathering fig-leaves for Eve, in a Paradise which is crowded with animals like a menagerie, *Domenichino;* and (35) Samson pulling down the pillars upon the Philistines, *Ludovico Caracci*. Here also is a very remarkable picture (32) of Juno chastising Venus, by *Lorenzo Lotto*, full of life, motion, and fury.

'Mr. Mündler showed his appreciation of this finely conceived and carefully executed painting, and called it "The Victory of Chastity." It might with equal fitness be named Juno taking righteous vengeance on Venus. Juno, wrapped in a green mantle, with a white drapery about her head, brandishes aloft Cupid's broken bow, and seems about to pour forth the vials of her wrath upon Venus. The goddess of love—a violet mantle about her, pearls in her fair hair, a brilliant star glowing on her brow, and gold chains round her neck—seeks to shield Cupid from the fury of the queen of heaven. The little god, with his many-coloured wings, cowers behind her with tearful face. The name Laurentius Lottus is still visible on a "cartellino."'—*Morelli*.

A fine bronze bust represents the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX.

A second small garden belonging to this palace is well worth seeing in May, from the wealth of camellias, azaleas, and roses with which it is filled. In the palace, Benvenuto Cellini's famous salt-cellar is preserved—a shell resting on an enamel dragon.

Opposite the Rospigliosi Palace is the very handsome entrance to the **Colonna Gardens** (which may be seen on Wednesdays by ringing at a bell by a door rather nearer the Quirinal). The gardens are connected with the palace in the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a series of bridges across the intervening street. Here, on a lofty terrace which has a fine view towards the Capitol, and overshadowed by grand cypresses, are the colossal remains long supposed to belong to the Temple of the Sun (huge fragments of corinthian cornice, one of them being the largest block of marble in Rome, and weighing twenty-seven tons), built by Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), but now considered to be part of the decorations of the **Baths of Constantine**. At the other end of the terrace, looking down through two barns into a kind of pit, we can see some remains of the baths—built A.D. 326—and of the great staircase which led up to them from the valley below. The portico of these baths remained erect till the time of Clement XII. (1730–40), and was adorned with four marble statues, of which two—those of the two Constantines—may now be seen on the terrace of the Capitol, and a third in the Portico of the Lateran.

Beneath the magnificent cypress-trees on the slope of the hill are several fine sarcophagi. Only the stem is preserved of the grand historical pine-tree which was planted on the day on which

Cola di Rienzi died, and which was one of the great ornaments of the city till 1848, when it was broken in a storm. These gardens, with their temple ruins, statues, cypresses, birds, and flowers, are the most beautiful spot which the recent changes have spared to us in Rome. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the once noble and historic family of Colonna would have sold the upper part of them for building land, if the Government had not interfered, on account of the two pagan ruins which they contain.

Just beyond the end of the garden is the **Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo**—belonging to the Missionaries of S. Vincent de Paul—in which the cardinals used to meet before going in procession to the conclave. It contains a few rather good pictures. The cupola of the second chapel has frescoes by *Domenichino*, of David dancing before the Ark, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and Esther fainting before Ahasuerus. These are considered by Lanzi as some of the finest frescoes of the master. In the left transept is a chapel containing a picture of the Assumption, painted on slate, considered the masterpiece of *Scipione Caëtani*. The last chapel but one on the left has a ceiling by *Cav. d'Arpino*, and frescoes on the wall by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*. The picture over the altar, representing S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena, is by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. Cardinal Bentivoglio—who wrote the history of the wars in Flanders, and lived in the Rospigliosi Palace—is buried here, with Cardinal Gian Giacopo Pancirelli, the one honest minister of the reign of Alexander VI. The adjoining convent, beneath which remains of a shrine of Semo Sancus were discovered in 1881,[1] is now the headquarters of the Royal Engineers.

We now reach the height of Magnanopoli, from which the isthmus which joined the Quirinal to the Capitoline was cut away by Trajan. Here, beneath the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini, radiant with flowers in spring, is a crossways, in the centre of which a fragment of the ancient wall of the time of the kings is preserved. Another fragment, in the neighbouring **Palazzo Antonelli**, retains a massive stone archway, supposed to be the **Porta Fontinalis**. The foundations under this arch are important as showing the use of concrete as early as the time of the kings. The palace was the favourite private residence of the great cardinal of brigand ancestry, who was long the prime minister of Pius IX.

'Antonelli was the best-hated man of his day, not only in Europe and Italy, but by a large proportion of Churchmen.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Hence the ugly modern Via Nazionale leads east to S. Maria degli Angeli, and west, through what was the garden of Cardinal Antonelli, to the Piazza Colonna. The turn given to the hill near this, and the effect of the lofty Aldobrandini Garden amongst the

[1] The statue of the god and its inscribed pedestal are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Vittoria [illegible] the subject, [illegible] 'Torre' into a belfry. [illegible] this subject was [illegible] of S. Silvestro a [illegible] in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a [illegible] painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

[illegible] this point are two other fine mediaeval towers. One, now [illegible] in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent to the [illegible], is that of the Colonna, now called **Tor di Babele**, and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured [illegible] of them bearing the device of the Colonna, a crowned [illegible] from a wreath. The other tower, immediately facing [illegible] called **Torre del Grillo**, from the ancient family of that name.

Opposite S. Caterina is the handsome **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto** approached by a good double twisted staircase, the effect of which was greatly injured by the changes of 1870-77. Over the [illegible] altar on the left is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine [illegible], and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage [illegible] the dried hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the unspeakable comfort of the faithful.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the [illegible] of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or [illegible]) which once lined the Vicus Longus. These included, [illegible] the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, [illegible] Tiberius Julius Frugi,

C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus, &c.[1]

We turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into the Via Magnanopoli—formerly Bagnanopoli, a corruption of Balnea Pauli—Baths of Emilius Paulus, a name given to the ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to Naples. On the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The present Prince Aldobrandini is brother of the late Prince Borghese. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, generally known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery furnace ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

In the Via di Mazzarini, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the court-yard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. A tradition declares that this (like S. Sabba on the Aventine) is on the site of a house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, who consecrated the church after it had been plundered by the Goths, and dedicated it to S. Agata. It was rebuilt by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome opus-alexandrinum pavement are the only remaining signs of antiquity. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of Daniel O'Connell, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIII., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born vi. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died xv. May, MDCCCXLVIII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of the left aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had his palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the opposite chapel is a gilt figure of S. Agata carrying her breasts—showing the manner in which she suffered.

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[1] See Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 8, 1884.

'Agatha was a maiden of Catania, in Sicily, whither Decius the emperor sent Quintianus as governor. He, inflamed by the beauty of Agatha, tempted her with rich gifts and promises, but she repulsed him with disdain. Then Quintianus ordered her to be bound and beaten with rods, and sent two of his slaves to tear her bosom with iron shears, and, as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, "O thou cruel tyrant! art thou not ashamed to tear me thus?—hast thou not thyself been fed at thy mother's breasts?" Thus only did she murmur. And in the night a venerable man came to her, bearing a vase of ointment, and before him walked a youth bearing a torch. It was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was an angel; but Agatha knew it not, though such a glorious light filled the prison, that the guards fled in terror. . . . Then S. Peter made himself known and ministered to her, restoring with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus, infuriated, demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire, but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.'—*From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.'*

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great *Convent of S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via dei Serpenti*, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ veniebat Julius Albâ;
Lunaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistrae:
Retulit ille gradus; horruerantque comae.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in mediâ visus adesse viâ.'

—*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorète. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive.* No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed: 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

[illegible] grille, beyond [illegible] the rose of a [illegible] that [illegible] was even [illegible] serge. Gregory [illegible] and who [illegible] 'No, mio [illegible]'

[illegible] are never seen again after they [illegible] though they are allowed double the [illegible]. They never hear anything of the outer world, [illegible] of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street, the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

[1] Blessed Laurentius, as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather) until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
>
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. María Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

. . . . . .

[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

'Je n'oublierai jamais le soir où, après avoir longtemps cherché le lieu qui vit la mort de Servius et le crime de Tullie, tout à coup je découvris clairement que j'y étais arrivé, et m'arrêtant plein d'horreur, comme le cocher de la parricide, plongeant dans l'ombre un regard qui, malgré moi, y cherchait le cadavre du vieux roi, je me dis: "C'était là!"'—*Ampère, Hist. Rom.* ii. 153.

Turning to the left, at the foot of the Esquiline, we find the interesting **Church of S. Pudentiana**—Ecclesia Pudentiana[1]—supposed to be the most ancient of all the Roman churches ('omnium ecclesiarum urbis vetustissima'). Cardinal Wiseman, who took his title from this church, considered it was the principal place of worship in Rome after apostolic times, being founded on the site of the house where S. Paul lodged, A.D. 41 to 50, with the senator Pudens, whose family were his first converts, and who is said to have himself suffered martyrdom under Nero. On this ancient place of worship an oratory was engrafted by Pius I. (*c.* A.D. 145), in memory of the younger daughter of Pudens, Pudentiana, perhaps at the request of her sister Prassede, who is believed to have survived till that time. In very early times two small churches existed here, known as 'Titulus Pudentis' and 'Titulus Pastoris,' the latter in memory of the brother of Pius I.

The church, which has been successively altered by Adrian I. in the eighth century, by Gregory VII., and by Innocent II., was finally modernised by Cardinal Caëtani in 1597. Little remains of ancient external work except the graceful brick campanile (*c.* 1130), with triple arcades of open arches on every side, separated by bands of terra-cotta moulding; and the door adorned with low reliefs of the Lamb bearing a cross, and of S. Prassede and S. Pudentiana, with the vases in which they collected the blood of the martyrs, and two other figures, probably S. Pudens and S. Pastor.

The chapel on the left of the tribune, which is regarded as the 'Titulus Pudentis,' has an old mosaic pavement, said to have belonged to the house of Pudens. Here is a bas-relief by Giacomo della Porta, representing our Saviour delivering the keys to S. Peter; and here is preserved part of the altar at which S. Peter is said to have celebrated mass (the rest is at the Lateran), and which was used by all the early popes till the time of Sylvester. Among early christian inscriptions let into the walls, is one to a Cornelia, of the family of the Pudentiani, with a rude portrait.

Opening from the left aisle is the chapel of the Caëtani family, with tombs of the seventeenth century. Over the altar is a bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi, by *Paolo Olivieri*. On each side are fine columns of Lumachella marble. Over the entrance from the nave are ancient mosaics—of the Evangelists and of S. Pudentiana collecting the blood of the martyrs. Beneath is a gloomy and neglected vault, in which all the sarcophagi and coffins of the dead Caëtani are shown by torchlight.

[1] The Church of Pudens, and the early christian buildings of Rome were never named from a saint, but from their founders, or the owners of the site on which were built.

In the tribune are magnificent mosaics, ascribed to the fourth century, and considered by Poussin and afterwards by De Rossi[1] as the best of all ancient christian mosaics, as they are the oldest, dating from A.D. 398. They were mutilated by Cardinal Enrico Caëtani in 1588.

'In conception and treatment this work is indeed classic: seated on a rich throne in the centre is the Saviour with one arm extended, and in the other holding a book open at the words, *Conservator Ecclesiæ Pudentianæ;* laterally stand SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana with leafy crowns in their hands; and at a lower level, but more in front, SS. Peter and Paul with eight other male figures, all in the amply-flowing costume of ancient Romans; while in the background are seen, beyond a portico with arcades, various stately buildings, one a rotunda, another a parallelogram with a gable-headed front, recognisable as a baptistery and basilica, here, we may believe, in authentic copy from the earliest types of the period of the first christian emperors. Above the group and hovering in the air, a large cross, studded with gems, surmounts the head of our Saviour, between the four symbols of the Evangelists, of which one has been entirely, and another in the greater part, sacrificed to some wretched accessories in wood-work actually allowed to conceal portions of this most interesting mosaic. As to expression, a severe solemnity is that prevailing, especially in the principal head, which *alone* is crowned with the nimbus—one among other proofs, if but negative, of its high antiquity.'—*Hemans' 'Ancient Christian Art.'*

Besides S. Pudentiana and S. Pudens, S. Novatus and S. Siricius are said to be buried there. Those who visit this sanctuary every day obtain an indulgence of three thousand years, with remission of a third part of their sins! Excavations made by Mr. J. H. Parker, in 1865, laid bare some interesting constructions beneath the church—supposed to be those of the house of Pudens—a part of the public baths of Novatus, the son of Pudens, which were in use for some centuries after his time, and a chamber in which is supposed to have been the oratory dedicated by Pius I. in A.D. 145.

'Eubulus greeteth thee, and *Pudens*, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.'—2 *Timothy* iv. 21.

'Here the first converts met for prayers; here Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, obtained from Pius I. the institution of a regular parish-assembly (*titulus*) provided with a baptismal font; and here, for a long time, were preserved some pieces of household furniture which had been used by S. Peter. The tradition deserves attention because it was openly accepted at the beginning of the fourth century.'—*Lanciani.*

The following account of the family of Pudens is received as the legacy of Pastor to the Christian Church:—

'Pudens went to his Saviour, leaving his daughters strengthened with chastity, and learned in all the divine law. These sold their goods, and distributed the produce to the poor, and persevered strictly in the love of Christ, guarding intact the flower of their virginity, and only seeking for glory in vigils, fastings, and prayer. They desired to have a baptistery in their house, to which the blessed Pius not only consented, but with his own hand drew the plan of the fountain. Then calling in their slaves, both from town and country, the two virgins gave liberty to those who were Christians, and urged belief in the faith upon those who had not yet received it. By the advice of the blessed Pius, the affranchisement was declared, with all the ancient usages, in the oratory founded by Pudens; then, at the festival of Easter, ninety-six neophytes were baptized; so

[1] *Roma Cristiana.*

S. Prassede, the finest known specimens of the Greek marble—rosso-antico. In the hall are busts, statues, and a bronze horse found in the ruins of the Baths.

There is a small collection of pictures, but few of real importance. In the room on the left is the beautiful *Daniele di Volterra* of our Saviour bearing His cross. In the same room are two large pictures—(81) David triumphing with the head of Goliath, *Domenichino;* and (64) Perseus rescuing Andromeda, *Guido.* No. 48 is a Holy Family by *Luca Signorelli.* In the room on the right are—Adam gathering fig-leaves for Eve, in a Paradise which is crowded with animals like a menagerie, *Domenichino;* and (35) Samson pulling down the pillars upon the Philistines, *Ludovico Caracci.* Here also is a very remarkable picture (32) of Juno chastising Venus, by *Lorenzo Lotto,* full of life, motion, and fury.

'Mr. Mündler showed his appreciation of this finely conceived and carefully executed painting, and called it "The Victory of Chastity." It might with equal fitness be named Juno taking righteous vengeance on Venus. Juno, wrapped in a green mantle, with a white drapery about her head, brandishes aloft Cupid's broken bow, and seems about to pour forth the vials of her wrath upon Venus. The goddess of love—a violet mantle about her, pearls in her fair hair, a brilliant star glowing on her brow, and gold chains round her neck—seeks to shield Cupid from the fury of the queen of heaven. The little god, with his many-coloured wings, cowers behind her with tearful face. The name Laurentius Lottus is still visible on a "cartellino."'—*Morelli.*

A fine bronze bust represents the Rospigliosi Pope, Clement IX.

A second small garden belonging to this palace is well worth seeing in **May**, from the wealth of camellias, azaleas, and roses with which it is filled. In the palace, Benvenuto Cellini's famous salt-cellar is preserved—a shell resting on an enamel dragon.

Opposite the Rospigliosi Palace is the very handsome entrance to the **Colonna Gardens** (which may be seen on Wednesdays by ringing at a bell by a door rather nearer the Quirinal). The gardens are connected with the palace in the Piazza SS. Apostoli by a series of bridges across the intervening street. Here, on a lofty terrace which has a fine view towards the Capitol, and overshadowed by grand cypresses, are the colossal remains long supposed to belong to the Temple of the Sun (huge fragments of corinthian cornice, one of them being the largest block of marble in Rome, and weighing twenty-seven tons), built by Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), but now considered to be part of the decorations of the **Baths of Constantine.** At the other end of the terrace, looking down through two barns into a kind of pit, we can see some remains of the baths—built A.D. 326—and of the great staircase which led up to them from the valley below. The portico of these baths remained erect till the time of Clement XII. (1730–40), and was adorned with four marble statues, of which two—those of the two Constantines—may now be seen on the terrace of the Capitol, and a third in the Portico of the Lateran.

Beneath the magnificent cypress-trees on the slope of the hill are several fine sarcophagi. Only the stem is preserved of the grand historical pine-tree which was planted on the day on which

Cola di Rienzi died, and which was one of the great ornaments of the city till 1848, when it was broken in a storm. These gardens, with their temple ruins, statues, cypresses, birds, and flowers, are the most beautiful spot which the recent changes have spared to us in Rome. Incredible, however, as it may seem, the once noble and historic family of Colonna would have sold the upper part of them for building land, if the Government had not interfered, on account of the two pagan ruins which they contain.

Just beyond the end of the garden is the **Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo**—belonging to the Missionaries of S. Vincent de Paul—in which the cardinals used to meet before going in procession to the conclave. It contains a few rather good pictures. The cupola of the second chapel has frescoes by *Domenichino*, of David dancing before the Ark, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, Judith with the head of Holofernes, and Esther fainting before Ahasuerus. These are considered by Lanzi as some of the finest frescoes of the master. In the left transept is a chapel containing a picture of the Assumption, painted on slate, considered the masterpiece of *Scipione Caëtani*. The last chapel but one on the left has a ceiling by *Cav. d'Arpino*, and frescoes on the wall by *Polidoro da Caravaggio*. The picture over the altar, representing S. Dominic and S. Catherine of Siena, is by *Mariotto Albertinelli*. Cardinal Bentivoglio—who wrote the history of the wars in Flanders, and lived in the Rospigliosi Palace—is buried here, with Cardinal Gian Giacopo Pancirelli, the one honest minister of the reign of Alexander VI. The adjoining convent, beneath which remains of a shrine of Semo Sancus were discovered in 1881,[1] is now the headquarters of the Royal Engineers.

We now reach the height of Magnanopoli, from which the isthmus which joined the Quirinal to the Capitoline was cut away by Trajan. Here, beneath the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini, radiant with flowers in spring, is a crossways, in the centre of which a fragment of the ancient wall of the time of the kings is preserved. Another fragment, in the neighbouring **Palazzo Antonelli**, retains a massive stone archway, supposed to be the **Porta Fontinalis**. The foundations under this arch are important as showing the use of concrete as early as the time of the kings. The palace was the favourite private residence of the great cardinal of brigand ancestry, who was long the prime minister of Pius IX.

'Antonelli was the best-hated man of his day, not only in Europe and Italy, but by a large proportion of Churchmen.'—*F. Marion Crawford.*

Hence the ugly modern Via Nazionale leads east to S. Maria degli Angeli, and west, through what was the garden of Cardinal Antonelli, to the Piazza Colonna. The turn given to the hill near this, and the effect of the lofty Aldobrandini Garden amongst the

[1] The statue of the god and its inscribed pedestal are now in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican.

houses, is one of the best things done in Rome since the Sardinian rule. A fine house of the first century A.D., with exquisitely painted walls, was discovered near this in June 1884, but its destruction was at once ordered.

Opposite is the **Church of S. Caterina di Siena**, possessing some frescoes attributed, on doubtful grounds, to the rare master *Timoteo della Vite*. Adjoining is a large convent, inclosed within the precincts of which is the tall brick mediaeval tower, sometimes called the Tower of Nero, but generally known as the **Torre del Milizie**, *i.e.* of the Roman Militia. It was erected by the sons of Peter Alexius, a baron attached to the party of Senator Pandolfo de Suburra. The lower part is said to have been built in 1210, the upper in 1294 and 1330.

'People pass through two regular courses of study at Rome—the first in learning, and the second in unlearning.

'"This is the Tower of Nero, from which he saw the city in flames—and this is the Temple of Concord—and this is the Temple of Castor and Pollux—and this is the Temple of Vesta—and these are the Baths of Paulus Aemilius," and so on, says your lacquey.

'"This is not the Tower of Nero—nor that the Temple of Castor and Pollux—nor the other the Temple of Concord—nor are any of these things what they are called," says your antiquary.'—*Eaton's 'Rome.'*

The Convent of S. Caterina was built by the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, who requested the advice of Michelangelo on the subject, and was told she had better make the ancient 'Torre' into a belfry. A very curious account of the interview in which this subject was discussed, and which took place in the Church of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, is left us in the memoirs of Francesco d'Olanda, a Portuguese painter, who was himself present at the conversation.

Near this point are two other fine mediaeval towers. One, now engrafted in the Via Nazionale, on the left of the descent to the Piazza Venezia, is that of the Colonna, now called **Tor di Babele**, and is ornamented with three beautiful fragments of sculptured frieze, one of them bearing the device of the Colonna, a crowned column rising from a wreath. The other tower, immediately facing us, is called **Torre del Grillo**, from the ancient family of that name.

Opposite S. Caterina is the handsome **Church of SS. Domenico e Sisto**, approached by a good double twisted staircase, the effect of which was greatly injured by the changes of 1870–77. Over the second altar on the left is a picture of the marriage of S. Catherine by *Allegrani*, and, on the anniversary of her (visionary) marriage (July 19), the dried hand of the saint is exhibited here, to the unspeakable comfort of the faithful.

In opening or building the Via Nazionale between this point and the Baths of Diocletian many fragments and foundations of the palaces of illustrious Romans were discovered (and destroyed or reburied) which once lined the Vicus Longus. These included, on the right, the magnificent houses of Lucius Naevius Clemens, Publia Materna, C. Articuleius Germanianus, Tiberius Julius Frugi,

C. Julius Avitus, P. Numicius Caesianus, and Scipio Orfitus; faced, on the opposite side of the street, by the houses of the Claudii Claudiani, of M. Postumius Festus, T. Avidius Quietus, the Lampadii, T. Aelius Antonius Severus, &c.[1]

We turn by SS. Domenico e Sisto into the Via Magnanopoli—formerly Bagnanopoli, a corruption of Balnea Pauli—Baths of Emilius Paulus, a name given to the ruins on the east side of the Forum of Trajan. The *Mirabilia* speaks of the corruption of the name 'Vado ad Napulim,' supposed in the Middle Ages to have been the exclamation of the wizard Virgil, who, on this spot, being taken by the Romans, escaped invisibly, and went to Naples. On the left we pass the **Palazzo Aldobrandini**, with a bright, pleasant-looking court and handsome fountain. The present Prince Aldobrandini is brother of the late Prince Borghese. The fortunes of this house were founded by Clement VIII., who presented his nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, with a million scudi in ready money. Of this family was S. Pietro Aldobrandini, generally known as S. Pietro Igneo, who was canonised because, in 1067, he walked unhurt, crucifix in hand, through a burning fiery furnace ten feet long before the church door of Settimo, near Florence, to prove an accusation of simony which he had brought against Pietro di Pavia, bishop of that city.

In the Via di Mazzarini, in the hollow between the Quirinal and Viminal, is the **Convent of S. Agata in Suburra**, through the court-yard of which we enter the **Church of S. Agata dei Goti**. A tradition declares that this (like S. Sabba on the Aventine) is on the site of a house of S. Silvia, mother of S. Gregory the Great, who consecrated the church after it had been plundered by the Goths, and dedicated it to S. Agata. It was rebuilt by Ricimer, the king-maker, who was buried here in A.D. 472. But twelve ancient granite columns and a handsome opus-alexandrinum pavement are the only remaining signs of antiquity. The church now belongs to the Irish Seminary. In the left aisle is the monument of Daniel O'Connell, with bas-reliefs by Benzoni, inscribed:—

'This monument contains the heart of O'Connell, who dying at Genoa on his way to the Eternal City, bequeathed his soul to God, his body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome. He is represented at the bar of the British House of Commons in MDCCCXXIII., when he refused to take the anti-Catholic declaration, in these remarkable words: "I at once reject this declaration; part of it I believe to be untrue, and the rest I know to be false." He was born vi. Aug., MDCCLXXVI., and died xv. May, MDCCCXLVIII. Erected by Charles Bianconi, the faithful friend of the immortal Liberator, and of Ireland, the land of his adoption.'

At the end of the left aisle is a chapel, which Cardinal Antonelli (who had his palace near this) decorated, 1863, with frescoes and arabesques as a burial-place for his family. In the opposite chapel is a gilt figure of S. Agata carrying her breasts—showing the manner in which she suffered.

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[1] See Rudolfo Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 8, 1884.

'Agatha was a maiden of Catania, in Sicily, whither Decius the emperor sent Quintianus as governor. He, inflamed by the beauty of Agatha, tempted her with rich gifts and promises, but she repulsed him with disdain. Then Quintianus ordered her to be bound and beaten with rods, and sent two of his slaves to tear her bosom with iron shears, and, as her blood flowed forth, she said to him, "O thou cruel tyrant! art thou not ashamed to tear me thus?—hast thou not thyself been fed at thy mother's breasts?" Thus only did she murmur. And in the night a venerable man came to her, bearing a vase of ointment, and before him walked a youth bearing a torch. It was the holy apostle Peter, and the youth was an angel; but Agatha knew it not, though such a glorious light filled the prison, that the guards fled in terror. . . . Then S. Peter made himself known and ministered to her, restoring with heavenly balm her wounded breasts.

'Quintianus, infuriated, demanded who had healed her. She replied, "He whom I confess and adore with heart and lips, He hath sent His apostle, who hath healed me." Then Quintianus caused her to be thrown bound upon a great fire, but instantly an earthquake arose, and the people in terror cried, "This visitation is sent because of the sufferings of the maiden Agatha." So he caused her to be taken from the fire, and carried back to prison, where she prayed aloud that, having now proved her faith, she might be freed from pain and see the glory of God; and her prayer was answered and her spirit instantly departed into eternal glory, Feb. 5th, A.D. 251.'—*From the 'Legende delle SS. Vergini.'*

Agata (patroness of Catania) is one of the saints most reverenced by the Roman people. On the 5th of February her vespers are sung here, and contain the antiphons:—

'Who art thou that art come to heal my wounds?—I am an apostle of Christ; doubt not concerning me, my daughter.

'Medicine for the body have I never used; but I have the Lord Jesus Christ, who with His word alone restoreth all things.

'I render thanks to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast been mindful of me, and hast sent Thine apostle to heal my wounds.

'I bless thee, O Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, because through Thine apostle Thou hast restored my breasts to me.

'Him who hath vouchsafed to heal me of every wound, and to restore to me my breasts, Him do I invoke, even the living God.

. . . . . .

'Blessed Agatha, standing in her prison, stretched forth her hands and prayed unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord Jesus Christ, my good Master, I thank Thee because Thou hast given me strength to overcome the tortures of the executioners; and now, Lord, speak the word, that I may depart hence to Thy glory which fadeth not away."'

The tomb of John Lascaris (a refugee from Constantinople when taken by the Turks) has—in Greek—the inscription:—

'Lascaris lies here in a foreign grave; but, stranger, that does not disturb him, rather does he rejoice; yet he is not without sorrow, as a Grecian, that his fatherland will not bestow upon him the freedom of a grave.'

Passing the great *Convent of S. Bernardino Senensis*, we reach the *Via dei Serpenti*, interesting as occupying the supposed site of the Vallis Quirinalis, where Julius Proculus, returning from Alba Longa, encountered the Ghost of Romulus.

'Sed Proculus Longâ veniebat Julius Albâ;
Lunaque fulgebat; nec facis usus erat:
Cum subito motu nubes crepuere sinistrae:
Retulit ille gradus; horrueruntque comae.
Pulcher, et humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in mediâ visus adesse viâ.'

—*Ovid, Fast.* ii. 498.

Turning to the right down the Via dei Serpenti, we reach the Piazza S. Maria in Monti, containing a fountain, and a church dedicated to *SS. Sergius and Bacchus*, two martyrs who suffered under Maximian at Rasapha in Syria.

One side of this piazza is occupied by the **Church of S. Maria in Monti**, in which is deposited a figure of the beggar Labre (canonised by Leo XIII., December 8th, 1881), dressed in the gown of a mendicant-pilgrim, which he wore when living. Over the altar is a picture of him in the Coliseum distributing to his fellow-beggars the alms which he had obtained. His festa is observed here on April 16th. (At No. 3 Via dei Serpenti, one may visit the chamber in which Labre died; and in the Via dei Crociferi, near the fountain of Trevi, a chapel containing many of his relics—the bed on which he died, the crucifix which he wore in his bosom, &c.).

'Benoît Joseph Labre naquit en 1784 dans le diocèse de Boulogne (France) de parents chrétiens et jouissant d'une modeste aisance. D'une piété vive et tendre, il voulut d'abord se faire religieux; mais sa santé ne put résister, ni aux règles des Chartreux, ni à celles des Trappistes, chez lesquels il entra successivement. *Il fut alors sollicité intérieurement*, est-il dit dans la notice sur sa vie, *de mener une vie de pénitence et de charité au milieu du siècle.* Pendant sept années, il parcourut, en pèlerin-mendiant, les sanctuaires de la Vierge les plus vénérés de toute l'Europe; on a calculé qu'il fit, à pied, plus de cinq mille lieues pendant ces sept années.

'En 1777 il revint en Italie, pour ne plus en sortir. Il habitait Rome, faisant seulement une fois chaque année le pèlerinage de Lorètte. Il passait une grande partie de ses journées dans les églises, mendiait, et faisait des œuvres de charité. Il couchait quelquefois sous le portique des églises, et le plus souvent au Colysée derrière la petite chapelle de la cinquième station du chemin de la croix. L'église qu'il fréquentait le plus était celle de S. Marie des Monts; le 16 avril 1783, après y avoir prié fort longtemps, en sortant, il tomba, comme évanoui, sur les marches du péristyle de l'église. On le transporta dans une maison voisine, où il mourut le soir.'—'*Une Année à Rome.*'

S. Alfonso Liguori lived in the Convent of S. Maria in Monti in the time of Clement XIII. Almost opposite this church, till 1885, a narrow alley, which appeared to be a *cul-de-sac* ending in a picture of the Crucifixion, was in reality the approach to the carefully concealed *Convent of the Farnesiane Nuns*, generally known as the *Sepolte Vive.* No more curious convent has been recently destroyed. The only means of communicating with the nuns was by rapping on a barrel which projected from a wall on a platform above the roofs of the houses—when a muffled voice was heard from the interior; and if the references of the visitor were satisfactory, the barrel turned round, and eventually disclosed a key by which the initiated could admit themselves to a small chamber in the interior of the convent. Over the door was an inscription, bidding those who entered that chamber to leave all worldly thoughts behind them. Round the walls were inscribed: 'Qui non diligit, manet in morte.' 'Militia est vita hominis super terram.' 'Alter alterius onera portate;' and, on the other side opposite the door—

'Vi esorto a rimirar
La vita del mondo
Nella guisa che la mira
Un moribondo.'

In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering-pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then veiled from head to foot in heavy folds of thick serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'è vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street—the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red-hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

'Blessed Laurentius as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."'—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head is at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. Maria Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

. . . . . .

[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] of the Lateran, we find the [illegible] Church of S. Pudentiana (Ecclesia Pudentiana—supposed to be the most ancient of all the Roman churches [illegible] all Christian worship was in use. Pastor, who was his [illegible] a priest, and [illegible] was the principal place of [illegible] Pudens, Praxedes, and Novatus, [illegible] the site of [illegible] house, & Via Alexandri, &c. S. P., with the senator Pudens, whose family [illegible] were [illegible] Christians, and who is said to have received [illegible] under Nero. On this ancient [illegible] monument was engraved by Pius I. c. A.D. 145[illegible] in memory of the younger daughter of Pudens, Pudentiana, perhaps [illegible] the patroness of the other Praxedes, who is believed to have survived her sister some time. In very early times two small churches existed here, known as 'Titulus Pudentis' and 'Titulus Pastoris,' the latter in memory of the brother of Pius I.

The church, which has been successively altered by Adrian I. in the eighth century, by Gregory VII., and by Innocent II., was finally modernised by Cardinal Caëtani in 1597. Little remains of the ancient material work except the graceful brick campanile (c. 1130), with triple arcades of open arches on every side, separated by bands of terra cotta moulding; and the door adorned with low reliefs of the Lamb bearing a cross, and of S. Prassede and S. Pudentiana, with the vases in which they collected the blood of the martyrs, and two other figures, probably S. Pudens and S. Pastor.

The chapel on the left of the tribune, which is regarded as the 'Titulus Pudentis,' has an old mosaic pavement, said to have belonged to the house of Pudens. Here is a bas-relief by Giacomo della Porta, representing our Saviour delivering the keys to S. Peter; and here is preserved part of the altar at which S. Peter is said to have celebrated mass (the rest is at the Lateran), and which was used by all the early popes till the time of Sylvester. Among early christian inscriptions let into the walls, is one to a Cornelia, of the family of the Pudentiani, with a rude portrait.

Opening from the left aisle is the chapel of the Caëtani family, with tombs of the seventeenth century. Over the altar is a bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi, by *Paolo Olivieri*. On each side are fine columns of Lumachella marble. Over the entrance from the nave are ancient mosaics of the Evangelists and of S. Pudentiana collecting the blood of the martyrs. Beneath is a gloomy and neglected vault, in which all the sarcophagi and coffins of the dead Caëtani are shown by torchlight.

[1] The Church of Pudens, and the early christian buildings of Rome were never named from a saint, but from their founders, or the owners of the site on which they were built.

In the tribune are magnificent mosaics, ascribed to the fourth century, and considered by Poussin and afterwards by De Rossi[1] as the best of all ancient christian mosaics, as they are the oldest, dating from A.D. 398. They were mutilated by Cardinal Enrico Caëtani in 1588.

'In conception and treatment this work is indeed classic: seated on a rich throne in the centre is the Saviour with one arm extended, and in the other holding a book open at the words, *Conservator Ecclesiae Pudentianae;* laterally stand SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana with leafy crowns in their hands; and at a lower level, but more in front, SS. Peter and Paul with eight other male figures, all in the amply-flowing costume of ancient Romans; while in the background are seen, beyond a portico with arcades, various stately buildings, one a rotunda, another a parallelogram with a gable-headed front, recognisable as a baptistery and basilica, here, we may believe, in authentic copy from the earliest types of the period of the first christian emperors. Above the group and hovering in the air, a large cross, studded with gems, surmounts the head of our Saviour, between the four symbols of the Evangelists, of which one has been entirely, and another in the greater part, sacrificed to some wretched accessories in woodwork actually allowed to conceal portions of this most interesting mosaic. As to expression, a severe solemnity is that prevailing, especially in the principal head, which *alone* is crowned with the nimbus—one among other proofs, if but negative, of its high antiquity.'—*Hemans'* '*Ancient Christian Art.*'

Besides S. Pudentiana and S. Pudens, S. Novatus and S. Siricius are said to be buried there. Those who visit this sanctuary every day obtain an indulgence of three thousand years, with remission of a third part of their sins! Excavations made by Mr. J. H. Parker, in 1865, laid bare some interesting constructions beneath the church—supposed to be those of the house of Pudens—a part of the public baths of Novatus, the son of Pudens, which were in use for some centuries after his time, and a chamber in which is supposed to have been the oratory dedicated by Pius I. in A.D. 145.

'Eubulus greeteth thee, and *Pudens*, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.'—2 *Timothy* iv. 21.

'Here the first converts met for prayers; here Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, obtained from Pius I. the institution of a regular parish-assembly (*titulus*) provided with a baptismal font; and here, for a long time, were preserved some pieces of household furniture which had been used by S. Peter. The tradition deserves attention because it was openly accepted at the beginning of the fourth century.'—*Lanciani.*

The following account of the family of Pudens is received as the legacy of Pastor to the Christian Church:—

'Pudens went to his Saviour, leaving his daughters strengthened with chastity, and learned in all the divine law. These sold their goods, and distributed the produce to the poor, and persevered strictly in the love of Christ, guarding intact the flower of their virginity, and only seeking for glory in vigils, fastings, and prayer. They desired to have a baptistery in their house, to which the blessed Pius not only consented, but with his own hand drew the plan of the fountain. Then calling in their slaves, both from town and country, the two virgins gave liberty to those who were Christians, and urged belief in the faith upon those who had not yet received it. By the advice of the blessed Pius, the affranchisement was declared, with all the ancient usages, in the oratory founded by Pudens; then, at the festival of Easter, ninety-six neophytes were baptized; so

[1] *Roma Cristiana.*

that henceforth assemblies were constantly held in the said oratory, which night and day resounded with hymns of praise. Many pagans gladly came thither to find the faith and receive baptism.

'Meanwhile the Emperor Antonine, being informed of what was taking place, issued an edict commanding all Christians to dwell apart in their own houses, without mixing with the rest of the people, and that they should neither go to the public shops nor to the baths. Praxedis and Pudentiana then assembled those whom they had led to the faith, and housed them. They nourished them for many days, watching and praying. The blessed bishop Pius himself frequently visited us with joy, and offered the sacrifice for us to the Saviour.

'Then Pudentiana went to God. Her sister and I wrapped her in perfumes and kept her concealed in the oratory. Then, at the end of twenty-eight days, we carried her to the cemetery of Priscilla, and laid her near her father Pudens.

'Eleven months after, Novatus died in his turn. He bequeathed his goods to Praxedis, and she then begged of S. Pius to erect a titular [a church] in the baths of Novatus, which were no longer used, and where there was a large and spacious hall. The bishop made the dedication in the name of the blessed virgin Praxedis. In the same place he consecrated a baptistery.

'But at the end of two years a great persecution was declared against the Christians, and many of them received the crown of martyrdom. Praxedis concealed a great number of them in her oratory, and nourished them at once with the food of this world and with the Word of God. But the Emperor Antonine, having learnt that these meetings took place in the oratory of Praxedis, caused it to be searched, and many Christians were taken, especially the priest Simetrius and twenty-two others; and the blessed Praxedis collected their bodies by night, and buried them in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the seventh day of the calends of June. Then the virgin of the Saviour, worn out with sorrow, only asked for death. Her tears and her prayers reached to heaven, and fifty-four days after her brethren had suffered she passed to God; and I, Pastor, the priest, have buried her body near that of her father Pudens.'—*From the Narration of Pastor.*

Returning by the main line of streets to the Quattro Fontane, we pass, on the left, the **Church of S. Paolo Primo Eremita**, rebuilt by Pius VI. in 1765. The strange-looking palm tree over the door, with a raven perched upon it and two lions below, commemorates the story of the saint, who, retiring to the desert at the age of 22, lived there till he was 112, eating nothing but the dates of his tree for twenty-two years, after which bread was daily brought to him by a raven. In his last hours S. Anthony came to visit him, and was present at his burial, when two lions, his companions, came to dig his grave. The sustaining palm tree and the three animals who loved S. Paolo were again represented over the altar. In 1884 this church was converted by the Ministry of Public Instruction into a hall of physiological anatomy! Farther on the left we pass the Via S. Vitale, occupying part of the site of the Vicus Longus, considered by Dyer to have been the longest street in the ancient city. Here stood the Temples of Sylvanus and of Fever, with that of Pudicitia Plebeia, founded *c.* B.C. 297, by Virginia the patrician, wife of Volumnius, when excluded from the patrician Temple of Pudicitia in the Forum Boarium, on account of her plebeian marriage. 'At its altar none but plebeian matrons of unimpeachable chastity, and who had been married to only one husband, were allowed to sacrifice.'[1]

The **Church of S. Vitale**, on the Viminal, which now stands here,

[1] Dyer, p. 94.

facing the Via Nazionale, was founded by Innocent I. in A.D. 416. The interior is covered with frescoes of martyrdoms. It is seldom open except early on Sunday mornings. S. Vitale, father of S. Gervasius and S. Protasius, was the martyr and patron saint of Ravenna, who was buried alive under Nero. The modern Via Nazionale leads from S. Maria degli Angeli to the Corso—passing across the end of the Piazza SS. Apostoli—and contains the **American Church**, a gothic building by *Street*, utterly unsuited to Rome, and the *Galleria d'Arte Moderna* (admission 1 fr.). Continuing the Via delle Quattro Fontane, on the left is the **Church of S. Dionisio**, belonging to the Basilican nuns, called Apostoline di S. Basilio. It contains an Ecce Homo of *Luca Giordano*, and the gaudy shrine of the virgin martyr S. Coraola.

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In one of the walls was an opening with a double grille, beyond which was a metal plate, pierced with holes like the rose of a watering-pot. It was beyond this grille, and behind this plate, that the abbess of the Sepolte Vive received her visitors, but she was even then veiled from head to foot in heavy folds of thick serge. Gregory XVI., who, of course, could penetrate within the convent, and who wished to try her, said, 'Sorella mia, levate il velo.' 'No, mio padre,' she replied; 'è vietato dalla nostra regola.'

The nuns of the Sepolte Vive are never seen again after they once assume the black veil, though they are allowed double the ordinary noviciate. They never hear anything of the outer world, even of the deaths of their nearest relations. Daily they dig their own graves and lie down in them, and their remaining hours are occupied in perpetual and monotonous adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

Returning as far as the Via Pane e Perna (a continuation of the Via Magnanopoli), we ascend the slope of the **Viminal Hill**, now with difficulty to be distinguished from the Quirinal. It derives its name from *vimina*, osiers, and was once probably covered with woods, since a temple of Sylvanus or Pan was one of several which adorned its principal street—the Vicus Longus—the site of which is now marked by the street called Via S. Vitale. This end of the hill is crowned by the **Church of S. Lorenzo Pane e Perna**, built on the site of the martyrdom of the deacon S. Laurence, who suffered under Claudius II., in A.D. 264, for refusing to give up the goods of the Church. Over the altar is a huge fresco, representing the saint extended upon a red-hot gridiron, and below—entered from the exterior of the church—a crypt is shown as the scene of his cruel sufferings.[1]

'Blessed Laurentius as he lay stretched and burning on the gridiron, said to the impious tyrant, "The meat is done, make haste hither and eat. As for the treasures of the Church which you seek, the hands of the poor have carried them to a heavenly treasury."'—*Antiphone of S. Laurence.*

It was outside this convent that, towards the close of her life, S. Bridget of Sweden used to sit begging for the poor and kissing the hands of those who gave her alms. Her funeral took place in this church, July 1373; but, after resting here for a year, her body was removed by her son to the monastery of Wastein in Sweden.

Under the second altar on the right are shown the relics of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian, 'two holy brothers, who departed from Rome with S. Denis to preach the Gospel in France, where, after the example of S. Paul, they laboured with their hands, being by trade shoemakers. And these good saints made food for the poor without fee or reward (for which the angels supplied them with leather), until, denounced as Christians, they suffered martyrdom at Soissons, being, after many tortures, beheaded by the sword

[1] The body of this saint is said to repose at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura; his head is at the Quirinal; at S. Lorenzo in Lucina his gridiron and chains are shown.

(A.D. 300).'[1] The festival of S. Crispin and S. Crispinian is held on October 25th, the anniversary of the battle of Agincourt.

> 'And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered.'
> —*Shakespeare*, '*Henry V.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages the statues of Posidippus and Menander, now in the gallery of statues at the Vatican, were kissed and worshipped in this church under the impression that they represented saints (see Chap. XV.). They were found on this site, which was once occupied by the Baths of Olympias, daughter-in-law of Constantine.

The strange name of the church, Pane e Perna, is generally supposed to have had its origin in a dole of bread and ham once given at the door of the adjacent convent, but more probably is derived from the Prefect Perperna Quadratus, commemorated in an inscription in the convent garden, in which there is a mediaeval house of *c.* 1200. The campanile is of 1450.

The small neighbouring **Church of S. Lorenzo in Fonte** covers the site of the prison of S. Laurence, and a fountain is shown there as that in which he baptized Vicus Patricius and his daughter Lucilla, whom he miraculously raised from the dead.

Descending the hill below the church—in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal—we reach at the corner of the street a spot of pre-eminent historical interest, as that where Servius Tullius was killed, and where Tullia (B.C. 535) drove in her chariot over the dead body of her father. The Vicus Urbius by which the old king had reached the spot is now represented by the Via Urbana; the Vicus Cyprius, by which he was about to ascend to the palace on the hill Cispius, by the Via di S. Maria Maggiore.

'Servius-Tullius, après avoir pris le chemin raccourci qui partait du pied de la Velia et allait du côté de Carines, atteignit le Vicus-Cyprius (Via Urbana).

'Parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le roi fut atteint et assassiné par les gens de Tarquin auprès d'un temple de Diane.

'C'est arrivés en cet endroit, au moment de tourner à droite et de gagner, en remontant le Vicus-Virbius, le Cispius, où habitait son père, que les chevaux s'arrêtèrent; que Tullie, poussée par l'impatience fiévreuse de l'ambition, et n'ayant plus que quelques pas à faire pour arriver au terme, avertie par le cocher que le cadavre de son père était là gisant, s'écria: "Eh bien, pousse le char en avant!"

'Le meurtre s'est accompli au pied du Viminal, à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, là où fut depuis le Vicus-Sceleratus, la rue Funeste.

'Le lieu où la tradition plaçait cette tragique aventure ne peut être sur l'Esquilin, mais nécessairement au pied de cette colline et du Viminal, puisque, parvenu à l'extrémité du Vicus-Cyprius, le cocher allait tourner à droite et remonter pour gravir l'Esquilin. Il ne faut donc pas chercher, comme Nibby, la rue Scélérate sur une des pentes, ou, comme Canina et M. Dyer, sur le sommet de l'Esquilin, d'où l'on ne pouvait monter sur l'Esquilin.

'Tullie n'allait pas sur l'Oppius (San-Pietro in Vincoli), dans la demeure de son mari, mais sur le Cispius, dans la demeure de son père. C'était de la demeure royale qu'elle allait prendre possession pour le nouveau roi.

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[1] Jameson's '*Sacred and Legendary Art.*'

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In the tribune are magnificent mosaics, ascribed to the fourth century, and considered by Poussin and afterwards by De Rossi[1] as the best of all ancient christian mosaics, as they are the oldest, dating from A.D. 398. They were mutilated by Cardinal Enrico Caëtani in 1588.

'In conception and treatment this work is indeed classic: seated on a rich throne in the centre is the Saviour with one arm extended, and in the other holding a book open at the words, *Conservator Ecclesiae Pudentianae;* laterally stand SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana with leafy crowns in their hands; and at a lower level, but more in front, SS. Peter and Paul with eight other male figures, all in the amply-flowing costume of ancient Romans; while in the background are seen, beyond a portico with arcades, various stately buildings, one a rotunda, another a parallelogram with a gable-headed front, recognisable as a baptistery and basilica, here, we may believe, in authentic copy from the earliest types of the period of the first christian emperors. Above the group and hovering in the air, a large cross, studded with gems, surmounts the head of our Saviour, between the four symbols of the Evangelists, of which one has been entirely, and another in the greater part, sacrificed to some wretched accessories in woodwork actually allowed to conceal portions of this most interesting mosaic. As to expression, a severe solemnity is that prevailing, especially in the principal head, which *alone* is crowned with the nimbus—one among other proofs, if but negative, of its high antiquity.'—*Hemans' 'Ancient Christian Art.'*

Besides S. Pudentiana and S. Pudens, S. Novatus and S. Siricius are said to be buried there. Those who visit this sanctuary every day obtain an indulgence of three thousand years, with remission of a third part of their sins! Excavations made by Mr. J. H. Parker, in 1865, laid bare some interesting constructions beneath the church—supposed to be those of the house of Pudens—a part of the public baths of Novatus, the son of Pudens, which were in use for some centuries after his time, and a chamber in which is supposed to have been the oratory dedicated by Pius I. in A.D. 145.

'Eubulus greeteth thee, and *Pudens*, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.'—2 *Timothy* iv. 21.

'Here the first converts met for prayers; here Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Timotheus, daughters and son of Pudens, obtained from Pius I. the institution of a regular parish-assembly (*titulus*) provided with a baptismal font; and here, for a long time, were preserved some pieces of household furniture which had been used by S. Peter. The tradition deserves attention because it was openly accepted at the beginning of the fourth century.'—*Lanciani.*

The following account of the family of Pudens is received as the legacy of Pastor to the Christian Church:—

'Pudens went to his Saviour, leaving his daughters strengthened with chastity, and learned in all the divine law. These sold their goods, and distributed the produce to the poor, and persevered strictly in the love of Christ, guarding intact the flower of their virginity, and only seeking for glory in vigils, fastings, and prayer. They desired to have a baptistery in their house, to which the blessed Pius not only consented, but with his own hand drew the plan of the fountain. Then calling in their slaves, both from town and country, the two virgins gave liberty to those who were Christians, and urged belief in the faith upon those who had not yet received it. By the advice of the blessed Pius, the affranchisement was declared, with all the ancient usages, in the oratory founded by Pudens; then, at the festival of Easter, ninety-six neophytes were baptized; so

[1] *Roma Cristiana.*

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